

THE
HISTORY
OF
MODERN EUROPE.

BY
W. RUSSEL,
IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.



SOLYMAN BESIEGING RHODES.

By W. RUSSEL, Esq.

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THE
HISTORY
OF



MODERN EUROPE:

WITH

A VIEW OF THE PROGRESS OF SOCIETY

FROM

THE RISE OF THE MODERN KINGDOMS

TO THE

PEACE OF PARIS IN 1763.

BY

WILLIAM RUSSELL, LL.D.

THE FIVE VOLUMES IN TWO.

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THE
HISTORY
OF
MODERN EUROPE.

PART II.

FROM THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA, IN 1648, TO THE PEACE
OF PARIS, IN 1763.

LETTER I.

*England and Ireland, from the Accession of James I. to the Murder of Sir
Thomas Overbury, and the Fall of Somerset, in 1615.*

IN bringing down the general transactions of Europe to the peace of Westphalia, when a new epoch in modern history commences, I excused myself from carrying the affairs of England lower than the death of Elizabeth.

This arrangement, my dear Philip, was suggested by the nature of the subject. The accession of the family of Stuart to the throne of England forms a memorable æra in the history of Great Britain. It gave birth to a struggle between the king and parliament, that repeatedly threw the whole island into convulsions, and which was never fully composed, until the final expulsion of the royal family. To make you acquainted with the rise and progress of this important struggle, while your mind is disengaged from other objects, and before I again lead you into the great line of European politics, with which it had little connexion, shall now be my business. By entering upon it sooner, I should have disjointed the continental story, have withdrawn your attention from matters of no less moment, and yet have been obliged to discontinue the subject, when it became most interesting.

The English throne being left vacant by the death of Elizabeth, who with her latest breath had declared, that she wished to be succeeded by her nearest kinsman, the king of Scots, or who in her dying moments had made signs to that purpose, James was immediately proclaimed king of England by the lords of the privy council. He was great-grandson of Margaret, eldest daughter of Henry VII.—so that on the failure of the male line of the house of Tudor, his hereditary title remained unquestionable. The crown of England therefore passed from the family of Tudor to that of Stuart, with as much tranquillity as ever it was transmitted from father to son. People of all ranks, forgetting their ancient hostilities with Scotland, and their aversion against the dominion of strangers, testified their satisfaction with louder acclamations than were usual at the accession even of their native princes. They foresaw greater advantages resulting from a perpetual alliance with Scotland, than inconveniences from submitting to a sovereign of that king-

dom. And by this junction of its whole collective force, Great Britain has risen to a degree of power, and consequence in Europe, which Scotland and England, destined by their position to form one vigorous monarchy, could never have attained as separate and hostile kingdoms.

Dazzled with the glory of giving a master to their rich and powerful rivals, and relying on the partiality of their native prince, the Scots expressed no less joy than the English at this increase of their sovereign's dignity; and as his presence was necessary in England, where the people were impatient to see their new king, James instantly prepared to leave Edinburgh, and set out for London without delay. In his journey, crowds of his English subjects every where assembled to welcome him: great were the rejoicings, and loud and hearty the salutations that resounded from all sides. But James, who wanted that engaging affability by which Elizabeth had captivated the hearts of her people; and who, although social and familiar among his friends and courtiers, could not bear the fatigue of rendering himself agreeable to a mixed multitude; James, who, though far from disliking flattery, was still fonder of ease, unwisely issued a proclamation forbidding such tumultuous resort.(1) A disadvantageous comparison between his deportment and that of his illustrious predecessor was the consequence; and if Elizabeth's frugality in conferring honours had formerly been repined at, it was now justly esteemed, in consequence of that undistinguishing profusion with which James bestowed them.(2)

The king's liberality, however, in dispensing these honours, it may be presumed, would have excited less censure in England, had they not been shared out, with other advantages, in too unequal proportions to his Scottish courtiers, a numerous train of whom accompanied him to London. Yet it must be owned, in justice to James, whose misfortune it was, through his whole reign, to be more guided by temper and inclination than by the rules of political prudence, that he left all the great offices of state in the hands of Elizabeth's ministers, and trusted the conduct of public affairs, both foreign and domestic, for a time, to his English subjects. Among these secretary Cecil, with whom he held a private correspondence during the latter years of the reign of Elizabeth, and who had smoothed his way to the throne, was regarded as his prime minister, and chief counsellor. As this correspondence had been carried on with the most profound secrecy, Cecil's favour with the king created general surprise; it being well known to the nation that, his father, lord treasurer Burleigh, had been the principal cause of the tragical death of the queen of Scots, and that he himself had hastened the fate of Essex, the warm friend of the family of Stuart. But the secretary's services had obliterated his crimes; and James was not so devoid of prudence or of gratitude, as to slight the talents of a man who was able to give stability to that throne which he had helped him to ascend, nor so vindictive as to persecute him from resentment of a father's offences. On the contrary, he loaded him with honours; creating him successively lord Effingham, viscount Cranbourn, and earl of Salisbury. The earl of Southampton and the young earl of Essex were restored to their titles; while sir Walter Raleigh, lord Grey, and lord Cobham, Cecil's former associates, were dismissed from their employments.(3) This disgrace, however, was not so much occasioned by their hostile conduct, and violent opposition against the king's family during the life of Elizabeth, as by an ineffectual attempt which they had made, after her death, to prescribe certain conditions to the declared successor, whom they found they wanted power to set aside, before he should ascend the throne.(4)

James and his new ministers had soon an opportunity of exercising their political sagacity. Ambassadors arrived from almost all the princes and

(1) Kennet.

(2) Within six weeks after his entrance into England, he is said to have bestowed knighthood on two hundred and thirty-seven persons, many of whom were utterly unworthy of such honour.

(3) Kennet, p. 225.

(4) Winwood's *Memorials*, vol. ii.

states in Europe, in order to congratulate him on his accession to the crown of England, and to form new treaties and alliances with him, as the head of the two British kingdoms. Among others, Henry Frederic of Nassau, assisted by Barneveldt, the pensionary of Holland, represented the United Provinces. But the envoy who most excited the attention of the public, both on account of his own merit and that of his master, was the marquis de Rosni, afterward duke of Sully, prime minister and favourite of Henry IV. of France. He proposed, in his master's name, a league with James, in conjunction with Venice, the United Provinces, and the northern crowns, in order to restrain the ambition, and to depress the exorbitant power, of the house of Austria.(1) But whether the genius of the British king, naturally timid and pacific, was inadequate to such vast undertakings, or so penetrating as to discover, that the French monarchy, now united in domestic concord, and governed by an able and active prince, was become of itself a sufficient counterpoise to the Austrian greatness, he declined taking any part in the projected league; so that Rosni, obliged to contract his views, could only concert with him the means of providing for the safety of the United Provinces. Nor was this an easy matter; for James, before his accession to the throne of England, had entertained many scruples in regard to the revolt in the Low Countries, and had even gone so far, on some occasions, as to give to the Dutch the appellation of rebels.(2) He was induced, however, after conversing freely with his English ministers and courtiers, to sacrifice to politics his sense of justice. He found the attachment of his new subjects so strong to that republic, and their opinion of a common interest so firmly established, as to make his concurrence necessary: he therefore agreed with Rosni to support secretly the States General, in conjunction with France, lest their weakness and despair should bring them again under the enormous dominion of Spain.(3)

While James was taking these salutary steps for securing tranquillity, both foreign and domestic, a conspiracy was hatching to subvert the government, and to place on the throne of England Arabella Stuart, the king's cousin-german, equally descended with him from Henry VII. Watson and Clarke, two Catholic priests, were accused of hatching the plot, and executed for their share in it. But the chief conspirators were lord Cobham and his brother Mr. Brooke, lord Grey, sir Griffin Markham, sir Walter Raleigh, and other discarded courtiers. These daring and ambitious spirits meeting frequently together, and believing the whole nation as dissatisfied as themselves, had entertained very criminal projects; and some of them, as appeared on their trial, had even entered into a correspondence with Aremberg, the Flemish ambassador, in order to disturb the new settlement of the crown.(4) Cobham, Grey, and Markham, were pardoned, after they had laid their heads upon the block; Brooke was executed, and Raleigh reprieved.(5) He remained, however, in confinement many years.

Soon after surmounting this danger, the king was engaged in a scene of business more suited to his temper, and in which he was highly ambitious of making a figure. Of all the qualities that mark the character of James, he was by none so much distinguished as by the pedantic vanity of being thought to excel in school-learning.(6) This vanity was much heightened by the

(1) *Mém. de Sully.*

(2) Winwood, vol. ii.

(3) *Mém. de Sully.*

(4) *State Trials*, vol. i.

(5) Winwood, vol. ii.

(6) James's pedantry, which led him to display his learning upon all occasions, only could have drawn upon him contempt as a scholar; for his book, entitled *Basiliæon Doron*, which contains certain precepts relative to the art of government, addressed to his son prince Henry, must be allowed, notwithstanding the subsequent alterations and refinements in national taste, not only to be no contemptible performance, but to be equal to the works of most cotemporary authors, both in purity of style and justness of composition. If he wrote concerning witches and apparitions; who in that age, as the sagacious Hume observes, did not admit the reality of these fictitious beings?—If he has composed a commentary on the Revelations, and proved the pope to be Antichrist; may not a similar reproach be extended to the famous Napier?—and even to the great Newton? who lived at a time when learning and philosophy were more advanced than during the reign of James I.

flattery he met with from his English courtiers, but especially those of the ecclesiastical order; and he was eager for an opportunity of displaying his theological talents, of all others most admired in that age, to the whole body of his new subjects. Such an opportunity was now offered him, by a petition from the Puritans, for reforming certain tenets of the established church. Under pretence of finding expedients which might reconcile the parties, the king called a conference at Hampton-court, and gave the petitioners hopes of an impartial debate; though nothing appears to have been farther from his purpose. This matter will require some illustration.

The Puritans, whom I have formerly had occasion to mention,⁽¹⁾ formed a sect which secretly lurked in the church, but pretended not to any separate worship or discipline. They frequented no dissenting congregations, because there were none such in the kingdom; uniformity of religion being, in that age, thought absolutely necessary to the support of government, if not to the very existence of civil society, by men of all ranks and characters. But they maintained, that they themselves were the only pure church; that their principles and practices ought to be established by law, and that none else deserved to be tolerated. In consequence of this way of thinking, the puritanical clergy frequently refused to comply with the legal ceremonies, and were deprived of their livings, if not otherwise punished, during the reign of Elizabeth; yet so little influence had these severities upon the party, that no less than seven hundred and fifty clergymen signed the petition to the king for the farther reformation of the church.⁽²⁾

As James had been educated in the religion of the church of Scotland, which was nearly the same with that which the Puritans wanted to establish in England, and as he had written, at a very early period of life, a commentary on the Revelations, in which he had proved the pope to be Antichrist, and Modern Rome the Whore of Babylon in Scripture, these enthusiastic zealots hoped to see the sanctuary thoroughly purified, and every remaining rag of the whore torn away. The impurities of which they chiefly complained were the episcopal vestments, and certain harmless ceremonies, become venerable from age and preceding use, which the moderation of the church of England had retained at the Reformation; such as the use of the ring in marriage, the cross in baptism, and the reverence of bowing at the name of Jesus. If the king should not utterly abolish these abominations, they flattered themselves that he would at least abate the rigour of the laws against nonconformity.

But although James, in youth, had strongly imbibed the Calvinistical doctrines, his mind had now taken a contrary bias. The more he knew the puritanical clergy, the less favour he bore them. He had remarked in their Scottish brethren a violent turn towards republican maxims; and he had found, that the same lofty pretensions, which dictated their familiar addresses to their Maker, induced them to take still greater freedoms with their earthly sovereign. They had disputed his tenets, and counteracted his commands. Such liberties could hardly have recommended them to any prince, and made them peculiarly obnoxious to James, whose head was filled with lofty notions of kingship and high prerogative, as well as of his theological pre-eminence and ecclesiastical supremacy. Besides, he dreaded the popularity which the Puritans had acquired in both kingdoms; and being much inclined himself to mirth and wine, and sports of all kinds, he apprehended the censure of their austerity, on account of his free and disengaged manner of life. Thus averse, from temper as well as policy, against this rigorous sect, James was determined to prevent, as far as possible, its farther growth in England; and even to introduce, as we shall afterwards have occasion to see, the English liturgy into Scotland, in order to soften the manners of the people.

A judge so prejudiced could not possibly be just. The Puritans accordingly complained, and with reason, of the unfair management of the dispute

(1) Part I. Letter LXXII.

(2) Fuller, book 2.

at the conference. From arbiter, the king turned principal disputant, and frequently repeated the episcopal maxim: "No bishop, no king!" The bishops, and other courtiers, in their turn, were very liberal in their applause of the royal theologian. "I have often heard that the royalty and priest-hood were united," said chancellor Egerton, "but never saw it verified till now." And Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury, exclaimed, "that he verily believed the king spoke by the special assistance of God's spirit!" (1) Little wonder, after so much flattery from the church and its adherents, that the Puritans were enjoined by the king to conform. They obtained, however, a few alterations in the liturgy; and pleaded hard for the revival of certain assemblies, which they called *prophesyings*, and which had been suppressed by Elizabeth, as dangerous to the state. This demand roused all James's choler; and he delivered himself in a speech, which distinctly shows the political considerations that determined him in his choice of religious parties. "If you aim at a Scottish presbytery," replied he, "it agrees as well with monarchy as God and the Devil. There Jack, and Tom, and Will, and Dick, shall meet and censure me and my council: therefore I reiterate my former speech; *le Roi s'avisera*. Stay, I pray, for one seven years before you demand; and then, if you find me grow purfie and fat, I may perchance hearken unto you; for that government will keep me in wind, and give me work enough." (2)

The assembly in which the king next displayed his learning and eloquence was of a very different complexion. The meeting of the great council of the nation had hitherto been delayed from a dread of the plague, which had lately broke out in London, and there raged to such a degree, that above thirty thousand persons are supposed to have died of it, although the city and suburbs did not then contain two hundred thousand inhabitants. At length, however, the plague subsided, and the parliament was convened. The speech which James made on that occasion fully displays his character. Though by no means deficient either in style or matter, it wants that majestic brevity and reserve which becomes a king in addressing his subjects from the throne. "Shall I ever," said he, "nay can I ever be able, or rather so unable, in memory, as to forget your unexpected readiness and alacrity—your ever memorable resolution, and the most wonderful conjunction and harmony of your hearts, in declaring and embracing me as your undoubted and lawful king and governor? or shall it ever be blotted out of mind, how, at my first entrance into this kingdom, the people of all sorts rid and ran, nay rather flew, to meet me? their eyes flaming nothing but sparkles of affection, their mouths and tongues uttering nothing but sounds of joy; their hands, feet, and all the rest of their members, in their gestures discovering a passionate longing to meet their new sovereign?" He next expatiated on the manifold blessings which the English had received in his person; and concluded with observing, that the measure of their happiness would be full, if England and Scotland were united in one kingdom. "I am the husband," added he, "and the whole island is my lawful wife; and I hope no one will be so unreasonable as to think, that a Christian king under the Gospel can be a polygamist, and the husband of two wives." (3)

The following words, in a letter from James to the parliament, on the same subject, is more to the purpose. "It is in you now," says he, "to make the choice—to procure prosperity and increase of greatness to me and mine, you and yours; and by the away-taking of that partition-wall, which already, by God's providence, in my blood is rent asunder, to establish my throne and your body politic in a perpetual and flourishing peace." This was indeed an important and desirable object: and so much was James's heart set upon effectually removing all division between the two kingdoms, and so sure did he think himself of accomplishing his aim, that he assumed the title of king of Great Britain; quartered St. Andrew's

(1) Kennet, p. 665.

(2) Fuller's *Ecclesiastical History*.

(3) *King James's Works*.

cross with St. George's; and, in order to give a general idea of the peaceful advantages of such an union, the iron doors of the frontier towns were converted into plough-shares.(1) But the minds of men were not yet ripe for that salutary measure. The remembrance of former hostilities was too recent to admit of a cordial friendship; the animosity between the two nations could only be allayed by time. The complaisance of the parliament to the king, therefore, carried them no farther than to appoint forty-four English to meet with thirty-one Scottish commissioners, in order to deliberate concerning the terms of an union, without any power of making advances towards its final establishment.(2)

The commons discovered more judgment of national interest, in some other points in which they opposed the crown; and fully showed, that a bold spirit of freedom, if not a liberal manner of thinking, was become general among them. It had been usual during the reign of Elizabeth, as well as in more early periods of the English government, for the chancellor to exert a discretionary authority, of issuing new writs for supplying the places of such members as he judged incapable of attending on account of their ill state of health, or any other impediment.(3) This dangerous prerogative James ventured to exercise in the case of sir Francis Goodwin. The chancellor declared his seat vacated, and issued a writ for a new election. But the commons, whose eyes were now opened, saw the pernicious consequences of such a power, and asserted their right of judging solely in their own elections and returns. "By this course," said a member, "a chancellor may call a parliament consisting of what persons he pleases. Any suggestion, by any person, may be the cause of sending a new writ. It is come to this plain question, whether the chancery or the parliament ought to have authority?"(4) The king was obliged to yield the point; and that right, so essential to public liberty, has ever since been regarded as a privilege inherent in the house of commons, though at that time rendered doubtful through the negligence of former parliaments.

Nor did the spirit and judgment of the commons appear only in their vigorous exertions in defence of their own privileges: they extended their attention to the commercial part of the nation, and endeavoured, though at that time in vain, to free trade from those shackles which the ill-judged policy of Elizabeth had imposed upon it.(5) James had already, of his own accord, called in and annulled the numerous patents for monopolies which had been granted by that princess, and which fettered every species of domestic industry; but the exclusive companies still remained, another species of monopolies, by which almost all foreign trade was brought into the hands of a few rapacious engrossers, and all prospect of future improvement in commerce sacrificed to a temporary advantage to the crown. The commons also attempted to free the landed interest from the burden of wardships, and the body of the people from the oppression of purveyance.(6) It will therefore be proper here to give some account of these grievous remains of the feudal government.

The right of purveyance was an ancient prerogative, by which the officers of the crown could, at pleasure, take provisions for the king's household, whithersoever he travelled, from all the neighbouring counties, and make use of the horses and carriages of the farmers. The price of these provisions and services was fixed and stated; but the payment of the money was often distant and uncertain, and the rates were always much inferior to the usual market price: so that purveyance, besides the slavery of it, was always regarded as a heavy burden, and, being arbitrary and casual, was liable to great abuses. Elizabeth made use of it to victual her navy during the first years of her reign.(7) Wardship, though the most regular and legal of all

(1) Rapin, *Hist. Eng.*

(2) *Journals of the House of Commons*, June 7, 1604.

(3) *Journ.* January 19, and March 18, 1580.

(4) *Journ.* March 30, 1604.

(5) *Journ.* May 21, 1604.

(6) *Journ.* April 30, and June 1, 1604.

(7) Hume. *Camden*.

impositions by prerogative, was also an humiliating badge of slavery, and oppressive to all the considerable families among the nobility and gentry. When an estate devolved to a female, the king would oblige her to marry whom he pleased; and whether the heir was male or female, the crown enjoyed the whole profits of the estate during the minority.⁽¹⁾ These impositions had been often complained of; and the commons now proposed to compound with the king for them, by a secure and independent revenue. The benefit which the crown reaped from wardship and purveyance was accordingly estimated; but, after some debates in the lower house, and a conference with the lords on the subject, it was found to contain more difficulties than could at that time be easily surmounted, and therefore no farther progress was made in the business.

Soon after the rising of parliament, a treaty of peace, which had been some time in agitation, was finally concluded with Spain. And although the war between Philip II. and Elizabeth appears to have been continued from personal animosity rather than any contrariety of political interests between their subjects, this treaty was generally disliked by the English nation, as it checked the spirit of enterprise, so prevalent in that age, and contained some articles which seemed prejudicial to the Dutch commonwealth. But these articles, so far at least as they regarded supplies, were never executed by James; who had, by a secret article, as I have formerly had occasion to observe, expressly reserved the power of sending assistance to the United Provinces.⁽²⁾

During this season of peace and tranquillity was brought to light one of the most diabolical plots of which there is any record in the history of mankind. The conspiracy to which I allude is the GUNPOWDER TREASON.—A scheme so infernally dark will require some elucidation.

The Roman Catholics in general were much disappointed, and even exasperated, by the king's conduct in religious matters. He was not only the son of the unfortunate Mary, whose life they believed to have been sacrificed to their cause; but, in order to quiet opposition, and make his accession to the throne of England more easy, he had given them hopes that he would tolerate their religion. They therefore expected great favour and indulgence under his government. But they soon discovered their mistake; and, equally surprised and enraged, when they found James had resolved to execute the rigorous laws enacted against them, they determined on vengeance. Some of the most zealous of the party, under the direction of Garnet the superior of the Jesuits in England, conspired to exterminate, at one blow, the most powerful of their enemies in this kingdom; and, in consequence of that blow, to re-establish the Catholic faith. Their conspiracy had for its object the destruction of the king and parliament. For this purpose, they lodged thirty-six barrels of gunpowder in a vault beneath the House of Lords, usually let as a coal-cellar, and which had been hired by Percy, a near relation of the family of Northumberland, and one of the original conspirators. The time fixed for the execution of the plot was the fifth of November, the day appointed for the meeting of the parliament; when the king, queen, and prince of Wales were expected to be in the house, together with the principal nobility and gentry. The rest of the royal family were to be seized, and all dispatched, except the princess Elizabeth, James's youngest daughter, yet an infant, who was to be raised to the throne under the care of a Catholic protector.⁽³⁾

The destined day at length drew nigh, and the conspirators were filled with the strongest assurance of success. Nor without reason; for although the horrid secret had been communicated to above twenty persons, no remorse, no pity, no fear of punishment, no hope of reward, had induced any to accomplice, after more than twelve months, either to abandon the conspiracy, or to make a discovery of it. But the holy fury by which they were

(1) Hume, *Hist. Eng.* vol. v.

(2) Part. I. Letter LXXI.

(3) *Hist. of the Gunpowder Treason.* See also *State Trials*, vol. i.

actuated, though it had extinguished in their breasts every generous sentiment, and every selfish motive, yet left them susceptible to those bigoted partialities by which it was inspired, and which fortunately saved the nation. A short time before the meeting of parliament, lord Monteagle, a Catholic nobleman, whose father, lord Morley, had been a great sufferer during the reign of Elizabeth, on account of his attachment to popery, received the following letter:

"My Lord, out of the love I bear to some of your friends, I have a care of your preservation: therefore I would advise you, as you tender your life, to devise some excuse to shift off your attendance at this parliament; for God and man have resolved to punish the wickedness of this time. And think not slightly of this advertisement; but retire yourself into your country, where you may expect the event in safety: for, though there be no appearance of any stir, yet I say they will receive a terrible blow this parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurts them. This council is not to be contemned; because it may do you good, and can do you no harm, for the danger is past as soon as you have burned the letter: and I hope God will give you the grace to make good use of it, to whose holy protection I commend you."⁽¹⁾

Though Monteagle was inclined to think this a foolish attempt to expose him to ridicule, by frightening him from attending his duty in parliament, he judged it safest to carry the letter to lord Salisbury, secretary of state. Salisbury either did or pretended to think it a light matter; so that all farther inquiry was dropt, till the king, who had been for some time at Royston, returned to town. To the timid sagacity of James, the matter appeared in a more important point of view. From the serious and earnest style of the letter, he conjectured that it intimated some dark and dangerous design against the state; and many particular expressions in it, such as *great, sudden, and terrible blow*, yet the *authors concealed*, seemed to denote some contrivance by gunpowder. It was, therefore, thought proper to inspect all the vaults below the two houses of parliament. This inspection, however, was purposely delayed till the day before the meeting of the great council of the nation; when, on searching the vaults beneath the House of Lords, the gunpowder was discovered, though concealed under great piles of wood and faggots; and Guido Fawkes, an officer in the Spanish service, who stood in a dark corner, and passed himself for Percy's servant, was seized and carried to the Tower.

This man had been sent for from Flanders, on account of his determined courage, and known zeal in the Catholic cause. He was accordingly entrusted with the most trying part in the enterprise. The matches, and every thing proper for setting fire to the train, were found in his pocket. He at first behaved with great insolence and obstinacy; not only refusing to discover his accomplices, but expressing the utmost regret, that he had lost the precious opportunity of at least sweetening his death, by taking vengeance on his and God's enemies.⁽²⁾ But after some days confinement and solitude, his courage failed him on being shown the rack, and he made a full discovery of all the conspirators. Several of them were men of ancient family, independent fortune, and unspotted character; instigated alone to so great a crime by a fanatical zeal, which led them to believe that they were serving their Maker, while they were contriving the ruin of their country, and the destruction of their species.

Such of the conspirators as were in London, on hearing that Fawkes was arrested, hurried down to Warwickshire; where sir Everard Digby, one of their associates, was already in arms, in order to seize the princess Elizabeth, who was then at lord Harrington's in that county. They failed in their attempt to get hold of the princess; the county rose upon them; and they were all taken and executed except three, who fell a sacrifice to their despe-

(1) *King James's Works*, p. 227.

(2) Winwood, vol. ii

ate valour ; namely, Wright, a daring fanatic, Catesby, the original conspirator, and Percy, his first and most active associate.(1)

After escaping this danger, James seems to have enjoyed a kind of temporary popularity, even among his English subjects. If the Puritans were offended at his lenity toward the Catholics, against whom he exercised no new severities, the more moderate and intelligent part of the nation considered that lenity as truly magnanimous ; and all men were become sensible, that the king could not possibly be the patron of a religion which had aimed so tremendous a blow at his life and throne. His love of peace was favourable to commerce, which flourished under his reign ; and it procured him leisure, notwithstanding his natural indolence of temper, to attend to the ill-ordered state of Ireland.

Elizabeth had lived to see the final subjection of that island. But a difficult task still remained ; to civilise the barbarous inhabitants ; to reconcile them to laws and industry ; and by these means to render the conquest durable, and useful to the crown of England. The first step that James took in regard to this important business, which he considered as his master-piece in politics, was to abolish the Irish customs that supplied the place of laws ; and which were calculated, as will appear by a few examples, to keep the people for ever in a state of barbarism and disorder. Their chieftains ; whose authority was absolute, were not hereditary but elective ; or, more properly speaking, were established by force and violence ; and although certain lands were assigned to the office, its chief profit arose from exactions, dues, assessments, which were levied at pleasure, and for which there was no fixed law.(2)

In consequence of the Brehon law or custom, every crime, how enormous never, was punished in Ireland, not with death, but by a fine, or pecuniary mulct, which was levied upon the criminal. Even murder itself, as among our Saxon ancestors, was atoned for in this manner ; and each man, according to his rank, had affixed to him a certain rate or value, which if any one was willing to pay, he need not fear assassinating whatever man he disliked. This rate was called his *Eric*. Accordingly when sir William Fitzwilliams, while lord deputy, told the chieftain Maguire, that he was to send a sheriff to Fermanagh, which had been made a county a little before, and subjected to the English laws ; " Your sheriff," replied Maguire, " shall be welcome to me : but let me know beforehand his *eric*, or the price of his head, that, if any of my people should cut it off, I may levy the money upon the county."(3)

After abolishing these, and other pernicious Irish customs, and substituting English laws in their stead, James proceeded to govern the natives by a regular administration, military as well as civil. A sufficient army was maintained, its discipline inspected, and its pay punctually transmitted from England, in order to prevent the soldiers from subsisting upon the country, as had been usual in former reigns. Circuits were established, justice administered, oppression banished, and crimes and disorders of every kind severely punished. For the relief of the common people, the value of the dues which the nobles usually claimed from their vassals was estimated at a fixed sum, and all farther arbitrary exactions prohibited under severe penalties.(4)

The beneficial effects of these regulations were soon visible, especially in the province of Ulster ; which having wholly fallen to the crown by the attender of rebels, a company was established in London for planting colonies in that fertile territory. The property was divided into moderate shares, the largest not exceeding two thousand acres ; tenants were brought from England and Scotland ; the Irish were removed from the hills and fastnesses, and settled in the open country ; husbandry and the mechanical arts were taught them ; a fixed habitation was secured for them, and every irregularity re-

(1) K. James, p. 231. Winwood, vol. ii. *State Trials*, vol. i.

(2) Sir John Davis, p. 167.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) *Ibid.* p. 278.

pressed. By these means Ulster, from being the most wild and disorderly province in Ireland, soon became the most civilised and best cultivated part of the island.(1)

But whatever domestic advantages might result from James's pacific disposition, it gradually lost him the affections of his people, as it made him avoid war by negotiations and concessions beneath the dignity of an English monarch. It sunk the national consequence, and perhaps the national spirit; and his excessive love of carousals and hunting, of public spectacles and unavailing speculations, which left him no time for public business, at last divested his political character of all claim to respect, and rendered him equally contemptible at home and abroad. This contempt was increased by a disadvantageous comparison between the king and the prince of Wales.

Though youth and royal birth, embellished by the flattering rays of hope, prepossessed men strongly in favour of an heir apparent to the crown, Henry, James's eldest son, independent of such circumstances, seems to have possessed great and real merit. Although he had now almost reached his eighteenth year, neither the illusions of passion nor of rank had ever seduced him into any irregular pleasures: business and ambition alone engaged his heart, and occupied his mind. Had he lived to come to the throne, he might probably have promoted the glory more than the happiness of his people, his disposition being strongly turned to war. Of this we have a remarkable instance. When the French ambassador took leave of him, and asked his commands for France, he found him employed in the exercise of the pike: "Tell your king," said Henry, "in what occupation you left me engaged." (2) His death, which was sudden, diffused throughout the nation the deepest sorrow, and violent reports were propagated that he had been taken off by poison. The physicians, however, on opening his body, found no symptoms to justify such an opinion.(3)

But James had one weakness, which drew on him more odium than either his pedantry, pusillanimity, or extravagant love of amusement; namely, an infatuated attachment to young and worthless favourites. This passion appears so much the more ludicrous, though less detestable, that it does not seem to have contained any thing criminal in it.(4)

The first and most odious of these favourites was Robert Carr, a young gentleman of a good family in Scotland. When about twenty years of age he arrived in London, after having passed some time in his travels. A handsome person, an easy manner, and a graceful air, were his chief accomplishments; and these were sufficient to recommend him to James, who, through his whole life, was too liable to be captivated with exterior qualities. Lord Hay, a Scottish nobleman, who was well acquainted with this weakness in his sovereign, and meant to take advantage of it, assigned to Carr, at a tournament, the office of presenting the king his buckler and device. But, as the future favourite was advancing for that purpose, his ungovernable horse threw him, and his leg was broken by the fall.

Equally struck with this incident, and with the beauty and simplicity of the youth, whom he had never seen before, James approached him with sentiments of the softest compassion; ordered him to be lodged in the palace, and to be attended by the most skilful surgeons: and he himself paid him frequent visits during his confinement. The more ignorant he found him, the stronger his attachment became. Highly conceited of his own wisdom, he flattered himself that he should be able to form a minister whose political sagacity would astonish the world, while he surpassed all his former courtiers in personal and literary accomplishments. In consequence of this par-

(1) Sir John Davis, p. 220.

(2) *Life of the Bederic.*

(3) Kennet. Cole. Welwood.

(4) The interest which James took in the amours of his favourites, and his attention to the cultivation of their minds, ought to exempt him from all suspicion of an unnatural crime, notwithstanding the influence which personal beauty seems to have had in the choice of them. He appears to have been desirous of a minister of his own forming, who would be entirely subservient to his will, as being his creature in a double sense, and who might also prove an easy and disengaged companion for his mirthful hours.

tial fondness, interwoven with selfish vanity, the king soon knighted his favourite; created him viscount Rochester, honoured him with the Garter, brought him into the privy council, and, without assigning him any particular office, gave him the supreme direction of his affairs.⁽¹⁾

The minion, however, was not so much elated by his sudden elevation, as not to be sensible of his own ignorance and inexperience. He had recourse to the advice of a friend, and found a judicious and sincere counsellor in sir Thomas Overbury; by whose means he enjoyed for a time, what is very rare, the highest favour of the prince without being hated by the people. Nothing, in a word, seemed wanting to complete his happiness but a kind mistress; and such a one soon presented herself, in lady Frances Howard, daughter of the earl of Suffolk, similar to himself in weakness of understanding, and equal in personal attractions.

This lady, when but thirteen years of age, had unfortunately been married to the earl of Essex, from the king's too eager desire of uniting the families of Howard and Devereux; and as her husband was only fourteen, it was thought proper to send him on his travels till they should arrive at the age of puberty. But such separations are always dangerous, whatever may be the age of the parties. Marriage awakens certain ideas in the female mind, which are best composed in the arms of a husband. Of this truth, Essex had melancholy experience. Lady Frances, during his absence, had opened her heart to the allurements of love; and although on his return to England, after travelling four years, he was pleased to find his countess in all the bloom of youth and beauty, he had the mortification to discover that her affections were totally alienated from him. Though forced by her parents to share his bed, she persisted in denying him the dues of marriage. At length, disgusted by such coldness, he separated himself from her, and left her to pursue her own inclinations. This was what she wanted. The high fortune and splendid accomplishments of the favourite had taken entire possession of her soul: and she thought that, so long as she refused to consummate her marriage with Essex, she could never be deemed his wife; consequently, that a separation and divorce might still open the way to a new marriage with her beloved Rochester. He himself was of the same opinion, and also desirous of such an union. Paradoxical as it may seem, though the violence of their passion was such, that they had already indulged themselves in all the gratifications of love, and though they had frequent opportunity of intercourse, they yet found themselves unhappy, because the tie between them was not indissoluble, and seem both to have been alike impatient to crown their attachment with the sanction of the church. A divorce was accordingly procured, through the influence of the king, and the co-operation of Essex; and, in order to preserve the countess from losing any rank by her new marriage, Rochester was created earl of Somerset.⁽²⁾

This amour and its consequences afford an awful lesson on the fatal effects of licentious love; but at the same time prove, that vice is less dangerous than folly in the intercourse of the sexes, when connected with the intrigues of a court. Though sir Thomas Overbury, without any scruple, had encouraged his friend's passion for the countess of Essex, while he considered it merely as an affair of gallantry, his prudence was alarmed at the idea of marriage. And he represented to Rochester, not only how invidious and difficult an undertaking it would prove to get her divorced from her husband, but how shameful it would be to take to his own bed a profligate woman, who, although married to a young nobleman of the first rank, had not scrupled to prostitute her character, and bestow her favours on the object of a capricious and momentary impulse; on a lover who she must suppose would desert her on the first variable gust of loose desire.

Rochester was so weak as to reveal this conversation to the countess, and so base as to enter into her vindictive views; to swear vengeance against his friend, for the strongest instance he could receive of his fidelity. Some

(1) Kennet.

(2) Franklin. Kennet. *State Trials*, vol. i.

contrivance was necessary for the execution of their diabolical scheme. Overbury's conduct was misrepresented to the king, who granted a warrant for committing him to the Tower; where he lay till the divorce was procured, and Rochester's marriage with the countess celebrated. Nor did this success, or the misery of the prisoner, who was debarred the sight even of his nearest relations, satisfy the vengeance of that violent woman. She engaged her husband and her uncle, the earl of Northampton, in the atrocious design of taking off Overbury by poison;(1) and they, in conjunction with sir Jervis Elvis, lieutenant of the Tower, at length effected their cruel purpose.

Though the precipitation with which Overbury's funeral was hurried over immediately bred a strong suspicion of the cause of his death, the full proof of the crime was not brought to light till some years after; when it was discovered by means of an apothecary's servant, who had been employed in making up the poisons, and the whole labyrinth of guilt distinctly traced to its source.(2)

But although Somerset had so long escaped the inquiry of justice, he had not escaped the scrutiny of conscience, which continually pointed to him his murdered friend; and even within the circle of a court, amid the blandishments of flattery and of love, struck him with the representation of his secret enormity, and diffused over his mind a deep melancholy, which was neither to be dispelled by the smiles of beauty nor the rays of royal favour. The graces of his person gradually disappeared, and his gaiety and politeness were lost in sullenness and silence.

The king, whose affections had been caught by these superficial accomplishments, finding his favourite no longer contribute to his amusement, and unable to account for so remarkable a change, more readily listened to the accusations brought against him. A rigorous inquiry was ordered; and Somerset and his countess were found guilty, but pardoned through the indiscreet lenity of James. They languished out their remaining years, which were many and miserable, in infamy and obscurity; alike hated and hated by each other.(3) Sir Jervis Elvis and the inferior criminals suffered the punishment due to their guilt.

LETTER II.

England and Scotland, from the Rise of Buckingham to the Death of James I. in 1625.

THE fall of Somerset, and his banishment from court, opened the way for a new favourite to rise at once to the highest honours. George Villiers, an English gentleman, of an engaging figure, and in all the bloom of twenty-one, had already attracted the eye of James; and, at the intercession of the queen, had been appointed cup-bearer.(4) This office, so happily suited to youth and beauty, but which, when they become the cause of peculiar favour, revives in the mind certain Grecian allusions, might well have contented Villiers, and have attached him to the king's person; nor would such a choice have been censured, except by the cynically severe.(5) But the profuse bounty of James induced him, in the course of a few years, contrary to all the rules of prudence and politics, to create his minion viscount Villiers, earl, marquis, and duke of Buckingham, knight of the Garter, master of the

(1) *State Trials*, vol. i.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) *Kennet*.

(4) *Rushworth*, vol. i.

(5) James, who affected sagacity and design in his most trifling concerns, insisted, we are told, on the ceremony of the queen's soliciting this office for Villiers, as an apology to the world for his sudden predilection in favour of that young gentleman. *Coke*, p. 46.

horse, chief justice in Eyre, warden of the Cinque Ports, master of the King's Bench, steward of Westminster, constable of Windsor, and lord high admiral of England.(1)

This rapid advancement of Villiers, which rendered him for ever rash and insolent, involved the king in new necessities, in order to supply the extravagance of his minion. A price had been already affixed to every rank of nobility, and the title of Baronet invented, and currently sold for one thousand pounds, to supply the profusion of Somerset.(2) Some new expedient must now be suggested; and one very unpopular, though certainly less disgraceful than the former, was embraced; the cautionary towns were delivered up to the Dutch for a sum of money. These towns, as I have formerly had occasion to notice,(3) were the Brill, Flushing, and Ramakins; three important places, which Elizabeth had got consigned into her hands by the United Provinces, on entering into war with Spain, as a security for the repayment of the money which she might disburse on their account. Part of the debt, which at one time amounted to eight hundred thousand pounds, was already discharged; and the remainder, after making an allowance for the annual expense of the garrisons, was agreed to be paid on the surrender of the fortresses.(4) This seems to have been all that impartial justice could demand, yet the English nation was highly dissatisfied with the transaction; and it must be owned, that a politic prince would have been slow in relinquishing possessions, on whatever conditions obtained, which enabled him to hold in a degree of subjection so considerable a neighbouring state as the republic of Holland.

The next measure in which James engaged rendered him as unpopular in Scotland as he was already in England. It was an attempt to establish a conformity in worship and discipline between the churches of the two kingdoms; a project which he had long held in contemplation, and toward the completion of which he had taken some introductory steps. But the principal part of the business was reserved till the king should pay a visit to his native country. Such a journey he now undertook. This naturally leads us to consider the affairs of Scotland.

It might have been readily foreseen by the Scots, when the crown of England devolved upon James, that the independency of their kingdom, for which their ancestors had shed so much blood, would thenceforth be lost; and that, if both kingdoms persevered in maintaining separate laws and parliaments, the weaker must feel its inferiority more sensibly than if it had been subdued by force of arms. But this idea did not generally occur to the Scottish nobles, formerly so jealous of the power as well as of the prerogatives of their princes; and as James was daily giving new proofs of his friendship and partiality to his countrymen, by loading them with riches and honours, the hope of his favour concurred with the dread of his power in taming their fierce and independent spirits. The will of their sovereign became the supreme law in Scotland. Meanwhile the nobles, left in full possession of their feudal jurisdiction over their own vassals, exhausting their fortunes by the expense of frequent attendance upon the English court, and by attempts to imitate the manners and luxury of their more wealthy neighbours, multiplied exactions upon the people; who durst hardly utter complaints, which they knew would never reach the ear of their sovereign, or be rendered too feeble to move him to grant them redress.(5) Thus subjected at once to the absolute will of a monarch, and to the oppressive

(1) Franklin, p. 30. Clarendon, vol. i.

(2) Ibid. p. 11.

(3) Part I. Let. LXIX.

(4) Winwood, vol. ii. Rushworth, vol. i. Mrs. Macaulay thinks Elizabeth acted very ungenerously in demanding any thing from the Dutch for the assistance she lent them: "It ought, by all the obligations of virtue, to have been a free gift." (*Hist. Eng.* vol. i.) That the English queen took advantage of the necessities of the infant republic, to obtain possession of the cautionary towns, is certain; and the Dutch, now become more opulent, took advantage of James's necessities to get them back again. Justice and generosity were in both cases, as in most transactions between nations, entirely out of the question.

(5) Robertson, *Hist. Scot.* vol. ii. Hume, *Hist. Eng.* vol. vi.

jurisdiction of an aristocracy, Scotland suffered all the miseries peculiar to both these forms of government. Its kings were despots, its nobles were slaves and tyrants, and the people groaned under the rigorous domination of both. (1)

There was one privilege, however, which the Scottish nobility in general, and the great body of the people, were equally zealous in protecting against the encroachments of the crown, namely, the independency of their church or kirk. The cause of this zeal deserves to be traced.

Divines are divided in regard to the government of the primitive church. It appears, however, to have been that of the most perfect equality among the Christian teachers, who were distinguished by the name of Presbyters; an appellation expressive of their gravity and wisdom, as well as of their age. But the most perfect equality of freedom requires the directing hand of a superior magistrate. Soon made sensible of this by experience, the primitive Christians were induced to choose one of the wisest and most holy among their Presbyters, to execute the duties of an ecclesiastical governor: and, in order to avoid the trouble and confusion of annual or occasional elections, his office continued during life, unless in cases of degradation, on account of irregularity of conduct. His jurisdiction consisted in the administration of the sacraments and discipline of the church; in the superintendency of religious ceremonies, which imperceptibly increased in number and variety; in the consecration of Christian teachers, to whom the ecclesiastical governor or bishop assigned their respective functions; in the management of the public funds, and in the determination of all such differences as the faithful were unwilling to expose to the Heathen world. (2) Hence the origin of the episcopal hierarchy, which rose to such an enormous height under the Christian emperors and Roman pontiffs.

When the enormities of the church of Rome, by rousing the indignation of the enlightened part of mankind, had called forth a spirit of reformation, that abhorrence excited by the vices of the clergy was soon transferred to their persons; and thence, by no violent transition, to the offices which they enjoyed. It may therefore be presumed, that the same holy fervour which abolished the doctrines of the Romish church, would also have overturned its ecclesiastical government, in every country where the Reformation was received, unless restrained by the civil power. In England, in great part of Germany, and in the Northern kingdoms, such restraint was imposed on it by the policy of their princes; so that the ancient episcopal jurisdiction, under a few limitations, was retained in the churches of those countries. But in Switzerland and the Netherlands, where the nature of the government allowed full scope to the spirit of reformation, all pre-eminence of rank in the church was destroyed, and an ecclesiastical government established, more suitable to the genius of a republican policy, and to the ideas of the Reformers. This system, which has since been called *Presbyterian*, was formed upon the model of the primitive church.

It ought, however, to be remarked, that the genius of the reformers, as well as the spirit of the Reformation and the civil polity, had a share in the establishment of the Presbyterian system. Zuinglius and Calvin, the apostles of Switzerland, were men of a more austere turn of mind than Luther, whose doctrines were generally embraced in England, Germany, and the North of Europe, where episcopacy still prevails. The church of Geneva, formed under the eye of Calvin, and by his direction, was esteemed the most perfect model of Presbyterian government; and Knox, the apostle of Scotland, who, during his residence in that city, had studied and admired it, warmly recom-

(1) Before the accession of James I. to the throne of England, the feudal aristocracy subsisted in full force in Scotland. Then the vassals both of the king and of the nobles, from mutual jealousy, were courted and caressed by their superiors, whose power and importance depended on their attachment and fidelity. Robertson, *Hist. Scot.* vol. ii.

(2) See Mosheim's *Ecclesiastical History*, cent. i, ii. and Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, lib. vii. et seq. A bishop, during the first and second centuries, was only a president in a council of presbyters, and the head of one Christian assembly; and whenever the episcopal chair became vacant, a new president was chosen from among the Presbyters, by the suffrage of the whole congregation. Mosheim, *ubi supra*.

mended it to the imitation of his countrymen. The Scottish converts, filled with the most violent aversion against popery, and being under no apprehensions from the civil power, which the rage of reformation had humbled, with ardour adopted a system so admirably suited to their predominant passion.(1) Its effects on their minds were truly astonishing, if not altogether præternatural.

A mode of worship, the most naked and simple*imaginable, which, borrowing nothing from the senses, leaves the mind to repose itself entirely on the contemplation of the divine essence, was soon observed to produce great commotions in the breast, and in some instances to confound all rational principles of conduct and behaviour. Straining for those extatic raptures, the supposed operations of that divine spirit by which they imagined themselves to be animated; reaching them by short glances, and sinking again under the weakness of humanity; the first Presbyterians in Scotland were so much occupied in this mental exercise, that they not only rejected the aid of all exterior pomp and ceremony, but fled from every cheerful amusement, and beheld with horror the approach of corporeal delight.(2)

It was this gloomy fanaticism, which had by degrees infected all ranks of men, and introduced a sullen obstinate spirit into the people, that chiefly induced James to think of extending to Scotland the more moderate and cheerful religion of the church of England. He had early experienced the insolence of the Presbyterian clergy; who, under the appearance of poverty and sanctity, and a zeal for the glory of God, and the safety and purity of the kirk, had concealed the most dangerous censorial and inquisitorial powers, which they sometimes exercised with all the arrogance of a Roman consistory.

In 1596, when James, by the advice of a convention of estates, had granted permission to Huntley, Errol, and other Catholic noblemen, who had been banished the realm, to return to their own houses, on giving security for their peaceable and dutiful behaviour, a committee of the general assembly of the kirk had the audacity to write circular letters to all the Presbyteries in Scotland, commanding them to publish in all their pulpits, an act of excommunication against the popish lords, and enjoining them to lay all those who were suspected of favouring popery under the same censure by a summary sentence, and without observing the usual formalities of trial!(3) On this occasion one of the Presbyterian ministers declared from the pulpit, that the king, in permitting the popish lords to return, had discovered the treachery of his own heart; that all kings were the devil's children, and that Satan had now the guidance of the court!(4) Another affirmed, in the principal church of the capital, that the king was possessed of a devil, and that his subjects might lawfully rise, and take the sword out of his hand!(5)

In consequence of these inflammatory speeches and audacious proceedings, the citizens of Edinburgh rose, and surrounding the house in which the Court of Session was sitting, and where the king happened to be present, demanded some of his counsellors, whom they named, that they might tear them in pieces. On his refusal, some called, "Bring out the wicked Haman!" while others cried, "The sword of the Lord and of Gideon!" And James was for some time a prisoner in the heart of his own capital, and at the mercy of the enraged populace.(6)

But the king's behaviour on that occasion, which was firm and manly, as well as political, restored him to the good opinion of his subjects in general. The populace dispersed, on his promising to receive their petitions, when presented in a regular form; and this fanatical insurrection, instead of overturning, served only to establish the royal authority. Those concerned in it, as soon as their enthusiastic rage had subsided, were filled with apprehen-

(1) See Part I. Let. LV.

(2) Keith, Kuox.

(3) Robertson, *Hist. Scot.* vol. ii.

(4) *Ibid.*

(5) Spotswood.

(6) Robertson, *Hist. Scot.* book viii. vol. ii.

sion and terror, at the thoughts of insulted majesty: while the body of the people, in order to avoid suspicion, or to gain the favour of their prince, contended who should be most forward to execute his vengeance.(1)

A convention of estates being called in January 1597, pronounced the late insurrection to be high treason; ordained every clergyman to subscribe a declaration of his submission to the king's jurisdiction, in all matters civil and criminal; empowered magistrates to commit instantly to prison any minister, who in his sermons should utter any indecent reflections on the king's conduct, and prohibited any ecclesiastical judicatory to meet without the king's licence.(2) These ordinances were confirmed the same year, by the general assembly of the kirk, which also declared sentences of summary excommunication unlawful, and vested in the crown the right of nominating ministers to the parishes in the principal towns.(3)

These were great and necessary steps; and perhaps James should have proceeded no farther in altering the government or worship of the church of Scotland. But he was not yet satisfied: he longed to bring it nearer to the episcopal model; and, after various struggles, he acquired sufficient influence over the Presbyterian clergy, even before his accession to the crown of England, to get an act passed by their general assembly, declaring those ministers, on whom the king should confer the vacant bishopricks and abbeyes, entitled to a vote in parliament.(4) Nor did he stop here. No sooner was he firmly seated on the English throne, than he engaged them, though with still greater reluctance, to receive the bishops as perpetual presidents, or moderators, in their ecclesiastical synods.

The abhorrence of the Presbyterian clergy against episcopacy was still, however, very great: nor could all the devices invented for restraining and circumscribing the spiritual jurisdiction of those, who were to be raised to these new honours, or the hope of sharing them, allay their jealousy and fear.(5) James was therefore sensible, that he never could establish a conformity in worship and discipline, between the churches of England and Scotland, until he could procure from the Scottish parliament an acknowledgment of his own supremacy in all ecclesiastical causes. This was the principal object of his visit to his native country: where he proposed to the great council of the nation, which was then assembled, that an act might be passed, declaring that "whatever his majesty should determine in regard to the external government of the church, with the consent of the archbishops, bishops, and a competent number of the ministers, should have the force of a law." (6)

Had this bill received the sanction of parliament, the king's ecclesiastical government would have been established in its full extent; as it was not determined what number of the clergy should be deemed competent, and their nomination was left entirely to himself. Some of them protested: they apprehended, they said, that, by means of this new authority, the purity of their church would be polluted with all the rites and forms of the church of England; and James, dreading clamour and opposition, dropped his favourite measure. He was able, however, next year, to extort a vote from the general assembly of the kirk, for receiving certain ceremonies upon which his heart was more particularly set; namely, kneeling at the sacrament, the private administration of it to sick persons, the confirmation of children, and the observance of Christmas and other festivals.(7) Thus, by an ill-timed zeal for insignificant forms, the king betrayed, though in an opposite man-

(1) Robertson, *Hist Scot.* book viii. vol. ii.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) Spotswood, p. 433.

(4) Spotswood, p. 450.

(5) Perhaps the Presbyterian clergy might have been less obstinate in rejecting James's scheme of uniformity, had any prospect remained of recovering the patrimony of the church. But that, they knew, had been torn in pieces by the rapacious nobility and gentry, and at their own instigation: so that all hope of a restitution of church-lands was cut off; and without such restitution, the ecclesiastical dignities could scarcely become the object of the ambition of a rational mind.

(6) Spotswood. Franklin.

(7) *Id. ibid.*

ner, an equal narrowness of mind with the Presbyterian clergy, whom he affected to hold in contempt. The constrained consent of the general assembly was belied by the inward sentiments of all ranks of people: even the few, over whom religious prejudices have less influence, thought national honour sacrificed by a servile imitation of the modes of worship practised in England.(1)

A series of unpopular measures conspired to increase that odium, into which James had now fallen in both kingdoms, and which continued to the end of his reign. The first of these was the execution of sir Walter Raleigh.

This extraordinary man, who suggested the first idea of the English colonies in North America, and who had attempted, as early as the year 1586, a settlement in the country now known by the name of North Carolina, then considered as part of Virginia, had also made a voyage, in 1595, to Guiana, in South America. The extravagant account which he published of the riches of this latter country, where no mines of any value have yet been discovered, has drawn much censure upon his veracity: particularly his description of the apparently fabulous empire and city of Manoa or Eldorado, the sovereign of which he conjectures possessed more treasure than the Spaniards had drawn from both Mexico and Peru.(2)

Raleigh's motive for uttering these splendid falsities seems to have been a desire of turning the avidity of his countrymen toward that quarter of the New World where the Spaniards had found the precious metals in such abundance. This, indeed, sufficiently appears from his relation of certain Peruvian prophecies, which expressly pointed out the English as the conquerors and deliverers of that rich country, which he had discovered. As he was known, however, to be a man of a romantic turn of mind, and it did not appear that he had enriched himself by his voyage, little regard seems to have been paid to his narrative either by Elizabeth or the nation. But after he had languished many years in confinement, as a punishment for his conspiracy against James; when the envy excited by his superior talents was laid asleep, and commiseration awakened for his unhappy condition; a report which he propagated of a wonderfully rich gold mine that he formerly had discovered in Guiana obtained universal belief. People of all ranks were impatient to take possession of a country overflowing with the precious metals, and to which the nation was supposed to have a right by priority of discovery.

The king, by his own account, gave little credit to this report, not only because he believed there was no such mine in nature as the one described, but because he considered Raleigh as a man of desperate fortune, whose business it was by any means to procure his freedom, and reinstate himself in credit and authority.(3) Thinking, however, that he had already undergone sufficient punishment, James ordered him to be released from the Tower: and when the hopes held out to the nation had induced multitudes to adopt his views, the king gave him permission to pursue the projected enterprise, and vested him with authority over his fellow-adventurers; but being still diffident of his intentions, he refused to grant him a pardon, that he might have some check upon his future conduct.(4)

The preparations made, in consequence of this commission, alarmed Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador; and although Raleigh protested the innocence of his intentions, and James urged his royal prohibition against invading any of the settlements of his Catholic majesty, that minister conveyed to his court intelligence of the expedition, and his apprehensions from it. Twelve armed vessels, he justly concluded, could not be fitted out without some purpose of hostility; and as Spain was then the only European power that had possessions in that part of America to which this fleet was destined, orders were given by the court of Madrid for fortifying all its settlements on or near the coast of Guiana.

(1) Hume, chap. xlvii.

(2) See his *Relat.* in Hackluyt's *Collect.*

(3) King James's *Vindication*, in the *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. iii. No. 2.

(4) *Ibid.*

It soon appeared that this precaution was not unnecessary. Though Raleigh's commission empowered him only to settle on a coast possessed by savage and barbarous inhabitants, he steered his course directly for the river Oronoco, where he knew there was a Spanish town named St. Thomas; and, without any provocation, sent a detachment, under his son and his old associate captain Keymis, who had accompanied him in his former voyage, to dislodge the Spaniards, and take possession of that town; while he himself, with the larger vessels, guarded the mouth of the river, in order to obstruct such Spanish ships as should attempt the relief of the place.(1) The Spaniards, apprized of this invasion, opposed the landing of the English; as they had foreseen. Young Raleigh was killed by a shot, while animating his followers: Keymis, however, and his surviving companions, not dismayed by the unfortunate accident, took, plundered, and burnt St. Thomas; but found in it no booty any way adequate to their expectations.(2)

It might have been expected, that these bold adventurers, having overcome all opposition, would now have gone in quest of the gold mine, the great object of their enterprise, as Keymis was said to be as well, if not better, acquainted with it than Raleigh. But, although that officer affirmed he was within a few miles of the place, he refused, under the most absurd pretences, to carry his companions thither, or to take any effectual step for again finding it himself. Struck, as it should seem, with the atrocity of his conduct, and with his embarrassing situation, he immediately returned to Raleigh with the sorrowful news of his son's death, and the disappointment of his followers. The interview, it may be conjectured, was not the most agreeable that could have ensued between the parties. Under the strong agitation of mind which it occasioned, Keymis, keenly sensible to reproach, and foreseeing disgrace, if not an ignominious death, as the reward of his violence and imposture, retired into his cabin, and put an end to his life.

The sequel of this delusive and pompous expedition it is still more painful to relate. The adventurers in general now concluded that they were deceived by Raleigh; that the story of the mine had only been invented to afford him a pretext for pillaging St. Thomas, the spoils of which, he hoped, would encourage his followers to proceed to the plunder of other Spanish settlements; that he expected to repair his ruined fortune by such daring enterprises, trusting to the riches he should acquire for obtaining a pardon from James; or if that prospect failed him, that he meant to take refuge in some foreign country, where his wealth would secure him an asylum.(3) The inconsiderable booty gained by the sack of St. Thomas discouraged his followers, however, from embracing these splendid projects, though it appears that he had employed many artifices to engage them in his designs. Besides, they saw a palpable absurdity in a fleet, acting under the sanction of royal authority, committing depredations against the allies of the crown: they therefore thought it safest, whatever might be their inclinations, or how great soever their disappointment, to return immediately to England, and carry their leader along with them to answer for his conduct.

On the examination of Raleigh and his companions, before the privy council, where the foregoing facts were brought to light, it appeared that the king's suspicions, in regard to his intentions, had been well grounded;

(1) All these particulars may be distinctly collected from the king's *Vindication*, and Raleigh's *Apology*.

(2) In apology for this violence, it has been said, that the Spaniards had built the town of St. Thomas in a country originally discovered by Raleigh, and therefore he had a right to dispossess them. Admitting that to be the case, Raleigh could never be excusable in making war without any commission empowering him so to do, much less in invading the Spanish settlements contrary to his commission. But the fact is otherwise: the Spaniards had frequently visited the coast of Guiana before Raleigh touched upon it. Even as early as the year 1499, Alonzo de Ojeda and Americus Vesputius had landed on different places on that coast, and made some excursions up the country (Herrera, dec. i. lib. iv. cap. 1. 2.); and the great Columbus himself had discovered the mouth of the Oronoco some years before. Between three and four hundred Spaniards are said to have been killed by Keymis and his party, at the sacking of St. Thomas. "This is the true mine," said young Raleigh, as he rushed on to the attack;—"and none but fools looked for any other." Howe's *Letters*, vol. ii.

(3) See the King's *Vindication*.

that, contrary to his instructions, he had committed hostilities against the subjects of his majesty's ally, the king of Spain, and had wilfully burned and destroyed a town belonging to that prince; so that he might have been tried either by common law for this act of violence, or by martial law for breach of orders. But it was the opinion of the crown-lawyers, as we learn from Bacon,⁽¹⁾ that as Raleigh still lay under an actual attainder for high-treason, he could not be brought to a new trial for any other crime. James, therefore, in order to satisfy the court of Madrid, which was very clamorous on this occasion, signed the warrant for his execution upon his former sentence.

Raleigh's behaviour, since his return, had hitherto been beneath the dignity of his character. He had counterfeited madness, sickness, and a variety of distempers, in order to protract his examination, and enable him to procure the means of his escape. But finding his fate inevitable, he now collected all his courage, and met death with the most heroic indifference. Feeling the edge of the axe with which he was to be beheaded, "'Tis a sharp remedy," said he, "but a sure one for all ills!"⁽²⁾ then calmly laid his head on the block, and received the fatal blow.

Of all the transactions of a reign distinguished by public discontent, this was perhaps the most odious. Men of every condition were filled with indignation against the court. Even such as acknowledged the justice of Raleigh's punishment, blamed the measure. They thought it cruel to execute a sentence, originally severe, and tacitly pardoned, which had been so long suspended; and they considered it as mean and impolitic, even though a new trial had been instituted, to sacrifice to a concealed enemy of England the only man in the kingdom whose reputation was high for valour and military experience.

Unhappily for James, the intimate connexions which he was endeavouring to form with Spain, in themselves disgusting to the nation, increased the public dissatisfaction. Gondomar, ambassador from the court of Madrid, a man capable of the most artful flattery, and no stranger to the king's hereditary pride, had proposed a match between the prince of Wales and the second daughter of his Catholic majesty; and in order to render the temptation irresistible to the English monarch, whose necessities were well known, he gave hopes of an immense fortune with the Spanish princess. Allured by the prospect of that alliance, James, it has been affirmed, was not only induced to bring Raleigh to the block, but to abandon the elector Palatine, his son-in-law, and the Protestant interest in Germany, to the ambition of the house of Austria. This latter suspicion completed the odium occasioned by the former, and roused the attention of parliament.

We have formerly had occasion to observe⁽³⁾ in what manner Frederic V. elector Palatine, was induced, by the persecuted Protestants, to accept the crown of Bohemia, contrary to the advice of the king of England, his father-in-law; and how he was chased from that kingdom, and stripped of all his hereditary dominions, by the power of the emperor Ferdinand I. supported by the Spanish branch of the house of Austria, in spite of the utmost efforts of the Evangelical Union, or Protestant body in Germany, though assisted by the United Provinces. The news of these disasters no sooner reached England than the voice of the nation was loud against the king's inactivity. People of all ranks were on fire to engage in the defence of the distressed Palatine, and rescue their Protestant brethren from the persecutions of the idolatrous Catholics, their implacable and cruel enemies. In this quarrel they would cheerfully have marched to the extremity of Europe, have inconsiderately plunged themselves into a chaos of German politics, and freely have expended the blood and treasure of the kingdom. They therefore regarded James's neutrality as a base desertion of the cause of God and of his holy religion: not reflecting, that their interference in the

(1) See *Original Letters*, &c. published by Dr. Birch, p. 181.

(2) Franklin.

(3) Part I. Letter LXXIV.

wars on the continent, however agreeable to pious zeal, could not be justified on any sound maxims of policy.

The king's ideas, relative to this matter, were not more liberal than those of his subjects; but happily, for once, they were more friendly to the welfare of the nation. Shocked at the revolt of a people against their prince, he refused, on that account, to patronise the Bohemian Protestants, or to bestow on his son-in-law the title of king;(1) although he owned that he had not examined their pretensions, privileges, or constitution.(2) To have withdrawn their allegiance from their sovereign, under whatever circumstances, was, in his eyes, an enormous crime, and a sufficient reason for denying them any support; as if subjects must be ever in the wrong, when they stand in opposition to those who have acquired or assumed authority over them, how much soever that authority may have been abused!

The Spanish match is likewise allowed to have had some influence upon the political sentiments of James, on this occasion. He flattered himself that, in consequence of his son's marriage with the infanta, and the intimate connexions it would form between England and Spain, besides other advantages, the restitution of the Palatinate might be procured from motives of mere friendship. The principal members of the House of Commons, however, thought very differently: that projected marriage was the great object of their terror. They saw no good that could result from it, but were apprehensive of a multitude of evils, which, as the guardians of public liberty and general happiness, they thought it their duty to prevent. They accordingly framed a remonstrance to the king, representing the enormous growth of the Austrian power, become dangerous to the liberties of Europe, and the alarming progress of the Catholic religion in England: And they intreated his majesty instantly to take arms in defence of the Palatine; to turn his sword against Spain, whose treasures were the chief support of the Catholic interest over Europe; and to exclude all hope of the toleration or re-establishment of popery in the kingdom, by entering into no negotiation for the marriage of his son Charles, but with a Protestant princess. Yet more effectually to extinguish that idolatrous worship, they requested that the fines and confiscations to which the Catholics were subject, by law, should be levied with the utmost rigour; and that the children of such as refused to conform to the established worship should be taken from their parents, and committed to the care of Protestant divines and schoolmasters.(3)

Inflamed with indignation at hearing of these instructions, which militated against all his favourite maxims of government, James instantly wrote to the Speaker of the House of Commons, commanding him to admonish the members, in his majesty's name, not to *presume to meddle* with any thing that *regarded his government*, or with deep matters of state, as above their reach and capacity; and especially not to touch on his son's marriage with a daughter of Spain, nor to attack the honour of that king, or any other of his friends and confederates.(4) Conscious of their strength and popularity, the commons were rather roused than intimidated by this imperious letter. Along with a new remonstrance they returned the former, which had been withdrawn; and maintained, that they were entitled to *interpose* with their *counsel in all matters of government*; and that entire freedom of speech, in their debates on public business, was their *ancient and undoubted right*, and an *inheritance* transmitted to them *from their ancestors*.(5)

The king's reply was keen and ready. He told the house, that their remonstrance was more like a denunciation of war than an address of dutiful and loyal subjects; that their pretension to inquire into all state affairs, without exception, was a *plenipotence* to which none of their ancestors, even during the weakest reigns, had ever dared to aspire: and he closed his an-

(1) Rushworth, vol. i.

(2) It was a very dangerous precedent, he said, against all Christian kings, to allow the translation of a crown by the people. Franklin, p. 48.

(3) Rushworth, vol. i.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Rushworth, ubi sup. See also Franklin and Kennet.

answer with the following memorable words, which discover a very considerable share of political sagacity: "Although we cannot allow of your style, in mentioning your *ancient and undoubted right and inheritance*, but would rather have wished, that ye had said, that your privileges were derived from the grace and permission of our ancestors and us (for the most of them grew from precedents, which shew rather a toleration than inheritance); yet we are pleased to give you our royal assurance, that as long as you contain yourselves within the limits of your duty, we will be as careful to maintain and preserve your lawful liberties and privileges as ever any of our predecessors were, nay as to preserve our own royal prerogative."⁽¹⁾

Alarmed at this dangerous insinuation, that their privileges were derived from royal favour, the commons framed a protest, in which they opposed pretension to pretension, and declared, "That the *liberties, franchises, privileges, and jurisdictions of parliament*, are the *ancient and undoubted birth-right and inheritance of the subjects of England*, and that the arduous and urgent affairs concerning the *king, state, and defence of the realm, and of the church of England*, and the *maintenance and making of laws, and redress of grievances*, which daily happen within this realm, are proper subjects, and matter of *counsel or debate*, in parliament; and that in the handling and proceeding on these businesses, every member of the house of parliament hath, and of right ought to have, *freedom of speech* to propound, treat, reason, and bring to conclusion the same."⁽²⁾

Thus, my dear Philip, was fully opened, between the king and parliament, the grand dispute concerning Privilege and Prerogative, which gave birth to the *Court and Country Parties*, and which so long occupied the tongues, the pens, and even swords, of the most able and active men in the nation. Without entering deeply into this dispute (of which you must make yourself master by consulting the controversial writers), or taking side with either party, it may be observed, that if our ancestors, from the violent invasion of William the Norman to the period of which we are treating, did not enjoy so perfect, or perhaps so extensive a system of liberty, as since the Revolution, in 1688, they were at no time *legally* subject to the rule of an absolute sovereign; and that, although the victorious arms and insidious policy of a foreign and hostile prince obliged them, in the hour of misfortune, to submit to his ambitious sway, and to the tyrannical laws which he afterward thought proper to impose upon the nation, the spirit of liberty was never extinguished in the breasts of Englishmen. They still looked back, with admiration and regret, to their independent condition under their native princes, and to the unlimited freedom of their Saxon forefathers; and, as soon as circumstances would permit, they compelled their princes, of the Norman line, to restore to them the most essential of their former laws, privileges, and immunities. These *original rights*, as we have seen, were repeatedly confirmed to them by *charter*; and if they were also frequently violated by encroaching princes, those violations ought never to be pleaded as precedents, every such violation being a flagrant act of injustice and perjury, as every king, by his coronation oath, was solemnly bound to maintain the national charters. Nor did the people, keenly sensible to those injuries and insults, fail to avenge themselves as often as in their power, on the invaders of their liberties, or to take new measures for their future security.

This much is certain. But, whether the commons were at first admitted into parliament through the indulgence of the prince, or in consequence of an original right to sit there, and what they claimed as their constitutional province, are matters of more intricacy, and less moment. That subject, however, I have had occasion to consider in deducing the effects of the Norman revolution, and in tracing the progress of society in Europe.⁽³⁾ It

(1) Franklin. Rushworth.

(2) Rushworth, vol. i.

(3) Part I. Let. XXIII. and XXX.

hands, until security was given for the full restitution of the Palatinate.(1) The king of Spain understood this language. He was acquainted with Buckingham's disgust, and had expected that the violent disposition, and unbounded influence of that favourite, would leave nothing unattempted to embroil the two nations. Resolved, however, to demonstrate to all Europe the sincerity of his intentions, and to throw the blame where it was due, he delivered into Bristol's hands a written promise, binding himself to procure the restoration of the elector Palatine. And when he found that this concession gave no satisfaction to the court of England, he ordered the infant to lay aside the title of Princess of Wales, which she had borne after the arrival of the dispensation from Rome, and to drop the study of the English language; commanding, at the same time, preparations for war to be made throughout all his extensive dominions.(2)

Bristol, who, during Charles's residence in Spain, had always opposed, though unsuccessfully, his own wise and well tempered councils to the impetuous measures suggested by Buckingham; and who, even after the prince's departure, had strenuously insisted on the sincerity of the Spaniards in the conduct of the treaty, as well as on the advantages which England must reap from the completion of it; was enraged to find his successful labours rendered abortive by the levities and caprices of an insolent minion. But he was not surprised to hear that the favourite had afterward declared himself his open enemy, and thrown out many injurious reflections against him, both before the council and parliament. Conscious, however, of his own innocence, Bristol prepared to leave Madrid on the first order to that purpose; although the Catholic king, sorry that this minister's enemies should have so far prevailed as to infuse prejudices into his master and his country against a servant who had so faithfully discharged his duty to both, entreated him to fix his residence in Spain, where he should enjoy all the advantages of rank and fortune, rather than expose himself to the inveterate malice of his rival, and the ungovernable fury of the English populace.

Bristol's reply was truly magnanimous. While he expressed the utmost gratitude for that princely offer, he thought himself obliged, he said, to decline it; that nothing would more confirm all the calumnies of his enemies than remaining at Madrid; and that the highest dignity in the Spanish monarchy would be but a poor compensation for the loss of that honour, which he must endanger by such exaltation. Charmed with this answer, which increased still farther his esteem for the English ambassador, Philip begged him at least to accept a present of ten thousand ducats, which might be requisite for his support, until he could dissipate the calumnies of his enemies; assuring him at the same time, that his compliance should for ever remain a secret to all the world, and could never come to the knowledge of his master. "There is one person," replied the generous nobleman, "who must necessarily know it: he is the earl of Bristol, who will certainly reveal it to the king of England!"(3)

The king of England was unworthy of such a servant. Bristol, on his return, was immediately committed to the Tower. In vain did he demand an opportunity of justifying himself, and of laying his whole conduct before his master. Buckingham and the prince of Wales were inexorable, unless he would acknowledge his misconduct; a proposal which his high spirit rejected with disdain. After being released from confinement, he was therefore ordered to retire to his country seat, and to abstain from all attendance in parliament.(4)

(1) Rushworth, vol. i. Kennet, p. 776.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Franklin p. 86.

(4) Rushworth, vol. i. James perhaps is more to be pitied than blamed for his ungenerous treatment of Bristol, after his return. Supported by the prince of Wales, as well as by the popular party in parliament, Buckingham exercised the most cruel despotism over the king, always timid, and now in the decline of life. Yet when Buckingham insisted on Bristol's signing a confession of his misconduct, as the only means of regaining favour at court, James had the spirit, and the equity to say, that it was "an horrible tyranny to make an innocent man declare himself guilty." Id. *ibid.*

In consequence of the rupture with Spain, and the hostile disposition in the parliament, an alliance was entered into, as we have formerly had occasion to notice, (1) between France and England, in conjunction with the United Provinces, for restraining the ambition of the house of Austria, and recovering the Palatinate. A treaty of marriage was about the same time negotiated between the prince of Wales and Henrietta of France, sister to Lewis XIII. and daughter of Henry IV. an accomplished princess, whom Charles had seen and admired in his way to Madrid, and who retained, during his whole life, a dangerous ascendancy over him, by means of his too tender and affectionate heart. (2)

This match was highly agreeable to James; who, although well acquainted with the antipathy of his subjects against any alliance with Catholics, still persevered in a romantic opinion, suggested by hereditary pride, that his son would be degraded by receiving into his bed a princess of less than royal extraction. (3) He did not live, however, to see the celebration of the nuptials; but died in the fifty-ninth year of his age, soon after the failure of the expedition under count Mansfeldt, for the recovery of the Palatinate, which I have formerly had occasion to mention, in treating of the affairs of Germany. (4)

That James was contemptible as a monarch must perhaps be allowed; but that he was so as a man, can by no means be admitted. His disposition was friendly, his temper benevolent, and his humour gay. He possessed a considerable share of both learning and abilities, but wanted that vigour of mind, and dignity of manner, which are essential to form a respectable sovereign. His spirit, rather than his understanding, was weak; and the loftiness of his pretensions, contrasted with the smallness of his kingly power, only perhaps could have exposed him to ridicule, notwithstanding the ungracefulness of his person, and the gross familiarity of his conversation. His turn of mind inclined him to promote the arts, both useful and ornamental; and that peace which he loved, and so timidly courted, was favourable to industry and commerce. It may therefore be confidently affirmed, that in no preceding period of the English monarchy was there a more sensible increase of all the advantages which distinguish a flourishing people than during the reign of this despised prince.

Of six legitimate children, borne to him by Anne of Denmark, James left only one son, Charles I. now in the twenty-fifth year of his age; and one daughter, Elizabeth, married to the elector Palatine.—We must carry forward the history of our own island, my dear Philip, to the unhappy catastrophe of Charles, before we return to the affairs of the continent.

LETTER III.

England, from the Accession of Charles I. to the Assassination of the Duke of Buckingham, in 1628.

As Charles and Buckingham, by breaking off the Spanish match, and engaging the nation in a war for the recovery of the Palatinate, had acquired

(1) Part I. Let. LXXIV.

(2) A secret passion for this princess had perhaps induced Charles, unknown to himself, to listen to the arguments of Buckingham, for breaking off the Spanish match: And if Buckingham had discovered that passion, he would not fail to make use of it for accomplishing his purpose. Such a supposition forms the best apology for Charles's conduct in regard to the infants.

(3) Rushworth, vol. i.

(4) Part I. Let. LXXIV. The troops under Mansfeldt's command, consisting of twelve thousand foot, and two thousand horse, were embarked at Dover; but sailing over to Calais, he found no orders yet arrived for their admission. After waiting in vain for such orders, he judged it necessary to sail towards Zealand; where the troops were again detained, as proper measures had not been taken for their debarkation. Meanwhile a pestilential distemper had crept in among the English soldiers, so long cooped up in narrow vessels. One half of the men died while on board; and the other half, weakened by sickness, appeared too feeble a body to march into the Palatinate. Rushworth, vol. i.

Franklin, p. 104.

the favour of the popular party in the House of Commons, the young king was eager to meet the representative body of his people, that he might have an opportunity of showing himself to them in his new character, and of receiving a testimony of their dutiful attachment. Thus confident of the affection of his subjects, and not doubting but the parliament would afford him a liberal and voluntary supply, he employed no intrigue to influence the votes of the members. In his speech from the throne he slightly mentioned the exigencies of the state, but would not suffer the officers of the crown, who had seats in the house, to name or solicit any particular sum; he left the whole to the generosity of the commons. But the commons had no generosity for Charles. Never was prince more deceived by placing confidence in any body of men. Though they knew that he was loaded with a large debt, contracted by his father; that he was engaged in a difficult and expensive war with the whole house of Austria; that this war was the result of their own importunate solicitations and entreaties; and that they had solemnly engaged to yield the necessary supplies for the support of it;—in order to answer all these great and important ends, and demonstrate their affection to their young sovereign, they granted him only two subsidies, amounting to about a hundred and twelve thousand pounds.(1)

The causes of this excessive parsimony deserve to be traced. It is in vain to say, that war, during the feudal times, being supported by men, not money, the commons were not yet accustomed to open their purses. They must have been sensible, that the feudal militia being now laid aside, naval and military enterprises could not be conducted without money; especially as the heads of the country party, sir Edward Coke, sir Edwin Sandys, sir Robert Philips, sir Francis Seymour, sir Dudley Digges, sir John Elliot, sir Thomas Wentworth, Mr. Selden, and Mr. Pym, were men of great talents and enlarged views. We must therefore look deeper for the motives of this cruel mockery of their young king, on his first appearance in parliament, and when his necessities, and the honour, if not the interests of the nation, called for the most liberal supply.

These enlightened patriots, animated with a warm love of liberty, saw with regret a too extensive authority exercised by the crown, and, regardless of former precedents, were determined to seize the opportunity which the present crisis might afford them of restraining the royal prerogative within more reasonable bounds, and of securing the privileges of the people by firmer and more precise barriers than the constitution had hitherto provided for them. They accordingly resolved to grant no supplies to their necessitous prince, without extorting proportional concessions in favour of civil liberty. and how ungenerous soever such a conduct might seem, they conceived that it was fully justified by the beneficent end they had in view. The means were regular and constitutional. To grant or refuse supplies was the undoubted privilege of the commons; and as all human governments, but especially those of a mixed kind, are in continual fluctuation, it was, in their opinion, as natural and allowable for popular assemblies to take advantage of favourable conjunctures, in order to secure the rights of the subject, as for sovereigns to make use of such occasions, in order to extend the royal authority.

Beside these general arguments, the commons had reasons of a particular and personal nature, which induced them to be sparing in their aids to the crown. Though Buckingham, in order to screen himself from the resentment of James, who was enraged at his breaking off the Spanish match, had affected popularity, and entered into cabals with the Puritans, they were always doubtful of his sincerity. Now secure of the confidence of Charles, he had realised their suspicions, by abandoning them; and was, on that account, the distinguished object of their hatred, as well as of their fears. They saw, with terror and concern, the whole power of administration grasped by his ambitious hand; while he governed his master by a more absolute ascendant than he had ever held over the late king, and possessed

(1) *Cabals*, p. 224

in his single person the most considerable offices of the state. The rest were chiefly occupied by his numerous flatterers and dependents, whom his violent temper prompted him to raise suddenly to the highest point of elevation, and to throw down, on the least occasion of displeasure, with equal impetuosity and violence. Disgusted with the failure of the expedition under Mansfeldt, the commons were of opinion that such a ministry was not to be trusted with the management of a war, how laudable soever its object; for allowing, what was very improbable, that success should attend their measures, the event was no less to be dreaded. A conquering army, in the hands of unprincipled men, might prove as dangerous to freedom as the invasion of a foreign enemy. Religion, at least, would be exposed to the utmost peril; religion, already insulted by the appearance of popish priests in their vestments, and the relaxation of the laws against recusants, in consequence of the alliance with France;(1) and that too at a time when the peace of many an honest mind was disturbed, by being obliged to conform to the more decent ceremonies of the church of England, and when many a bold heart trembled at the sight of a surplice.

Influenced by these reasonings, however justifiable the commons might think their parsimony, it appeared in a very different light to Charles. He at first considered it as spleen against Buckingham, and, as such, ungenerous and cruel; but when he perceived that it proceeded from a purpose of abridging his prerogative, which he thought already too limited, he regarded that purpose as highly criminal. Filled with lofty ideas of monarchical power, an attempt to circumscribe his authority seemed to him little less than a conspiracy against the throne. He therefore speedily re-assembled the parliament, which he had been obliged to adjourn on account of the plague, which at that time raged in London. It met at Oxford; and there the king, laying aside that delicacy which he had hitherto observed, endeavoured to draw from the commons a more liberal supply, by making them fully acquainted with the state of his affairs, with the debts of the crown, the expenses of the war, the steps he had taken, and the engagements into which he had entered for conducting it. But all his arguments, and even intreaties, were employed in vain; the commons remained inexorable. They obstinately refused any farther assistance; though it was known that a fleet and army were lying at Portsmouth in great want of pay and provisions, and that Buckingham and the treasurer of the navy had advanced, on their own credit, near an hundred thousand pounds for the sea service.(2) They answered him only by vexatious petitions and complaints of grievances.

Enraged at such obstinacy, Charles dissolved the parliament, and attempted to raise money by other means. He had recourse to the old expedient of forcing a loan from the subject. For this purpose privy seals were issued; and, by sums so raised, he was enabled, though with difficulty, to equip his fleet. It consisted of eighty sail, including transports, and carried an army of ten thousand men, destined to act as occasion might require. The chief command was entrusted to lord viscount Wimbledon, lately sir Edward Cecil, one of Buckingham's creatures. He sailed directly for Cadiz, and found the bay full of Spanish ships of great value; yet these, through misconduct, were suffered to escape. The troops were landed, and a fort was taken. But that being found of small consequence, and an epidemical distemper having broke out among the soldiers and sailors, occasioned by the immoderate use of new wine, Wimbledon re-embarked his forces; and after cruising a while off Cape St. Vincent, but without success, in hopes of intercepting the Spanish plate-fleet, he returned to England with his sickly crew, to the great dissatisfaction of the nation.(3)

The failure of an enterprise from which he expected so much treasure obliged Charles again to call a parliament, and lay his necessities before the

(1) A chapel at Somerset-house had been built for the queen and her family, with conveniences thereunto adjoining for Capuchin friars, who had permission to walk abroad in their religious habits. Rushworth, vol. i.

(2) *Parliamentary Hist.* vol. vi. p. 260.

(3) Rushworth, vol. i. Franklin, p. 113.

commons. They immediately voted him three subsidies and three fifteenths, and afterward added one subsidy more; yet the sum was still very inadequate to the exigencies of the state, and little fitted to promote the ambitious views of the young king. But the scantiness of this supply was not the most mortifying circumstance attending it. The commons, in the first instance, only voted it, and reserved, until the end of the session, the power of giving that vote the sanction of a law. In the mean time, under colour of redressing grievances, they proceeded in regulating and controlling every part of government; and it required no deep penetration to perceive, that if the king obstructed their measures, or refused compliance with their demands, that he must expect no aid from parliament. Though Charles expressed great displeasure at this conditional mode of supply, as well as at the political inquiries of the commons, his pressing wants obliged him to submit, and wait with patience the issue of their deliberations.(1)

In order to strike at the root of all their grievances, the commons took a step little expected by the king or his minister. They proceeded to impeach the duke of Buckingham, who had long been odious to the nation, and became more so every day by his arrogant behaviour, the uncontrolled ascendant which he maintained over his master, and the pernicious counsels which he was supposed to have dictated. The uniting of many offices in his person, accepting extensive grants from the crown, and procuring many titles of honour for his kindred—the chief articles of accusation exhibited against him, might perhaps be considered as grievances, and justly inspired with resentment such as thought they had a right to share in the honours and employments of the state, but could not, in the eye of the law, be considered as sufficient grounds for an impeachment. Charles, therefore, thinking the duke's whole guilt consisted in being his friend and favourite, rashly resolved to support him at all hazards, regardless of the fate of the conditional supply, or the clamour of the public.(2)

The lord-keeper, in the king's name, accordingly commanded the commons not to meddle with his minister and servant, Buckingham. A message was also sent them, that, if they did not speedily furnish his majesty with supplies, he would be obliged to try new counsels. They went on, however, with their impeachment of the duke; though sir John Elliot and sir Dudley Digges, two of the members who had been employed to conduct it, were sent to the Tower. And the majority of the house, after this insult, declared they would proceed no further upon business until they were righted in their privileges; and Charles, ever ready to adopt violent counsels, but wanting firmness to persevere in them, finding he had acted with too much precipitancy, ordered the members to be set at liberty.(3) Thus irritated, but not intimidated, by a prince who had discovered his weakness or imprudence, or both, the commons, regardless of the public necessities, continued their inquiries into the conduct of Buckingham; but not being able to fix any crime upon him, that could be legally brought under the article of high treason, they drew up a petition for removing him from his majesty's person and councils, as an unwise and dangerous minister.(4)

The affectionate and respectful style of that petition leave great room to believe, that if Charles had complied with the request of the commons, by renouncing all future connexion with Buckingham, a good understanding might yet have been established between the king and parliament, and all the horrors of civil war prevented; for, if the pretensions of the commons afterwards exceeded the line of the constitution, these extravagant pretensions were first roused by the arbitrary proceedings of the crown, which excited a hatred against royal authority, and a desire of recrimination, which at last proved fatal to the monarchy. It may indeed be urged, on the other side, that the arbitrary proceedings of the crown were occasioned by the obduracy of the parliament; that Charles had no desire of oppressing his subjects,

(1) *Parl. Hist.* vol. vi.

(2) Franklin, p. 198. Rushworth, vol. i.

(3) Rushworth, vol. i.

(4) *Parl. Hist.* vol. vi.

how high soever his ideas of prerogative might be ; and would never have attempted any unconstitutional measure, if the commons had furnished him with the necessary and reasonable supplies. Both parties were therefore to blame, and perhaps equally ; yet I cannot help believing the commons were sincere, when they made this solemn declaration to the king, in the close of a remonstrance that followed their petition.

" We profess, in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of all hearts, " that you are as highly esteemed and beloved as ever any of your predecessors were !" And, after entreating him to dismiss Buckingham from his presence, they thus apologize for their parsimony :—" We protest to your majesty and to the whole world, that, until this great person be removed " from intermeddling with the great affairs of state, we are out of hope of " any good success ; and do fear that any money we shall or can give, will, " through his misemployment, be turned rather to the prejudice of this your " kingdom than otherwise, as, by lamentable experience, we have found in " those large supplies formerly and lately given. But no sooner shall we " receive redress and relief in *this*, which of all others is our most insupportable grievance, but we shall forthwith proceed to accomplish your " majesty's own desire for supply ; and likewise, with all cheerfulness, apply " ourselves to the perfecting of divers other great things, such as we think " no one parliament in one age can parallel, tending to the stability, wealth, " strength, and honour, of this your kingdom, and the support of your friends " and allies abroad." (1)

Enraged at this second attempt to deprive him of his minister and favourite, Charles paid no regard to the prayer of the commons, or to his loss of supply, the necessary consequence of denying it, but immediately prepared to dissolve the parliament, in order to avoid any farther importunity on a subject so ungrateful to his ear. " What idea," said he, " must all mankind " entertain of my honour, should I sacrifice my innocent friend to pecuniary " considerations ?"—But allowing this friend and servant to have been more innocent, and even more able, than we find him, it was the king's duty, as well as his interest, to dismiss his minister from all public employments, at the request of the representative body of his subjects. For, as the commons very justly observed in their remonstrance, " the relations between a sovereign and his people do far transcend, and are more prevalent and binding " than any relation of a master towards his servant ; and consequently to " hear and satisfy the just and necessary desires of his people is more honourable to a prince than any expressions of grace to a servant." (2)

Instead of listening to such respectful arguments, Charles, by persevering in his support of Buckingham, involved himself, in the opinion of the nation, in all his favourite's crimes, whether real or imputed. Among these was a charge of having applied a plaster to the late king's side, without the knowledge of his physicians, and which was supposed to have been the cause of his death ; an accusation which, if Charles had believed to be just, would have loosened all the ties of affection to Buckingham, and which he would have prosecuted to the utmost. Yet were there people wicked enough to suppose, from the king's blind attachment to the duke, that he had been privy to such an atrocious crime. His adherence to this worthless man was indeed so strong as to exceed all belief. When the house of peers, whose compliant behaviour surely entitled them to some influence with him, requested that he would let the parliament sit a little longer, he hastily replied : " Not a moment longer !" (3) and instantly ended the session by a dissolution.

In this alarming crisis of his affairs, as he did not choose to resign his minister, the only rational counsel which Charles could pursue was immediately to conclude a peace with Spain ; and, by that prudent measure, to render himself as independent as possible of the parliament, which seemed determined to take advantage of his necessities, in order to abridge his authority.

(1) *Parl. Hist.* vol. vii.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) *Sanderson's Life of Charles I.*

Nothing could be more easy, more consistent with national interest, or more agreeable to his own wish ; but the violent and impetuous Buckingham, inflamed with a desire of revenge for injuries which he himself had committed, and animated with a love of glory, which he wanted talents to acquire, persuaded his too facile master to continue the war, though he had not been able to procure him the constitutional means of supporting it. Those new counsels, which Charles had mentioned to the parliament, were therefore now to be tried, in order to supply his exigencies : and so high an idea had he conceived of kingly power, and so contemptible an opinion of the rights of national assemblies, that, if he had possessed a military force on which he could have depended, there is reason to believe he would at once have laid aside all reserve, and attempted to govern without any regard to parliamentary privileges.(1) But, being destitute of such a force, he was obliged to cover his violences under the sanction of ancient precedents, collected from all the tyrannical reigns since the Norman conquest.

The people, however, were too keen-sighted not to perceive that examples can never alter the nature of injustice. They therefore complained loudly of the benevolences and loans which were extorted from them under various forms ; and these complaints were increased by a commission, which was openly issued, for compounding with popish recusants, and dispensing, for a sum of money, with the penal laws enacted against them.(2) While the nation was in this dissatisfied humour, intelligence arrived of the defeat of the Protestants in Germany by the Imperial forces. A general loan from the subject was now exacted, equal to the four subsidies and three-fifteenths voted last parliament ; and many respectable persons were thrown into prison for refusing to pay their assessments. Most of them patiently submitted to confinement, or applied by petition to the king, who generally released them. Five gentlemen alone, namely, sir Thomas Darnel, sir John Corbet, sir Walter Earl, sir John Evingham, and sir Edmund Hamden, had resolution enough to demand their release, not as a favour from the prince, but as their right by the laws of their country.(3)

On examination, it was found that these gentlemen had been arbitrarily committed, at the special command alone of the king and council, without any cause being assigned for such commitment. This, they asserted, was not a sufficient ground for detaining them in custody. The question was brought to a solemn trial before the court of King's Bench ; and in the course of the debates it appeared incontestibly to the nation that our ancestors had been so jealous of personal liberty as to secure it against absolute power in the prince, not only by an article in the GREAT CHARTER itself, the sacred basis of the laws and constitution, but by six several statutes besides.(4) Precedents, however, were numerous of the violation of those statutes : so that the judges, obsequious to the court, refused to release the prisoners, or to admit them to bail (5)

The cry was now loud that the nation was reduced to slavery. The liberty of the subject was violated for refusing to submit to an illegal imposition ! Nor was this the only arbitrary measure of which the people had reason to complain. The troops that had returned from the fruitless expedition against Cadiz were dispersed over the kingdom, and billeted upon private families, contrary to established custom, which required that they should be quartered at inns and public houses. And all persons of substance, who had refused or delayed the loan, were sure to be loaded with a disproportionate number of those disorderly guests ; while people of inferior condition, who had shown a refractory disposition, were pressed into the sea or land service.(6) Every one, in a word, seemed to feel the public grievances, and to execrate the op-

(1) This is the opinion of Mr. Hume, who will not be suspected of traducing the character of Charles.

(2) Rushworth, vol. i.

(3) Ibid.

(4) 25 Edw. III. cap. iv. 28 Edw. III. cap. iii. 37 Edw. III. cap. xviii. 38 Edw. III. cap. ix. 42 Edw. III. cap. iii. 1 Richard II. cap. xii.

(5) Rushworth, vol. i.

(6) Ibid.

pressive spirit of administration, though passive obedience was strongly recommended from the pulpit ; and the crimes and outrages committed by the soldiers, who had never been habituated to the restraints of discipline, contributed not a little to increase the general discontent.

In the midst of these alarming dissatisfactions and increasing difficulties, when baffled in every attempt against the dominions of the two branches of the house of Austria, and embroiled with his own subjects, what was the surprise of mankind to see Charles, as if he had not yet had enow of enemies, engage in a war against France ! Unable to account for so extraordinary a measure, historians have generally ascribed it to an amorous quarrel between cardinal Richelieu and the duke of Buckingham, on account of a rival passion for the queen of France, and the encouragement which the duke had received, when employed to bring over the princess Henrietta, which induced him to project a new embassy to that court, as I have formerly had occasion to relate.(1) But however that might be, Buckingham had other reasons for involving his master in a war with France.

One of the articles of impeachment against the duke, and that which had excited the greatest odium, was the sending of some English ships to assist the French king in subduing his Protestant subjects, who were in arms in defence of their religious liberties. To this impolitic, as well as inhuman measure, Buckingham had been seduced by a promise, that as soon as the Hugonots were reduced, Lewis XIII. would take an active part in the war against the house of Austria. But afterward, finding himself deceived by cardinal Richelieu, who had nothing in view but the aggrandizement of the French monarchy, he procured a peace for the Hugonots, and became security to them for its performance. That peace, however, was not observed ; Richelieu still meditated the utter destruction of the Protestant party in France. They were deprived of many of their cautionary towns, and forts were erecting to bridle Rochelle, their most considerable bulwark.(2) The subjection of the Hugonots, it was readily foreseen, would render France more formidable to England than the whole house of Austria. Besides, if Charles and Buckingham should supinely behold their ruin accomplished, such a conduct would increase the popular discontents, and render the breach between the king and parliament irreparable. It was therefore resolved, as the only means of recovering any degree of credit with the people, as well as of curbing the power of an ambitious rival, to undertake the defence of the Hugonots.

A negotiation was accordingly entered into with Soubise, brother to the duke of Rohan, the head of the Protestant party in France, who was at that time in London ; and a fleet of a hundred sail, with an army of seven thousand men on board, was fitted out for the assistance of the Hugonots, under the command of the duke of Buckingham, the most unpopular man in the kingdom, and utterly unacquainted with naval or military service. The fate of the expedition, as we have seen,(3) was such as might be expected from his management. When the fleet appeared before Rochelle, the inhabitants of that city shut their gates, and refused to admit allies of whose arrival they were not apprized. Buckingham made a descent on the Isle of Rhé ; but took his measures so unskillfully, that he was able to make no impression on the principal fort ; and the sea was so negligently guarded, that a French army stole over in small divisions, and obliged him to re-embark, after losing near two-thirds of the land-forces.(4) With the wretched remnant he returned to England, totally discredited both as an admiral and general, and universally despised and detested as a minister.

The public grievances were now so great, that an insurrection was to be apprehended. The people were not only loaded with illegal taxes, but their commerce, which had been hurt by the Spanish, was ruined by the French war ; while the glory of the nation was tarnished by unsuccessful enterprises,

(1) Part. I. Let. LXXIV.

(2) See Part I. Let. LXXIV. of this work, and the authors there cited.

(3) Part. I. ubi sup.

(4) Rushworth, vol. i. Whitlocke, p. a.

and its safety threatened by the forces of two powerful monarchies. ~~At~~ such a season, Charles and Buckingham must have dreaded, above all things, the calling of a parliament; yet the improvidence of the ministry, the necessity of supply, and the danger of forcing another loan, obliged them to have recourse to that expedient. In order to wipe off, if possible, the popular odium from the duke, it was represented as his motion; and still farther to dispose the commons to co-operate with the minister, warrants were issued previous to their meeting, and sent to all parts of the kingdom, for the relief of those gentlemen who had been confined on account of refusing to contribute toward the late loan. Their number amounted to seventy-eight, and many of them were elected members of the new parliament. (1)

When the commons assembled, the court perceived that they were men of the same independent spirit with their predecessors, and so opulent, that their property was computed to surpass three times that of the house of peers. (2) But although enraged at the late violations of public liberty, by personal injuries, and by the extreme folly with which public measures were conducted, to the disgrace, and even danger of the nation, they entered upon business with no less temper and decorum than vigour and ability. From a knowledge of the king's political opinions, as well as from his speech at their meeting, in which he told them, "that if they did not do their duty, "in contributing to the necessities of the state, he must use those *other means*, which God had put into his hands!" they foresaw, that if any handle was afforded, he would immediately dissolve the parliament, and think himself thenceforth justified in violating, in a manner still more open, all the ancient forms of the constitution. But the decency which the popular leaders have prescribed to themselves, in order to avoid the calamities of civil war, which must have been the immediate consequence of a new breach between the king and parliament, did not prevent them from taking into consideration the grievances under which the nation had lately laboured—the billeting of soldiers, the imposing of arbitrary taxes, the imprisoning of those who refused to comply, and the refusal of bail, on an Habeas Corpus, to certain gentlemen who demanded it. Nor did they fail to express themselves with a proper degree of indignation on these subjects.

"This is the great council of the kingdom," said sir Francis Seymour, who opened the debate, "and here, if not here alone, his majesty may see, as in a true glass, the state of the kingdom. We are called hither by his majesty's writs, in order to give him faithful counsel; such as may stand with his honour; and this we must do without flattery. We are also sent hither by the people, in order to deliver their just grievances; and this we must do without fear. Let us not like Cambyse's judges, who, when questioned by their prince concerning some illegal measures, replied, *though there is a written law, the Persian kings may do what they list!* This was a base flattery, fitter for our own reproof than imitation; and, as fear, so flattery taketh away the judgment. For my part, I shall shun both; and speak my mind with as much duty as any man to his majesty, without neglecting the public. But how can we express affections, while we retain our fears; or speak of giving, till we know whether we have any thing left to give? For if his majesty may be persuaded to take what he will, what occasion have we to give? That this hath been done, appears by the billeting of soldiers, a thing nowise advantageous to the king's service, and a burden to the commonwealth; by the imprisonment of gentlemen for refusing the loan, yet who, if they had done the contrary from fear, had been as blamable as the projectors of that oppressive measure. And to countenance these proceedings, hath it not been preached, or rather prated, in the pulpit, that all we have is the king's by divine right?"

"I have read," said sir Robert Phillips, "of a custom among the old Romans, that once every year they held a solemn festival, during which their slaves had liberty, without exception, to speak what they would in order

(1) Rushworth, vol. i.

(2) *Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. Rushworth, vol. i.

"to ease their afflicted minds; and that, on the conclusion of the festival, they returned to their former abject condition. This may, with some resemblance and distinction, well set forth our present state. After the revolution of some time, and the grievous sufferings of many violent oppressions, we have now, as those slaves had, a day of liberty of speech: but we shall not, I trust, be hereafter slaves, for we are BORN FREE! Yet what illegal burdens our estates and persons have groaned under, my heart yearns to think, my tongue falters to utter.

"The grievances by which we are oppressed," continued he, "I draw under two heads; acts of power against law, and the judgments of lawyers against our liberty." He then mentioned three illegal judgments passed within his memory; that by which the Scots born after the accession of James I. were admitted to all the privileges of English subjects; (1) that by which the new impositions had been warranted; and that by which arbitrary imprisonments were authorized. After this enumeration he thus proceeded:

"I can live, although another, who has no right, be put to live along with me: nay, I can live, though burdened with impositions beyond what at present I bear; but to have my liberty, which is the soul of my life, taken from me by power; to have my person pent up in a goal, without remedy by law, and to be so adjudged—O improvident ancestors! O unwise forefathers! to be so curious in providing for the quiet possession of our lands, and the liberties of parliament, and at the same time so negligent of our personal liberty; to let us lie in prison, and that during pleasure, without remedy or redress! If this be law, why do we talk of liberties? why trouble ourselves with disputes about a constitution, franchises, property in goods, and the like? What may any man call his own, if not the liberty of his person?

"I am weary," added he, "of treading these ways, and therefore conclude to a select committee, in order to frame a petition to his majesty for redress of our grievances." (2)—The same subject was pursued by sir Thomas Wentworth, who exclaimed, "We must vindicate!—What! New things?—No: our ancient legal and vital liberties, by reinforcing the laws enacted by our ancestors! by setting such a stamp upon them, that no licentious spirit shall dare henceforth to invade them." (3)

The commons accordingly proceeded to frame a PETITION OF RIGHTS, as they chose to call it; indicating by this name, that it contained a corroboration or explanation of the ancient constitution, not any infringement of royal prerogative, or acquisition of new liberties. And Charles, finding his threats had neither awed them into submission, nor provoked them to indecent freedom of speech, thought fit to send them a conciliating message; intimating that he esteemed the grievances of the house his own, and stood not on precedence in point of honour. He therefore desired, that the same committee which was appointed for the redress of grievances might also undertake the business of supply.—Pleased with this concession, the commons voted him five subsidies; with which, though much inferior to his wants, he was well satisfied; and declared, with tears of affection in his eyes, "that he liked parliaments at first; though lately, he knew not how, he had got a distaste of them, but was now where he was before: he loved them, and should rejoice to meet his people again." (4)

When Charles made this declaration, he was not fully acquainted with the extent of the Petition of Right, and therefore afterwards attempted, by various means, to get it moderated, as well as to evade giving his assent to it in the usual manner. But as it was intimately connected with the vote of supply, which was altogether conditional, the king was at last obliged to

(1) He pays the Scots a handsome compliment, at the same that he blames the act:—"a nation," says he, "which I heartily love for their singular good zeal in our religion, and their free spirit to preserve liberty far beyond any of us." *Parl. Hist.* vol. vii.

(2) Rushworth, vol. i. *Parl. Hist.* vol. ii.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) *Parl. Hist.* vol. vii.

give his solemn sanction to the bill. The delays, however, which he had interposed, and the seeming reluctance he discovered to ratify the rights of his people, deprived the extorted assent of all claim to merit in the eyes of the commons. They justly considered it as the effect of necessity, not complaisance, and became even more suspicious of the king's designs against the constitution. In consequence of this mode of thinking, they proceeded to require the redress of a number of inferior grievances, not mentioned in their petition, which provided only against forced loans, benevolences, taxes without consent of parliament, arbitrary imprisonment, billeting soldiers, and martial law: and they took into consideration the duty of tonnage and poundage, which had not yet been granted by parliament. To levy this duty without their consent they affirmed was a palpable violation of the ancient liberties of the people, and an open infringement of the Petition of Right, in which those liberties were so lately confirmed.(1) Alarmed at such an unexpected attack upon his prerogative, Charles came suddenly to the parliament, and ended the session by a prorogation, in order to prevent the presenting of a remonstrance, which the house had prepared for his consideration.(2)

In hopes of conciliating the affections of his subjects, by making a popular use of the supply which they had granted him, as well as recovering the reputation of his arms, Charles turned his eyes, during the recess of parliament, toward the distressed Protestants in France. Rochelle was now closely besieged by land, and a mole was erecting to cut off all communication with it by sea. To the relief of that place the earl of Denbigh was dispatched, with ten ships of the line, and sixty transports and victuallers; but by an unaccountable complication of cowardice and incapacity, if not treachery, he returned without so much as affording the besieged a supply of provisions. In order to wipe off this disgrace, the duke of Buckingham, whom we have already seen make so contemptible a figure as a commander, repaired to Portsmouth, where he had prepared a considerable fleet and army; resolved once more to display his prowess on the coast of France, and defeat the ambitious designs of Richelieu, his competitor in love, in politics, and even in war.(3)

But this enterprise was obstructed, and the relief of Rochelle prevented, by one stroke of a desperate enthusiast, named Felton, who had served under Buckingham, in the station of a lieutenant, on his former expedition. Disgusted at being refused a company, on the death of his captain, who was

(1) Rushworth, vol. i.

(2) *Journ.* 26 June, 1628. Nothing tends more to excuse, if not to justify, the extreme rigour of the commons against Charles, than his open encouragement of such principles as are altogether incompatible with a limited government. One Manwaring had preached a sermon, which the commons found, upon inquiry, to be printed by special command of the king; and this sermon, when examined, was observed to contain doctrines subversive of all civil liberty. It taught, that, although property was commonly lodged in the subject, yet all property was transferred to the sovereign whenever any exigency required supply; that the consent of parliament was not necessary for the imposition of taxes; and that the divine laws required compliance with every demand, how irregular soever, which the prince should make upon his people. (Rushworth, vol. i. *Parl. Hist.* vol. viii.) For these doctrines the commons impeached Manwaring, and the sentence pronounced against him by the peers was, That he should be imprisoned during the pleasure of the house, be fined a thousand pounds to the king, make submission and acknowledgment for his offence, be suspended during three years, be incapable of holding any ecclesiastical dignity or secular office, and that his book should be called in and burnt. (*Id. ibid.*) But no sooner was the session ended, than this man, so justly obnoxious to both houses of parliament and to the whole nation, received a pardon, was promoted to a living of considerable value, and raised, some years after, to the see of St. Asaph. (Rushworth, vol. i.) Nor were Charles's arbitrary principles, like his father's, merely speculative. Among other grievances, which seemed to require redress, the commons applied for cancelling a commission granted to the principal officers of the crown, by which they were empowered to meet, and to concert among themselves the methods of levying money by impositions or otherwise; and, "where form and circumstance, as expressed in the commission, must be dispensed with rather than the substance be lost or hazarded." (*Parl. Hist.* vol. viii. Rushworth, vol. i.) This, in a word, was a scheme for finding expedients which might raise the prerogative to the greatest height, and render the parliament wholly unnecessary.

(3) See Part I. Let. LXXIV. of this work, and the authors there cited.

killed in the retreat from the Isle of Rhé, Felton had thrown up his commission, and retired from the army. While private resentment was boiling in his breast, he met with the remonstrance of the commons; in which the man he hated was represented as the cause of all the grievances under which the nation groaned, but more especially of those relating to religion. Naturally vindictive, gloomy, and enthusiastical, he was led to suppose, that he should do an acceptable service to Heaven, at the same time that he gratified the impulse of his own envenomed heart, if he should dispatch this enemy of God and his country. Full of his purpose, he came to Portsmouth at the same time with the duke, and watched for an opportunity of perpetrating the bloody deed.

Such an occasion soon offered. While Buckingham was engaged in conversation with Soubise, and other French gentlemen, relative to the state of Rochelle, a difference of sentiment arose, which produced from the foreigners some violent gesticulations, and vehement exertions of voice, though nothing that could be seriously considered as an insult. Scarce was this conversation ended, when the duke, on turning round to speak to sir Thomas Fryar, a colonel in the army, was stabbed in the breast with a knife. "The villain has killed me!"—cried he, and, pulling out the knife, expired without uttering another word. Nobody had seen the stab given; but every one concluded that the murder had been committed by the French gentlemen, the violence of whose voice and gestures had been remarked, while their words were not understood by the by-standers. And in the first transports of revengeful rage, they would instantly have been put to death by the duke's attendants, if some men of temper and judgment had not happily interposed, though by no means convinced of their innocence.

Meantime a hat was found among the crowd, in the inside of which was sewed a paper containing part of the late remonstrances of the commons, which declared Buckingham an enemy to the civil and religious liberties of the kingdom; and under that a short prayer or ejaculation. It was immediately concluded that the hat belonged to the assassin, but who he might be nobody could conjecture, as the writing did not discover his name; and every one conjectured that he had already fled far enough not to be found without a hat, the only circumstance that could lead to a discovery. In the midst of this anxious solicitation to apprehend the supposed fugitive, a man without a hat was seen walking very composedly by the door near which the murder had been committed. "Here," exclaimed one of the company, "is the fellow who killed the duke!" and on hearing a general cry, "Where is he? where is he?" Felton firmly answered, "Here I am!"—He cheerfully exposed his breast to the drawn swords of the duke's officers, being desirous of falling a sacrifice to their fury, in order to avoid a public execution. And he persisted to the last in denying that he had any accomplice. (1)

The king received the news of Buckingham's death with so little emotion, that his courtiers concluded he was secretly not displeased to get rid of a minister so generally odious to the nation. But this seeming indifference, as was afterwards discovered, proceeded only from the gravity and composure of Charles's mind; he being attached as much as ever to that worthless favourite, for whose friends, during his whole life, he retained an affection, and a prejudice against his enemies. He even urged that Felton should be put to the torture in order to extort a confession of his supposed accomplices; and was much chagrined, when the judges declared the practice to be unlawful, as well as the gratification of his request, that the criminal's right hand might be cut off before the execution of the sentence of death. (2)

But Charles had public cares enow to divert his mind from private griefs. The projected mole being finished, Rochelle was now closely blockaded on all sides; yet the inhabitants, though pressed with the utmost rigours of famine, still refused to submit, in hopes of succour from England. On the

(1) Clarendon, vol. i.

(2) Rushworth, vol. i. Whitlock, p. 11.

death of Buckingham, the command of the fleet and army destined for their relief was given to the earl of Lindsey; who, on his arrival before Rochelle, made some attempts to break through the mole, and force his way into the harbour. But that stupendous monument of Richelieu's genius was now fortified in such a manner as to render the design impracticable; and the wretched inhabitants, seeing all prospect of assistance cut off, were obliged to surrender, in view of the English fleet.(1)

LETTER IV.

England and Scotland, from the Assassination of Buckingham to the Execution of the earl of Strafford, 1641.

THE failure of the expedition for the relief of Rochelle, and the ruin of the Protestant cause in France, the immediate consequence of it, contributed much to increase the discontents of the English nation, and to diminish the authority of Charles I. On the meeting of parliament, the commons complained of many grievances, especially in regard to religion; and, in order to obtain a redress of these, they resumed their claim to the right of granting tonnage and poundage. This duty, in more ancient times, had commonly been a temporary grant of the parliament; but since the time of Henry V. it had been conferred on every king during life. Each prince had claimed it from the moment of his accession, and it had been usually voted by the first parliament of each reign. Charles, during the short interval which passed between his accession and first parliament, had followed the example of his predecessors. Nor was any fault found with him for so doing. But the commons, when assembled, instead of granting this duty during the king's life, voted it only for a year; (2) a circumstance which proves beyond controversy, that they had seriously formed a plan of reducing the king to a state of dependence. The peers, who perceived the purpose of the lower house, and saw that the duty of poundage was now become more necessary than ever to supply the growing necessities of the crown, rejected the bill. The parliament was soon after dissolved, without any other steps being taken in the business, by either party; and Charles continued to levy the duty, and the people to pay it in conformity with ancient usage.

The subject, however, was so fully agitated by the succeeding parliament, that every one began to question the legality of levying tonnage and poundage, without the consent of the representatives of the people. Charles, not yet sufficiently tamed to compliance, boldly asserted his prerogative; and the commons, engaged in procuring redress of more pernicious grievances, had little leisure to attend to the infringement of so disputable a privilege. But no sooner had they obtained the king's assent to the Petition of Right, which afforded a remedy against the renewal of their most weighty grievances, than they took this matter into serious consideration. The king had obstructed their proceedings, by dissolving the parliament; but being now again assembled, they showed their intention of extorting from the crown very large concessions, in return for the duty on tonnage and poundage.

Charles, who had foreseen these pretensions, took care very early to inform the parliament, "That he had not taken the duties of tonnage and poundage as pertaining to his hereditary prerogative; but that it ever was, "and still is his meaning to enjoy them as a gift of his people; that he pretended not to justify himself for what he had hitherto levied, by any right "which he assumed, but only by the necessity of the case."(3) This con-

(1) Rushworth, vol. i.

(2) *Journ.* 5 July, 1625.

(3) Rushworth, vol. i. *Parl. Hist.* vol. xiii.

cession, as a learned historian remarks, might have satisfied the commons, had they been influenced by no other motive but that of ascertaining their own powers and privileges. But they had higher views; and insisted, as an indispensable preliminary, that the king should, for a time, entirely desist from levying the duties in question, after which they would take into consideration the propriety of restoring such revenue to the crown.

The proud spirit of Charles could not submit to a rigour that had never been exercised against any of his predecessors. Besides, he was afraid that the commons might renew their former project of making this revenue only temporary, and thereby reduce him to perpetual dependence. He did not, however, immediately break with them on their delay of granting him the contested duties; but when, instead of listening to his earnest solicitations for supply, they proceeded to carry their scrutiny into his management of religion, his indignation was roused, and he dissolved the parliament, with a determined resolution never to call another, unless he should see indications of a more compliant disposition in the nation.(1)

The commons, on this occasion, behaved with great boldness. As soon as they had the first intimation of the king's design from the speaker, who immediately left the chair, they pushed him back into it: and two members held him there, until a short remonstrance was framed, and passed by acclamation rather than by vote. In that remonstrance all who should seek to extend, or introduce, popery or Arminianism (lately imported from Holland, where we have formerly had occasion to mention its rise),(2) were declared enemies to the commonwealth. All who should advise the levying of tonnage and poundage, without consent of parliament, were brought under the same description; and every merchant who should voluntarily pay these duties, not being granted by parliament, was to be reputed a betrayer of the liberties of England, and an enemy to his country.(3)

The discontents of the nation now rose higher than ever, on account of this violent breach between the king and parliament: and Charles's subsequent proceedings were ill calculated to appease them. He ordered those popular leaders, who had been most active in the late tumult in the house of commons, to be taken into custody. Some of them were fined, and con-

(1) It is not at all surprising, that Charles should be enraged at this attempt of the commons to encroach on his ecclesiastical jurisdiction, or that they should be desirous of abridging it, as it was almost the only dangerous prerogative of the crown against which the Petition of Right had not planted a barrier. When the ecclesiastical jurisdiction over England was wrested from the see of Rome, the people had readily submitted to a jurisdiction no less arbitrary in the prince. Thus the king obtained a large addition of prerogative, being vested with the most absolute power in all affairs relative to the government of the church and the conscience of the subject.

The high-commission court, or supreme ecclesiastical tribunal, was immediately under the direction of the crown. A conformity of religion was demanded over the whole kingdom; and every refusal of the established ceremonies was liable to be chastised by this court with deprivation, fines, confiscation, and imprisonment. Nor were the judges of the high-commission court obliged to proceed by legal information: rumour and suspicion were sufficient grounds. They were vested with inquisitorial powers, which were often exercised with unfeeling rigour, even during the reign of Elizabeth. Greater liberty, in ecclesiastical matters, was both demanded and allowed during the reign of James; but Charles, whose religion had a strong tincture of superstition in it, required a rigid conformity to the ancient ceremonies. Hence the struggle which the commons had hitherto maintained against the ecclesiastical authority of Charles, and the effort they made this session, to show, that it must be subordinate to the power that created it, and the abuse of it liable to be corrected and farther limited by the resolutions of parliament. Sanderson's *Life of Charles I.* Heylin's *Life of Laud*.

(2) Part I. Let. LXXXIV. The difference between the Arminian doctrines and those of the established religion related chiefly to the tenets of predestination and absolute decrees, which had been every where embraced by the first reformers, and were still maintained in all their rigour by the Puritans. The Arminians, by asserting the freedom of the human will, and diffusing other rational opinions, had rendered themselves obnoxious to these violent enthusiasts. Their number in England was yet small; but, by the indulgence of James and Charles, some of that sect had obtained the highest preferments in the church. Laud, Neil, Montague, and other bishops, the chief supporters of episcopal government, were all supposed to be tainted with Arminianism. The same men and their disciples, in return for the favour shown them by the court, were the strenuous preachers of passive obedience, and an unconditional submission to princes. Hence the rage of the commons against a sect whose theological tenets contain nothing inimical to civil liberty.

(A) *Parl. Hist.* vol. vii.

demned to find sureties for their good behaviour. But these severities served only to show more conspicuously the king's disregard of the privileges of parliament, and to acquire a great stock of popularity to the sufferers, who unanimously refused to find the sureties demanded, or even to express their sorrow for having offended their sovereign ;(1) so desirous were they to continue their meritorious distress !

In the midst of so many domestic difficulties, and utterly destitute of money, it was impossible for any prince to conduct with vigour the operations of war. Sensible of this, Charles submitted to necessity, and concluded a peace with France and Spain. The situation of his affairs did not entitle him to demand from Lewis any conditions for the Hugonots, nor from Philip any stipulation in favour of the elector Palatine ; yet he obtained from the latter a promise of his good offices toward the restoration of that unfortunate prince.(2) Thus was lost, through her internal dissensions, the happiest opportunity that England ever enjoyed of humbling the house of Bourbon by means of its Protestant subjects, or of dismembering the Spanish monarchy by the assistance of France, and of acquiring a permanent superiority over both.

A cautious neutrality was henceforth the study of Charles, who had neither leisure nor inclination to interest himself farther in foreign affairs : happy in relinquishing every ambitious project, had he been able to recover the affections of his people, and the confidence of his parliament !—But unfortunately, though possessed of many amiable and respectable qualities, both as a king and as a man,(3) and though he now adopted more moderate counsels than during the administration of Buckingham, he was never able to attain these desirable ends : a degree of jealous distrust remained. The causes and the consequences of this want of confidence it must now be our business to trace.

The high idea that Charles entertained of his own authority not only made him incapable of yielding to that bold spirit of liberty which had diffused itself amongst his subjects, but to continue an invasion on their constitutional rights, whilst he thought himself only engaged in the defence of his own. He considered every petition of the commons as an attempt to encroach on his prerogative ; and, even when he granted their requests, he disgusted them by his ungracious reluctance : he complied without obliging. His concessions were not received as marks of royal kindness, as indications of justice or generosity, but as so many sacrifices to necessity. The representatives of the people saw themselves, when assembled, regarded merely in the light of tax-layers ; and therefore resolved to make use of his power of withholding supplies, or administering to the necessities of the crown, in order to convince the king of their political consequence, as well as to obtain a ratification of their ancient rights. The royal authority was likewise too high, in ecclesiastical matters, for a limited government, being altogether absolute : the parliament had discovered an inclination to restrain it ; the king had resented the affront by a dissolution ; and thus was produced an incurable jealousy between the parties.

Other causes conspired to increase the jealousy of the nation in regard to religion. Charles, ever strongly attached to his queen, had favoured her with his whole friendship and confidence after the death of Buckingham. Her sense and spirit entitled her to share his counsels, while her beauty justified his excessive fondness ; but, as she was rather of a hasty temper, she sometimes precipitated him into rash measures ; and her religion, to which she was much devoted, induced her to procure such indulgences for the Catholics as gave general dissatisfaction, and increased the odium against

(1) Whitlock, p. 12. Rushworth, vol. i. Kendet, vol. iii.

(2) Rushworth, vol. ii.

(3) He was an affectionate husband, an indulgent father, a gentle master, and a firm friend. His manner and address, though perhaps rather too stately, corresponded well with his natural gravity and reserve. He was not deficient in political knowledge ; he possessed great moderation of temper ; his taste in all the fine arts was excellent ; and his learning and literary talents were much beyond what are common to princes. *Sanderson. Clarendon.*

the court. Nor was this all. Laud, bishop of London, had acquired great influence over the king, and directed him in all ecclesiastical, and even in many civil affairs. Though a man of learning and virtue, he was a superstitious bigot, zealously set on the exaltation of the priesthood, and on imposing on the the obstinate Puritans, by the most rigorous measures, new ceremonies and observances, unknown to the church of England; and that too at a time when the ancient ceremonies, to which men had been accustomed, and which had been hallowed by the practice of the first reformers, could with difficulty be retained in divine service. Yet this man, who, in the prosecution of his holy enterprise, over-looked all human considerations, and the heat and indiscretion of whose temper made him neglect the plainest dictates of prudence, was raised by Charles to the see of Canterbury, and invested with uncontrolled authority over the consciences of the people.

Not only such of the clergy as neglected to observe every superstitious ceremony enjoined by Laud and his brethren were suspended, and deprived of their benefices by the high-commission court; oaths were even imposed on church-wardens, binding them to inform against any one who acted contrary to the ecclesiastical canons; and all who did not conform to the new mode of worship were treated with the utmost rigour. The religion which the archbishop wanted to establish differed very little from that of the church of Rome. The Puritans therefore regarded him as the forerunner of Antichrist.(1)

Nor were the Puritans singular in this opinion. A court-lady, daughter of the earl of Devonshire, having turned Catholic, was asked by Laud her reason for changing her religion: "It is chiefly," answered she, "because I hate to travel in a crowd." The meaning of these words being demanded, she replied, "I perceive your grace and many others are making haste to Rome; and therefore, in order to prevent my being jostled, I have gone before you." In a word, Laud's chief objection to popery seems to have been the supremacy of the Holy See, to which he did not choose to subject his metropolitan power. For although he himself tells us, "That," when offered a cardinal's hat by the pope, "something dwelt within him, which would not suffer his compliance, till Rome was other than it is," the genius of his religion appears to have been the same with the Romish. The same profound respect was exacted by him to the sacerdotal character; the same submission was required to the creeds and decrees of synods and councils; the same pomp and ceremony was affected in worship; and the same superstitious respect to days, postures, meats, and vestments.(2)

As a specimen of the new ceremonies, to which Laud sacrificed the peace of the kingdom, it will be sufficient to relate those he employed in the consecration of St. Catharine's church. The church had been rebuilt by the parishioners, and profanely made use of, for some time, without the ceremony of a new consecration—a circumstance which, coming to the superstitious prelate's ear, while bishop of London filled him with horror, and made him suspend it from all divine service, until he had performed that holy office. On his approach to the west door of the church, a loud voice cried, "Open, open, ye everlasting doors! that the King of Glory may enter in." The doors of the church instantly flew open; the bishop entered; and falling on his knees, with his eyes lifted up, and his arms expanded, he exclaimed in a solemn tone. "This place is holy! the ground is holy! in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I pronounce it holy!" Then going to the chancel, he several times took up some dust from the floor, and threw it in the air. When he approached the communion table, he bowed frequently toward it. On returning, he and his attendants went round the church in a kind of procession, repeating the hundredth psalm; and then said a form of prayer, concluding with these words: "We consecrate this church, and separate it unto THEE, as holy ground, not to be profaned any more to common uses." The bishop, standing near the communion table, now de-

(1) Rushworth, vol. ii.

(2) Ibid. Hume, vol. vi.

nounced imprecations on all who should pollute that holy place, by musters of soldiers, keeping in it profane law courts, or carrying burdens through it. On the conclusion of every curse, he bowed toward the east, and cried, "Let all the people say Amen!" When the imprecations were ended, he poured out blessings on all who had any way contributed to the framing and building that sacred and beautiful edifice, and on those who had given, or should hereafter give to it, any chalices, plate, ornaments, or utensils. On the conclusion of every benediction, he also bowed toward the east, and cried, "Let all the people say Amen!"

These ceremonies were followed by a sermon; after which the bishop thus consecrated and administered the sacrament. As he approached the communion-table, he made many low reverences, and coming up to that side of the table where the bread and wine were placed, he bowed seven times. After reading many prayers, he approached the sacramental elements, and gently lifted up the corner of the napkin in which the bread was placed. When he beheld the bread, he suddenly let fall the napkin, fell back a step or two, and bowed three several times toward the bread; then drew near again, opened the napkin, and bowed as before. He next laid hold of the cup, which had a cover upon it, and was filled with wine; then let it go, fell back, and bowed thrice toward it. He approached again, and, lifting up the cover, peeped into the cup; but on seeing the wine, he let fall the cover, and bowed as before. He then received the sacrament, and administered it to others; and the fabric being now supposed sufficiently holy, the solemnity of the consecration was concluded with many formal prayers.⁽¹⁾ The same pious farce was repeated at the consecration of St. Giles's in the Fields, and on other occasions of a like nature, notwithstanding the scandal occasioned by the first exhibition.⁽²⁾ Opposition and general odium served only to increase the bishop's zeal for such superstitious mummeries, which were openly countenanced by the court.

In return for so much indulgence to the church, Laud and his followers took care, on every occasion, to magnify the royal authority, and made no scruple to treat with contempt all pretensions to a free or limited government. By these flatteries, and his original prepossessions, Charles was led to consider himself as the supreme magistrate to whom Heaven, by his birth-right, had committed the care of his people; whose duty it was to provide for their security and happiness, both spiritual and temporal, and who was vested with ample discretionary powers for that purpose. If the observance of ancient laws and customs was consistent with the present convenience of government, he judged it prudent to follow that rule, as the easiest, safest, and what would procure the most prompt and willing obedience; but when a change of circumstances, especially if derived from the obstinacy of the people, seemed to require a new plan of administration, national privileges he thought must yield to supreme power, and that no order of men in the state could be warranted in opposing the will of the sovereign, when directed to the public good.⁽³⁾

Charles, however, did not rest the support of that absolute dominion, which he thought he had a right to establish over the souls and bodies of his subjects, merely on the declamations of churchmen, or the intrigues of courtiers. He had recourse to that policy, which has often been so successfully pursued in latter times, of employing the honours and offices of the crown, in order to draw off the parliamentary leaders from opposition, and to engage them in the defence of that authority, which they shared, by becoming members of administration. Nor was the king disappointed in this first attempt to divide the force of the country party. Sir Thomas Wentworth, a popular member of great abilities, whom he created earl of Strafford, became a firm pillar to the throne. Other parliamentary leaders were also drawn over to

(1) Rushworth, vol. ii. Hume, vol. vi.

(2) Heylin's *Life of Laud*, p. 212, et seq.

(3) Rushworth, vol. ii. Hume, vol. vi.

the court. Sir Dudley Digges was created master of the rolls; Mr. Noy, attorney-general; and Mr. Littleton, solicitor-general.(1)

But the effect of this new political manœuvre was by no means such as might have been expected from it, or what has been common from like measures in our days—a temporary reconciliation between the parties. The views of the king and parliament were now so repugnant to each other, that the leaders whom he had gained, though men of eminent talents and irreproachable character, lost all credit with their party from the moment of their defection. They were even pursued as traitors, with implacable hatred and resentment; and the king was so far from acquiring popularity by employing them, that he lost still farther, by that expedient, the confidence of the nation. It was considered as an insidious attempt to turn the emoluments of the state against itself, and the honours of the crown against the constitution; to unnerve, by corruption, the arm of liberty; and by means of apostate patriots, the most terrible instruments of tyranny, to complete the despotism of the prince and the slavery of the people.

Nor were these apprehensions altogether without foundation. As Charles had formed a resolution no more to assemble the commons, and even published a proclamation to that purpose, he was obliged to raise money for the support of government, either by the revival of obsolete laws, or by violations of the rights of the subject. Tonnage and poundage continued to be levied, according to the former arbitrary impositions; new imposts were even laid on several kinds of merchandise, and the officers of the customs received orders from the council to enter into any house, warehouse, or cellar, to search any trunk or chest, and break any bulk whatever, in default of the payment of such duties.(2) The oppressive method of raising money by monopolies was revived; the odious expedient of compounding with popish recusants became a regular part of the revenue; several arbitrary taxes were imposed; and, in order to facilitate these exactions, and repress the rising spirit of liberty throughout the kingdom, many severe sentences were passed in the Star-chamber and High-commission courts. Some persons were fined, some imprisoned; and such as ventured to arraign the measures of the court were condemned to stand in the pillory.(3)

Seven years had Charles supported his government by arbitrary impositions, levied by means no less arbitrary, before he met with any vigorous opposition. At length John Hampden, a private gentleman, had the courage to set the crown at defiance, and make a bold stand in defence of the laws and the liberties of his country. Among other taxes, that of ship-money had been revived, and levied on the whole kingdom. This tax, intended for the support of the royal navy, and in itself moderate and equitable, was only exceptionable by being imposed without the consent of parliament; and, in order to discourage all opposition on that account, the king had proposed, as a question, to the judges, "Whether, in case of necessity, he might not, for the defence of the kingdom, impose such a tax? and whether he was not the sole judge of that necessity?" The compliant judges answered in the affirmative, and the tax was generally paid. But Hampden, alike regardless of the opinion of the judges, and the example of others, resolved to hazard the issue of a suit, rather than tamely submit to the illegal imposition; and, although only rated at twenty shillings, to risk the whole indignation of royalty.(4)

This important cause was heard before all the twelve judges in the Exchequer-chamber. The pleadings lasted twelve days; and the nation regarded with the utmost anxiety every circumstance of the trial. The issue was easily to be foreseen from the former opinion of the heads of the law; but it was not, on that account, considered as less momentous, or expected with less impatience.

In most national questions much may be said on both sides: but, on the

(1) Whitlock, p. 13.

(2) Rushworth, vol. ii.

(3) Clarendon, vol. i. Rushworth, vol. ii.

(4) Rushworth, vol. ii. Whitlock, p. 4.

present occasion, no legal argument of any weight was adduced by the crown lawyers, though men of profound abilities ; a strong presumption that none such existed. They only pleaded *precedent* and *necessity*. The precedents, when examined, were found to be by no means applicable to the case, and the necessity was denied. "England," said Hambden's counsel, "enjoys a profound peace with all her neighbours ; and, what farther secures her tranquillity, all her neighbours are engaged in furious and bloody wars among themselves. The very writs, which are issued for the levying of ship-money, contradict the idea of necessity : they assert only that the seas are infested by pirates ; a slight and temporary inconvenience, which may well wait a legal supply from parliament. And as to the pretension, that the king is the sole judge of the necessity, what is this, but to subject all the privileges, and all the property of the nation, to his arbitrary will and pleasure ? For the plea of *voluntary necessity* will warrant any other taxation as well as that of ship-money. And if such maxims and practices prevail, where is national liberty ? What authority is left to the Great Charter, that palladium of the constitution ? Or what to the Petition of Right, so lately enacted by the concurrence of the whole legislature ?" (1)

The prejudiced or prostituted judges, notwithstanding these powerful arguments, gave sentence in favour of the crown. But Hambden obtained, nevertheless, by his trial, the end which he had proposed to himself. National questions were canvassed in every company ; and the people, if not roused to active opposition, were at least awakened to a sense of the danger to which their liberty was exposed. "Slavish principles," it was said, "concur with illegal practices ; ecclesiastical tyranny gave aid to civil usurpation ; iniquitous taxes were supported by arbitrary punishments ; and all the privileges of the nation, transmitted through so many ages, secured by so many laws, and purchased by the blood of so many heroes and patriots, now lay prostrate at the foot of the throne. What though the personal character of the king, amid all his misguided counsels, might merit indulgence, or even praise, he was but one man ; and the privileges of the people, the inheritance of millions, were too valuable to be sacrificed to his prejudices and mistakes." (2)

While the minds of men underwent this fermentation in England, a more dangerous spirit made its appearance in Scotland. We have already had occasion to trace the steps taken by James for introducing episcopacy into that kingdom. The same policy was pursued by his son Charles ; who, in 1633, had paid a visit to his native country, and made a violent attempt to get his authority there acknowledged in ecclesiastical matters. He obtained an act of parliament vesting him with such authority ; but as that act was known to have been extorted by the influence and importunity of the sovereign, contrary to the sentiments even of those who gave it their suffrage, it served only to inflame the jealousy, and rouse the resentment of the nation. (3)

Nor will this opposition excite surprise, if we consider, that the ecclesiastical government, in Scotland, was believed to be totally independent of the civil. Christ, not the king, was regarded as the head of the church ; consequently no act of parliament, nothing but the consent of the church itself, under the supposed illuminations of its Invisible Superior, could be sufficient ground for the introduction of any change in religious worship or discipline. But, in direct contradiction to these old Presbyterian maxims, James had introduced into Scotland the court of High-commission, at a time when its authority was become too grievous to be patiently borne in England ; and now, by an extorted act of parliament, Charles openly discovered his intention of overturning the national religion, and of enforcing conformity to a new mode of worship, by means of this arbitrary tribunal.

The Scots were at no loss to discover the nature of the religion which the

(1) *State Trials*, vol. v.

(2) *Hume*, vol. vi.

(3) *Burnet, Hist. Own Times*, vol. i.

king wanted to introduce. The jurisdiction of presbyteries, synods, and other democratical courts, was already in a manner abolished; and the general assembly itself had not been summoned for two years back. It was evident that Charles, ambitious to complete the work so unwisely begun by his father, was resolved, in conjunction with the bishops, to govern the church of Scotland by the same absolute authority which he enjoyed in England, and to render the ecclesiastical government of all his kingdoms regular and uniform. But the ardour of reformation was not yet sufficiently abated, among the Scots, to admit of such a change. They were still under the influence of the wildest enthusiasm; and that concurring with certain political considerations, not only obstructed Charles's favourite scheme of uniformity, but eventually ruined his authority in both kingdoms.

This prince, from the natural piety or superstition of his temper, was slavishly attached to churchmen; and, as it is natural for all men to persuade themselves, that their interest coincides with their inclination, he had laid it down as a political canon, that to increase the power and civil influence of the ecclesiastical order was the first duty of his government. He considered the episcopal clergy as the most faithful servants of the crown, and the great promoters of loyalty among the people. In consequence of this idea, some of the Scottish prelates were raised to the highest offices of the state; and an attempt was made to revive the first institution of the College of Justice, and to share equally between the clergy and laity the whole judicial authority, as before the Reformation.⁽¹⁾ These innovations disgusted the high-minded nobility, who frequently found themselves insulted by the upstart bishops, whom they considered in the light of intruders, at the same time that they had the mortification to see themselves inferior in official consequence, and less regarded as the objects of royal favour. Selfishness completed that jealousy which ambition had begun. The Scottish nobility saw themselves ready to be deprived of those church-lands which they had so largely shared at the Reformation, in order to exalt still higher the consequence of the clergy; and therefore took part with the people and the Presbyterian preachers, in opposing the king's plan of episcopacy, and spreading wide the alarm of popery.⁽²⁾

Meanwhile Charles and his dignified ecclesiastics were zealously employed in framing canons and a liturgy for the use of a people who held both in abhorrence. The canons, which were promulgated in 1635, though received by the nation without much clamour or opposition, occasioned much inward apprehension and discontent. They were indeed of a most arbitrary and offensive nature, and highly grievous to a people jealous of their civil and religious liberties. They asserted, that the king's authority was absolute and unlimited; and they ordained, among many other things odious to Presbyterian ears, that the clergy should not pray extempore, but by the printed form prescribed in the liturgy; that no one should officiate as schoolmaster without a license from the bishop of the diocese; nor any person be admitted into holy orders, or allowed to perform any ecclesiastical function, without first subscribing those canons.⁽³⁾

Even men of moderate principles, who could regard these ordinances with a degree of indifference, were filled with indignation at seeing a whole body of ecclesiastical laws established without any previous consent, either of church or state. They dreaded a like despotism in civil government: yet a seeming submission was paid to the king's authority, until the reading of the liturgy. It was chiefly copied from that of England, and consequently little exceptionable in itself. But this seemingly favourable circumstance was no recommendation to the Scots, who, proud of the purity of their worship, thought the English church still retained a strong mixture of Romish pollution. They therefore represented the new liturgy as a species of mass, though with less shew and embroidery; and when, in the cathedral church

(1) Guthrie's *Memoirs*.

(2) Burnet, *Hist. Own Times*, vol. i.

(3) Fuller's *Church Hist.* Burnet's *Mem. of the House of Hamilton*.

of St. Giles, the dean of Edinburgh, arrayed in his surplice, opened the book, and began the service, the meaner part of the audience, but especially the women, raised a dreadful clamour, clapping their hands and exclaiming, "A pope! a pope! Antichrist! stone him! stone him!" And the tumult was so great, that it was found impossible to proceed with the service, until the most turbulent of the rioters were turned out of the church by the civil magistrates. The bishop, who had attempted in vain to appease them, was in danger of falling a sacrifice to their fury, in going home.⁽¹⁾

Though this tumult appeared to have been conducted only by persons of low condition, the sense of the nation was well known; so that it was not thought advisable to hazard a new insult by a second attempt to read the liturgy. But as the king, contrary to all the maxims of sound policy, and even of common sense, remained inflexible in his purpose of imposing such a mode of worship on his Scottish subjects, new tumults arose; and the people flocked from every part of the kingdom to Edinburgh, in order to oppose so obnoxious a measure. Men of all ranks and conditions joined in petitions against the liturgy: the pulpits resounded with vehement declamations against Antichrist; and the populace, who had first opposed the new service, was ingeniously compared by the preachers to Balaam's ass, an animal, stupid in itself, but whose mouth the Lord had opened, to the admiration of the whole world.⁽²⁾ Fanaticism, in a word, mingling with faction, and private interest with the spirit of liberty, produced symptoms of the most dangerous insurrection; yet Charles, as if under the influence of a blind fatality, though fully informed of the disorders in Scotland, obstinately refused to desist from his undertaking, notwithstanding the representations of his ablest ministers, and most faithful servants in that kingdom.

But what renders this obstinacy still more inexcusable, and makes the king's conduct appear altogether inexplicable, is, that while he was endeavouring to recover so great a part of the property of Scotland as the churchlands, from powerful nobles, by no means willing to relinquish them, and was attempting to change the whole civil and ecclesiastical constitution of the kingdom, he raised no forces to carry his violent designs into execution! The Scots saw the weakness of his administration, at the same time that they had reason to complain of its rigour: and on a proclamation being issued, containing a pardon for all past offences, and exhorting them peaceably to submit to the liturgy, they entered into a civil and religious convention, generally known by the name of the COVENANT, which proved an effectual barrier against all regal encroachments.

In this convention were comprehended all orders of men in the state, divided into different tables or classes; one table consisting of nobility, another of gentry, a third of clergy, and a fourth of burgesses. In the hands of commissioners, chosen from these four tables, the whole authority of the kingdom was placed. The articles of their covenant consisted, first of a renunciation of popery, formally signed by the late king in his youth; then followed a bond of union, by which the subscribers obliged themselves to resist innovations in religion, and to defend each other against all violence and oppression.⁽³⁾ And as every thing was pretended to be done by the Covenanters for the glory of God, the honour of the king, and the advantage of their country, people of all ranks, without distinction of age or sex, crowded to subscribe the Covenant. Even the king's ministers and counsellors were seized with the general phrensy.⁽⁴⁾

Charles, who now began to apprehend the consequences of such a powerful combination, dispatched the marquis of Hamilton into Scotland, with authority to treat with the Covenanters. He offered to suspend the canons and liturgy, until they could be received in a fair and legal way; and so model the court of High-commission, that it should no longer give offence. But he required in return for these concessions a renunciation of the Covenant.

(1) *King's Declaration*. Rushworth, vol. ii. Burnet's *Mem.*

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) Rushworth, vol. ii. Burnet's *Mem.* *King's Declaration*.

(4) Burnet, *ubi sup.*

The Covenanters, who carried much higher their pretensions, and found themselves seconded by the zeal of the whole nation, replied, "that they would sooner renounce their baptism than the Covenant!" and the ministers invited the commissioner to subscribe it, telling him "with what peace and comfort it had filled the hearts of all God's people."⁽¹⁾

Hamilton returned to London; made another fruitless journey to Edinburgh, with new concessions: returned a second time to London; and was again sent back, with concessions yet more ample. Charles now consented utterly to abolish the canons, the liturgy, and the court of High-commission; but he would not agree to abolish episcopacy, which he thought as essential to the very being of a Christian church, as his Scottish subjects deemed it incompatible with that sacred institution. This narrowness of mind, which we must pity rather than condemn, proved the ruin of the negotiation. The king had impowered Hamilton, however, to propose the summoning of the general assembly of the church, and the parliament, by which every grievance might be redressed; an offer which was readily embraced by the Covenanters, who were well assured of their superior influence in both.

The first object that engaged the attention of the general assembly, where, besides a vast multitude of the populace, all the Scottish nobility and gentry of any family or interest were present, was an act for the utter abolition of episcopacy. The bishops sent a protest, declining the authority of the assembly; and the commissioner dissolved it, in his majesty's name, after declaring it illegally constituted. But this measure, though unforeseen, was little regarded: the members continued to sit, and to finish their business. All the acts of assembly, since the accession of James VI. to the crown of England, were declared null and void, as being procured by the arbitrary influence of the sovereign; and the acts of parliament, which affected ecclesiastical affairs, were considered, on the same account, as of no authority.⁽²⁾ Thus episcopacy, the court of High-commission, the canons, and the liturgy, were abolished, and declared unlawful. Every thing, in a word, which, during a long course of years, James and Charles had been labouring with such care and policy to rear, was thrown at once to the ground; and the Covenant, so obnoxious to the crown and hierarchy, was ordered, under pain of excommunication, to be signed by every one.⁽³⁾

After having taken these bold steps, it became necessary for the Scottish malecontents to maintain their religious opinions by military force; especially as they had good reason to believe, that, however just their resolutions might appear to themselves, they would not be assented to by the king. Although they did not despair of supernatural assistance, they therefore thought it would be imprudent to slight the arm of flesh. Their measures, dictated by vigour and ability, were indeed alike distinguished by their wisdom and promptitude; and such as might have been expected from a regularly established commonwealth, rather than a tumultuous convention. The whole kingdom being in a manner engaged in the Covenant, men of talents soon acquired that ascendancy to which their natural superiority entitled them, and which their family interest or their character enabled them to maintain. The earl of Argyle, well calculated to make a figure during such a turbulent period, took the lead; and the earls of Rothes, Cassils, Montrose, Lotlian, with the lords Lindsey, Loudon, Yester, and Balmerino, distinguished themselves in the cause. A number of Scottish officers, who had acquired reputation in Germany, during the religious wars, but particularly under Gustavus Adolphus, were invited over to assist their country in her present necessity. And the chief command was entrusted to Lesley, earl of Leven, an officer of experience and ability. Forces were regularly enlisted and disciplined; arms were imported from foreign countries; some castles belonging to the king were seized; and the whole country, except a small part, where the

(1) *King's Declaration.* Rushworth, vol. ii.

(2) *King's Declaration.* Burnet's *Memoirs.* Rushworth, vol. ii.

(3) *Ibid.*

marquis of Huntley still supported the royal authority, was reduced under the power of the Covenanters.(1)

Charles, whose affection to his native kingdom was strong, but whose attachment to the hierarchy was yet stronger, hastened his military preparations for subduing the refractory spirit of the Scots, and re-establishing episcopacy. A formidable fleet, with five thousand troops on board, was entrusted to the marquis of Hamilton, who had orders to sail for the Frith of Forth, and attempt to divide the forces of the Covenanters; and an army of near twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse, was levied, and put under the command of the earl of Arundel. The earl of Essex was appointed lieutenant-general, and the earl of Holland general of the horse. The king himself joined the army, and summoned all the peers of England to attend him. Many of them repaired to the camp, which had more the appearance of a splendid court than of a military armament. With part of this pompous rather than formidable force, Charles arrived at York, while Essex advanced and took possession of Berwick.(2)

The army of the Covenanters was as numerous as that of the king, but inferior in cavalry. The officers, however, had more experience: and the soldiers, though newly raised, and but indifferently armed, were animated by the strongest motive that can stimulate men to action—zeal for the preservation of their civil and religious liberties. Yet so prudent were their leaders, who wished to avoid hostilities, that they immediately sent submissive messages, and craved leave to be permitted to treat with the king. It was now a very difficult matter for Charles to determine how to act. He was sensible that, while the force of the Covenanters remained unbroken, their spirits high, and their ardour unabated, no reasonable terms could be expected from them; and should he submit to their pretensions, not only pre-emption must be sacrificed to their fanaticism, but regal authority itself would become a mere shadow in Scotland. On the other hand, the consequences of a defeat, while Scotland was in arms, and England dissatisfied, were too dreadful to permit him to hazard a battle: the utter loss of his authority in both kingdoms was to be feared. Besides, had he been inclined to rely on the bravery of his English subjects, they discovered no inclination to act offensively against the Scots, whose necessity of rising they pitied, and whose independent spirit they admired. The sympathy of civil and religious grievances had subdued all national animosity in their hearts.

It seemed, however, essential for the king's safety, that he should take a decided part; that he should either confide in the valour and generosity of the English nation, and attempt to bring the Scots under submission; or openly and candidly grant the Covenanters such conditions as would exclude all future cause of complaint, and render rebellion inexcusable. Unfortunately, in deliberating between these two resolutions, Charles embraced neither; but concluded a sudden pacification, in which it was stipulated, that he should withdraw his fleet and army; that the Scots, within eight and forty hours, should dismiss their forces; that the forts taken by the Covenanters should be restored, the royal authority acknowledged, and the general assembly and parliament summoned, in order to compose all differences.(3)

The consequences were such as might be expected from so injudicious a negotiation. The pretensions of the Scots agreed so ill with the concessions which the king was willing to make, that their parliament was prorogued, when proceeding to ratify some obnoxious acts of assembly; and the war was renewed, with great advantages on the side of the Covenanters. Charles's necessities had obliged him to disband his forces, immediately after the unmeaning pacification; and, as the English nation discovered little inclination to engage in the quarrel, it was impossible to assemble a new army without great expense, as well as loss of time. The more provident Covenanters,

(1) *May's History of the Parliament of England.* Burnet's *Memoirs*.

(2) *Clarendon*, vol. i.

(3) *Rushworth*, vol. iii.

who foresaw the probability of their being again obliged to support their pretensions by arms, were careful, in dismissing their troops, to take such measures as made it easy for them to collect their strength. The officers had orders to be ready on the first summons, and the soldiers were warned not to think the nation secure from an English invasion. Pious zeal made both watchful; and no sooner was the trumpet sounded, by their spiritual and temporal leaders, than all ranks of men repaired to their military stations, and cheerfully took the field once more, in defence of their civil and religious liberties.(1)

The king, at length, got together a body of troops; but he soon discovered that his greatest difficulty yet remained: his revenues were insufficient to support them. How to proceed, in such an emergency, was a question not easy to be determined. After the many irregular methods of taxation which had been tried, and the multiplied disgusts thereby given to the puritanical party, as well as by the management of religion, little could be expected from an English parliament: yet to that humiliating expedient the proud spirit of Charles was obliged to stoop, as the only means of obtaining supply; and after a contemptuous intermission of eleven years, to summon the great council of the nation, and throw himself on the generosity of his insulted commons. The commons, as might have been expected, insisted that the redress of grievances should be taken into consideration before they entered on the business of supply. This, they affirmed, was conformable to the ancient usage of parliament, and founded on a jealousy inherent in the constitution; that the necessity pleaded was purely ministerial, not national; for, if the same grievances, under which England laboured, had pushed the Scots to extremities, was it incumbent on the English to forge their own chains by imposing chains on their neighbours? Disgusted with these reasonings, and finding his friends in the house outnumbered by his enemies, Charles, by the advice of archbishop Laud and the marquis of Hamilton, formed and executed the desperate resolution of dissolving the parliament.(2) The marquis is supposed to have been secretly a friend to the Covenanters.

Thus disappointed of parliamentary aid, the king, in order to satisfy his urgent wants, was obliged to have recourse to a method of supply which must have been very grating to a generous mind. Beside laying a heavy hand upon the clergy, he was under the necessity of borrowing large sums from his ministers and courtiers; and so much was he beloved by them, that the loan greatly exceeded his expectation. They subscribed above three hundred thousand pounds in a few days. By these means, he was enabled to march his army northward. It consisted of nineteen thousand foot, and two thousand horse. The earl of Northumberland acted as commander-in-chief; the earl of Strafford, as lieutenant-general; and lord Conway as general of the horse.(3)

The army of the Covenanters, though more numerous, were sooner ready, and had marched to the borders of England, in consequence of a letter forged by lord Saville, in the name of six English noblemen of distinction, inviting the Scots to assist their neighbours in procuring a redress of their grievances.(4) But notwithstanding their force, and this encouragement, they still preserved the most submissive language; and entered England, as they declared, with no other view but to obtain access to the king's person, and lay their humble petition at his royal feet. They were opposed in their march, at Newburn upon Tyne, by a detachment of four thousand five hundred men, under lord Conway, who seemed resolute to dispute with them the passage of the river. The Scots, after entreating liberty to pass unmolested, attacked their opponents with great bravery; killed several of them, and chased the rest from their ground.(5) In consequence of this unexpected advantage, the whole English army was seized with a panic: the forces at Newcastle fled imme-

(1) Clarendon, vol. i.

(2) *Ibid.* Burnet's *Memoirs*.

(3) Rushworth, vol. lii.

(4) Nelson, vol. ii. Burnet, *Hist.* vol. i.

(5) Clarendon, vol. i.

diately to Durham; and not thinking themselves safe even there, retreated with precipitation into Yorkshire.(1)

The victorious Covenanters took possession of Newcastle, though without offering any violence to the persons or property of the inhabitants. They not only preserved the most exact discipline, but persevered so far in maintaining the appearance of an amicable disposition toward England, that they paid for their very provisions; and they sent messengers to the king, who was now arrived at York, to renew their protestations of loyalty and submission, and to beg forgiveness for the unavoidable effusion of the blood of his English subjects (2) Charles understood the hypocritical insult, but his circumstances did not permit him to resent it. The nation was universally and highly dissatisfied: the army was discouraged, the treasury exhausted, the revenue anticipated; and every expedient for supply that ingenuity could suggest had been tried to the utmost. In this extremity, as the least of two evils, the king agreed to a treaty, in order to prevent the Scots from advancing upon him; and named sixteen English noblemen, who met with eleven Scottish commissioners at Rippon. The result of their deliberations was a cessation of arms; in consequence of which the Scots were to be allowed, for their maintenance, eight hundred and fifty pounds a-day, during their stay in England.(3)

It may be worthy of remark, that the earl of Strafford, who had succeeded Northumberland in the command of the army, and who possessed more vigour of mind than the king or any of the council, advised Charles to put all to the hazard of a battle, rather than submit to such unworthy terms as were likely to be imposed upon him; "for, should your majesty even be defeated, nothing worse can befall you," observed his lordship, "than what from your inactivity you will certainly feel!"(4) These prophetic words seem to have been dictated by the most infallible of all inspiration, that intuitive discernment of a penetrating genius, habituated to the contemplation of human affairs, which enables it to look into futurity.

The causes of disgust which had, for above thirty years, been every day multiplying in England, were now arrived at their height; and Charles, in despair of being able to stem the torrent, at last resolved to yield to it. He therefore, in compliance with a number of petitions, and the general wish of his subjects, again assembled the parliament. Many exorbitant claims, he was sensible, would probably be made, and must necessarily be complied with. But he little expected that great and decisive blow, which, on the meeting of parliament, was aimed at his authority, by the commons, in the person of his minister, the earl of Strafford; for as such that nobleman was considered, both on account of the credit which he possessed with the king, and of his own extensive and vigorous capacity. Not unacquainted with the load of popular prejudices under which he laboured, Strafford would gladly have declined attendance in parliament; and begged permission to withdraw himself to his government of Ireland, being then lord-lieutenant, or at least to remain at the head of the army in Yorkshire. But the king, judging his presence and counsels necessary at such a crisis, assured him, that not a hair of his head should be touched by the parliament.(5) So confident was Charles still of his own authority, though ready to expire, and so lofty were his ideas of the majesty of kings!

The commons thought less respectfully of it. No sooner was Strafford's arrival known, than a concerted attack was made upon him by Mr. Pym; who, after enumerating all the grievances under which the nation laboured, inferred, that a deliberate plan had been formed under the reign of a pious and virtuous king, for changing totally the frame of government, and subverting the ancient laws and liberties of the kingdom. "We must inquire,"

(1) This panic was chiefly occasioned by an unexpected discharge of artillery. *Bagot, Hist. vol. i.*

(2) Rushworth, vol. iii.

(3) Clarendon, vol. i. Rushworth, vol. iii.

(4) Nelson, vol. ii.

(5) Whitlocke.

added he, "from what fountain these waters of bitterness flow; and though doubtless many evil counsellors will be found to have contributed their endeavours, yet there is one who claims the guilty pre-eminence: he is the earl of Strafford, lieutenant of Ireland, and president of the council of York; a man who, in the memory of many present, has sat in this house, an earnest vindicator of the laws, and a most zealous assertor and champion for the liberties of the people. But it is long since he turned from these good affections; and, according to the custom of *apostates*, he is become the greatest enemy to the liberties of his country, and the greatest promoter of tyranny, that any age hath ever produced.(1)"

This political apostasy of Strafford seems, indeed, to have been his chief crime with the popular leaders, and never to be expiated but with his blood. Pym was seconded in his charge by sir John Hotham, sir John Clotworthy, and others; and, after several hours spent in bitter invectives against the supposed criminal (the doors being locked to prevent a discovery of the concerted purpose), it was moved, that the earl of Strafford should be accused of high-treason. The motion was received with general approbation, and the impeachment was voted without much debate. Mr. Pym was chosen to carry it up to the lords: most of the members attended him; and Strafford, who had just entered the house of peers, and intended, it is said, the same day to have impeached some popular members of both houses, for holding a treasonable correspondence with the Scots, was suddenly ordered into custody, with many symptoms of prejudice in his judges as well as his accusers.(2)

Elated with their success, the popular leaders ventured also to impeach archbishop Laud, the lord-keeper Finch, and secretary Windebank.(3) The two last made their escape beyond sea, before they were taken into custody: the primate was committed. From *traitors*, the commons proceeded to the prosecution of *delinquents*; a term expressive of a degree and species of guilt not exactly known or ascertained, but which, by the interpretation then put upon it, exposed to punishment not only the king's ministers and counsellors, but many of the nobility, gentry, and clergy: all, in a word, however warranted by precedent or proclamation, who had acted without the authority of the statute-law of the land.(4)

The commons took other steps of more importance. They declared the sanction of the two houses of parliament, as well as of the king, necessary to the confirmation of ecclesiastical canons; they expelled from their house all monopolists; and committees were appointed to inquire into all the violations of law and liberty, of which any complaint had been made. From the reports of these committees, the house daily passed votes, which mortified and astonished the court, at the same time that they animated and inflamed the nation. Ship-money was declared illegal and arbitrary; the sentence against Hamden was cancelled; compositions for knighthood were stigmatized; the extension of the forest-laws condemned; patents for monopolies annulled; and every measure of administration for some years back was treated with reproach and obloquy.(5)

All moderate men were now of opinion, that a design was formed to subvert the monarchy;(6) and the church was in no less danger. While the

(1) *Parl. Hist.* vol. ix. Clarendon, vol. i.

(2) Clarendon, vol. i.

(3) Grimstone, a popular member, called sir Francis Windebank, who was one of Laud's creatures, "the very pander and broker to the whore of Babylon!" (*Rushworth*, vol. v.) Nothing can show in a stronger light the illiberal way of thinking, and narrow prejudices of the times, than the use of such expressions, in the house, on so great an occasion.

(4) Clarendon, vol. i.

(5) *Nelson*, vol. i. Clarendon, vol. i. *Rushworth*, vol. iii.

(6) "You have taken the whole machine of government in pieces," said Charles, in a speech to the parliament, "a practice frequent with skilful artists, when they desire to turn the wheels from any rust, which may have grown upon them. The engine," continued he, "may again be restored to its former use and motions, provided it be put up entire, so as not a pin of it be wanting." But this was far from being the in-

harangues of the members, now first published and dispersed, kept alive the discontents against the king's administration, the pulpits, delivered over to puritanical preachers and lecturers, whom the commons arbitrarily settled in all the considerable churches, resounded with faction and fanaticism; and the popular leaders, in order to maintain that high authority which they had acquired, and inspire confidence into their friends, as well as to overawe their opponents, judged it requisite still to delay the departure of the Scots. Meantime the chaplains to their commissioners began openly to use the Presbyterian form of worship, which had not hitherto been tolerated in England, and with such amazing success in London, that multitudes crowded not only into the church assigned them, but such as could not there find room clung to the doors or windows, in hopes of catching at least the distant murmur, or some broken phrases of the spiritual rhetoric.(1)

This was the most effectual method of paying court to the zealous Covenanters. To spread the Presbyterian discipline and worship throughout England, and to establish that faith on the ruins of episcopacy, would have given more joy to their godly hearts than the temporal conquest of the kingdom; and the hour was fast approaching when that joy was to be theirs. The puritanical party among the commons, emboldened by their success in civil matters, began openly to profess their tenets, and to make furious attacks on the established religion. Every day produced some vehement harangue against the usurpations of the bishops; and so highly disgusted were all the lovers of liberty at the political doctrines propagated by the clergy, that no distinction, for a time, appeared between such as desired only to repress the exorbitancies of the hierarchy, and such as wanted totally to annihilate episcopal jurisdiction.(2)

Encouraged by these favourable appearances, petitions against the established church were framed in different parts of the kingdom; and the epithet of the *ignorant or scandalous* priesthood was commonly applied to all churchmen; although the episcopal clergy in England during that age seem to have been sufficiently learned and exemplary. An address against episcopacy was presented by twelve clergymen of the committee of religion, said to be signed by seven hundred puritanical ministers. But the petition which made the greatest noise was that from the city of London, for a total alteration of church government, and to which sixteen thousand names were annexed.(3)

The popular leaders, notwithstanding these indications of a fanatical disposition in the people, and though generally disaffected against episcopacy, resolved to proceed with caution, and overturn the hierarchy by degrees. With this view, they introduced a bill for prohibiting all clergymen the exercise of any civil office. The bishops, of course, were to be deprived of their seats in the house of peers; a measure very acceptable to the zealous friends of liberty, who had observed with regret the devoted obsequiousness of the ecclesiastical order to the will of the monarch.

Charles, who had hitherto remained wholly passive, during all the violent proceedings of the present parliament, was now roused by the danger that threatened his favourite episcopacy; which was, indeed, the great pillar of the throne. He sent for the two houses to Whitehall, and told them, that he intended to reform all innovations in church and state, and to reduce matters of religion and government to what they were in the purest times of queen Elizabeth.(4) "But some men," said he, "encouraged by the

reaction of the commons. The machine they thought, with some reason, was encumbered with many wheels and springs, which counteracted its operations, and destroyed its utility. Hume, chap. liv.

(1) Clarendon, vol. i.

(2) Hume, vol. vi.

(3) Clarendon, vol. i.

(4) If the majority of the commons, or at least of the leading men among them, had not been resolved on the total overthrow of the church and monarchy, a fair opportunity was here afforded them of effecting a thorough reconciliation of parties, by a temperate reformation of civil and ecclesiastical abuses.

"sitting of this parliament, more maliciously than ignorantly, put no difference between *reformation* and *alteration* of government,

"Though I am for the former," added he, "I cannot give way to the latter. I will not say that bishops may not have overstretched their spiritual power, or encroached upon the temporal; which, if you find, correct and reform the abuse, according to the wisdom of former times: and so far I am with you. Nay, farther: if, upon serious debate, you shall show me, that bishops have some temporal authority inconvenient to the state, and not necessary to the church for the support of episcopacy, I shall not be unwilling to persuade them to lay it down. Yet by this you must understand that I cannot consent to the taking away of their *voice* in parliament; a privilege which they have anciently enjoyed under so many of my predecessors, even before the Conquest, and ever since, and which I conceive I am bound to maintain as one of the fundamental institutions of this kingdom." (1)

The king, however, was soon freed from all immediate apprehensions on this subject by the peers, a great majority of whom rejected the bill. But the puritanical party among the commons, in order to show how little they were discouraged, brought in another bill for the total abolition of episcopacy; and although they thought proper to let it rest for a while, their purpose was not the less sincere. Other matters demanded their present attention. They got an act passed, and without any hesitation on the part of the king, declaring it unlawful to levy the duties of tonnage and poundage without consent of parliament; after which, they brought in a bill to prevent the discontinuance of parliaments for above three years.

Though by this bill some of the noblest and most valuable privileges of the crown were retrenched, such a law was indispensably necessary for completing a regular plan of law and liberty. "Let no man," said the spirited and artful Digby, who knew well the importance of the bill, "object any derogation from the king's prerogative by it. His honour, his power, will be as conspicuous in commanding that a parliament shall assemble every third year as in commanding a parliament to be called this or that year. There is more majesty in ordaining primary and universal causes than in actuating subordinate effects. In choosing ill ministers," added he emphatically, "we do but dissipate clouds that may gather again: but, in voting this bill, we shall perpetuate our sun, our sovereign, in his vertical, his noon-day lustre." (2) Charles, finding that nothing less would satisfy his parliament and people, gave his reluctant assent to the bill.

The victory of the commons was now complete; and had they used it with moderation, the members of this parliament would have merited the praise of all sincere lovers of their country, as well as of the enthusiasts of liberty. Nor would their subsequent abolition of the arbitrary courts of the Star-chamber and High-commission, so grievous to the nation, be imputed to them as cause of blame. But their cruel persecution of Strafford, and their future encroachments upon the king's authority, which made resistance a virtue, and involved the three kingdoms in all the horrors of civil war, must make their patriotism very questionable in the opinion of every dispassionate man. Their unjustifiable encroachments on the authority of Charles we shall afterwards have occasion to consider: here we must examine the progress of their vengeance against his minister; whose high reputation, for experience and capacity, made them regard his death as their only security for success in their farther attacks upon the throne.

In consequence of this idea, the impeachment of Strafford had been pushed on with the utmost vigour. Immediately after he was sequestered from parliament and confined in the Tower, a committee of thirteen was chosen by the commons, and intrusted with the office of preparing a charge against him. This committee, assisted by a few peers, was vested with authority to examine all witnesses, to call every paper, and to use any means

(1) *Parl. Hist.* vol. ix.

(2) *Ibid.*

of scrutiny, in regard to any part of the earl's behaviour or conduct:(1) and, as a profound historian remarks, after so general and unbounded an inquisition, exercised by such powerful and implacable enemies, a man who had acted in a variety of public stations must have been very cautious or very innocent, not to afford, during the whole course of his proceedings, some matter of accusation against him.(2)

Nothing, however, was found against Strafford that could by any means be brought under the description of treason; a crime which the laws of England had defined with the most scrupulous exactness, in order to protect the subject against the violence of the king and his ministers. Aware of this, the commons attempted to prove against the prisoner "an endeavour to subvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom:"(3) and as the statute of treason makes no mention of such a species of guilt, they invented a kind of accumulative, or constructive evidence, by which many actions, either totally innocent in themselves, or criminal in an inferior degree, shall, when united, amount to treason, and subject the person to the highest penalties inflicted by the law; the king and parliament, as they asserted, having power to determine what is treason, and what not. They accordingly voted that the facts proved against the earl of Strafford, taken collectively, were treasonable.(4)

Strafford defended himself with firmness and ability. After pleading to each particular article of the charge, he brought the whole together, in order to repel the imputation of treason. "Where," said he, "has this species of guilt been so long concealed? Where has this fire been so long buried, during so many centuries, that no smoke should appear, till it burst out at once to consume me and my children? Better it were to live under no law at all, and, by the maxims of cautious prudence, to conform ourselves to the best we can to the arbitrary will of a master, than fancy we have a law on which we can rely, and find at last that this law shall inflict a punishment precedent to the promulgation, and try us by maxims unheard of until the very moment of prosecution. If I sail on the Thames, and split my vessel on an anchor; in case there be no buoy to give me warning, the party shall pay me damages; but if the anchor be marked out, then is the striking on it at my own peril. Where is the mark set upon this crime? where the token by which I should discover it? It has lain concealed under water; and no human prudence, no human innocence, could teach me to avoid it, or save me from the destruction with which I am at present threatened.

"It is now full two hundred and forty years since treasons were defined: and so long has it been since any man was touched to this extent, upon this crime, before myself. We have lived, my lords, happy to ourselves at home; we have lived gloriously abroad to the world: let us be content with what our fathers left; let not our ambition carry us to be more learned than they were, in these killing and destructive arts. Great wisdom it will be in your lordships, and just providence for yourselves, for your posterities, for the whole kingdom, to cast from you, into the fire, these bloody and mysterious volumes of arbitrary and constructive treasons, as the primitive Christians did their books of curious arts, and betake yourselves to the plain letter of the statute, which tells you where the crime is, and points out to you the path by which you may avoid it.

"Let us not, to our own destruction, awake those sleeping lions, by rattling up a company of old records, which have lain for so many ages by the wall, forgotten and neglected. To all my afflictions add not this,

(1) Clarendon, vol. i.

(2) Hume, *Hist. Eng.* chap. lvi.

(3) Rushworth, vol. iv.

(4) Rushworth, vol. iv. As a proof how far the popular leaders were hurried away by their vindictive passions, it will be sufficient to quote the speech of Mr. St. John, who affirmed that Strafford had no title to plead law, because he had endeavoured to destroy the law. "It is true," said he, "we give law to horses and deers, for they are beasts of chase: but it was never accounted cruel, or unfair, to destroy foxes and wolves, wherever they can be found, for they are beasts of prey!" Clarendon, vol. i.

"my lords, the most severe of any, that I for my own sins, not for my treasons, be the means of introducing a precedent so pernicious to the laws and liberties of my native country. These gentlemen at the bar, however, say they speak for the commonwealth; and they may believe so: yet, under favour, it is I who, in this particular, speak for the commonwealth. Precedents like those which are endeavoured to be established against me must draw along with them such inconveniences and miseries, that, in a few years, the kingdom would be in the condition expressed in a statute of Henry IV. *no man shall know by what rule to govern his words or actions.*

"Impose not, my lords, difficulties insurmountable upon ministers of state, nor disable them from serving with cheerfulness their king and country. If you examine them, and under such severe penalties, by every grain, by every little weight, the scrutiny will be intolerable: the public affairs of the kingdom must be left waste; for no wise man, who has any honour or fortune to lose, will ever engage himself in such dreadful, such unknown perils.

"My lords, I have now troubled your lordships too long; a great deal longer than I should have done, were it not for the interest of these dear pledges, which a saint in heaven has left me. I should be loth"—Here his grief deprived him of utterance. He let fall a tear, pointed to his children, who were placed near him, and thus proceeded:—"What I forfeit for myself is a trifle; but that my indiscretion should forfeit for them, I confess, wounds me very deeply. You will be pleased to pardon my infirmity,"—again dropping a tear. "Something I should have added, but find I shall not be able, and therefore shall leave it. And now, my lords, I thank God, I have been, by his good blessing, sufficiently instructed in the extreme vanity of all temporary enjoyments, compared to the importance of our eternal duration; and so, my lords, even so, with all humility, and with all tranquillity of mind, I submit, clearly and freely, to your judgments; and whether that righteous doom shall be life or death, I shall repose myself, full of gratitude and confidence, in the arms of the great Author of my existence." (1)

Certainly, says Whitlocke, never any man acted such a part, on such a theatre, with more wisdom, constancy, and eloquence, with greater reason, judgment, and temper, and with a better grace in all his words and actions, than did this great and excellent person: and he moved the hearts of all his auditors, some few excepted, to remorse and pity. (2) It is truly remarkable, that the historian, who makes these candid and liberal observations, was himself chairman of that committee which conducted the impeachment against this unfortunate nobleman!

The accusation and defence lasted eighteen days; and Strafford behaved with so much modesty and humility, as well as firmness and vigour, that the commons, though aided by all the weight of authority, would have found it impossible to obtain a sentence against him, if the peers had not been overawed by the tumultuous populace. Reports were every day spread of the most alarming plots and conspiracies; and about six thousand men, armed with swords and cudgels, flocked from the city, and surrounded the two houses of parliament. When any of the lords passed, the cry for justice against Strafford resounded in their ears; and such as were suspected of friendship for that obnoxious minister, were sure to meet with menaces, accompanied with symptoms of the most desperate intentions in the furious multitude. (3) Intimidated by these threats, only forty-five, out of about eighty peers, who had constantly attended this important trial, were present when the bill of attainder was brought into the house, and nineteen of that number had the courage to vote against it; (4) a strong presumption that, if no danger had been apprehended, it would have been rejected by a considerable majority.

(1) Rushworth, vol. iv.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 43.

(3) Clarendon, vol. i.

(4) Whitlocke, p. 43.

Popular violence having thus far triumphed, it was next employed to extort the king's consent. Crowds of people besieged Whitehall, and seconded their demand of justice on the minister, with the loudest clamours, and most open threatenings against the monarch. Rumours of plots and conspiracies against the parliament were anew circulated; invasions and insurrections were apprehended; and the whole nation was raised into such a ferment, as seemed to portend some great and immediate convulsion. On which side soever the king turned his eyes, he saw no resource or security, except in submitting to the will of the populace. His courtiers, consulting their own personal safety, and perhaps their interest, more than their master's honour, advised him to pass the bill of attainder; the pusillanimous judges, when consulted, declared it legal; and the queen, who formerly bore no good will toward Strafford, alarmed at the appearance of so frightful a danger, as that to which the royal family must be exposed by protecting him, now became an importunate solicitor for his death. She hoped, if the people were gratified in this demand, that their discontents would finally subside; and that, by such a measure, she should acquire a more absolute ascendant over the king, as well as some credit with the popular party. Bishop Juxon alone, in this trying extremity, had honesty or courage to offer an opinion worthy of his prince: he advised him if, in his conscience, he did not think the prisoner criminal, by no means to give his assent to the bill. (1)

While Charles was all anxiety and irresolution, struggling between virtue and necessity, he received a letter* from Strafford, intreating him, for the sake of public peace, to put an end to the innocent life of his unhappy servant; and thus to quiet the tumultuous people, by granting them that request for which they were so clamorous. "In this," added he, "my consent will more acquit you to God, than all the world can do besides: to a willing man there is no injury. (2) And as, by God's grace, I forgive all the world, with a calmness and meekness of infinite contentment to my lodging soul, so to you, sir, I can resign the life of this world with all imaginable cheerfulness in the just acknowledgment of your exceeding favours." (3)

This illustrious effort of disinterestedness, worthy of the noble mind of Strafford, and equal to any instance of generosity recorded in the annals of mankind, was ill rewarded by Charles; who, after a little more hesitation, as if his scruples had been merely of the religious kind, granted a commission to four noblemen to give the royal assent, in his name, to the bill. These commissioners were also empowered, at the same time, to give assent to a bill, that the parliament then sitting should not be dissolved, prorogued, or adjourned, without the consent of the majority of the members; (4) a bill of yet more fatal consequence to his authority than the other, as it rendered the power of his enemies perpetual, as well as uncontrollable. But in the moment of remorse for assenting to the bill of attainder, by which he deemed himself an accomplice in his friend's murder, this enormous concession appears totally to have escaped his penetration, and to have been considered comparatively as a light matter.

The king might still have saved his minister, by granting him a reprieve; but that was not thought advisable, while the minds of men were in such agitation. He sent, however, by the hands of the prince of Wales, a letter addressed to the peers, in which he entreated them to confer with the com-

(1) Clarendon, vol. i. This opinion has been cavilled at. "A king of England," it has been said, "ought never to interpose his private opinion against the other parts of 'the legislature.'" If so, the royal assent is a matter of mere form; and perhaps, in most cases, it ought to be so. But, in the present instance, the king was surely the best judge, whether Strafford, as a minister, had advised the subversion of the constitution; or, as an officer, had exceeded the extent of his commission: and, if he was blamable in neither capacity, Charles was surely bound, both in honour and conscience, to withhold his assent from the bill. The royal assent is not now necessary to bills of attainder: the jealousy of our constitution having cut off that, among other dangerous prerogatives.

(2) It appears that the king had sent a letter to Strafford during his confinement, in which he assured him, upon the word of a king, that he should not suffer in life, honour, or fortune. *Strafford's Letters*, vol. ii.

(3) Clarendon, vol. i. Rushworth, vol. v.

(4) *Id. ibid.*

mons about a mitigation of the prisoner's sentence, or at least to procure some delay. Both requests were rejected; and Strafford, finding his fate inevitable, prepared to meet death with the same dignity with which he had lived. In those awful moments of approaching dissolution, though neither cheered by that ray of popular immortality which beams upon the soul of the expiring patriot, nor consoled by the affectionate sorrow of the spectators, his erect mind found resources within itself; and, supported by the sentiment of conscious integrity, maintained its unbroken resolution amid the terrors of death and the triumphant exultations of his vindictive enemies. His discourse, and also his deportment on the scaffold, discovered equal composure and courage. "The shedding of innocent blood," said he, "as a propitiatory sacrifice, is a bad omen, I fear, of the intended reformation of the state." And on preparing himself for the block, he made this memorable declaration: "I thank God I am no way afraid of death, nor daunted with any terrors; but do as cheerfully lay down my head at this time, as ever I did when going to repose!"⁽¹⁾ He accordingly submitted to his doom; and, at one blow, the executioner happily performed his office.

Thus, my dear Philip, perished, in the forty-ninth year of his age, Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford, the last great prop of royalty under the turbulent reign of Charles I. His character, as might be expected, has been severely handled by our zealous republican writers; but by none of them has it been so completely mangled as by a furious female, who will allow him neither virtue nor talents. But his abilities as a statesman, and his unshaken attachment to his master, you will readily perceive, were the chief cause of his ruin: and in the future proceedings of that parliament, to whose resentment he fell a sacrifice, you will find the best apology for his administration. A certain degree of vigour, and more perhaps than Strafford exerted, was necessary to preserve the church and monarchy from the ravages of those civil and religious enthusiasts, who soon overturned both.

The immediately subsequent proceedings of the commons, however, though inroads on the royal prerogative, were by no means reprehensible. They brought in a bill, which was unanimously passed by both houses, for abolishing the arbitrary Star-chamber and High-commission courts, so grievous to all the lovers of liberty. By the same bill, the jurisdiction of the privy council was regulated, and its authority abridged. Charles, after some hesitation, gave his assent to this excellent statute, which produced a material but salutary change in our constitution. Several other arbitrary courts of an inferior nature were abolished: and the king, at the request of the parliament, instead of patents during pleasure, gave all the judges patents during their good behaviour;⁽²⁾ an advance of the utmost importance toward the impartial administration of justice, and the exclusion of the influence of the crown from the ordinary courts of law.

In a word, if the commons had proceeded no farther, they would have deserved the praise of all the friends of freedom; and even the iniquity of Strafford's attainder, their most blamable measure, would have been lost amid the blaze of their beneficial provisions and necessary regulations, which had generally a reference to posterity. But, like all political bodies who had rapidly acquired power, having gone so far, they did not know where to stop; but advanced insensibly, from one gradation to another, till they usurped the whole authority of the state.

These usurpations, and their consequences, we shall afterward have occasion to notice. They will form the subject of another letter. In the mean time I must observe, that the parliament, after sending home the Scots, and dismissing the English army, put a temporary stop to its proceedings; and that Charles paid a visit to his native kingdom, in order to settle the government to the satisfaction of the covenanters.

(1) Rushworth, vol. v.

(2) Clarendon, vol. i. Whitlocke, p. 47. May, p. 107.

LETTER V.

Great Britain and Ireland, from the Execution of Strafford, to the Beginning of the Grand Rebellion, in 1642.

WHEN Charles arrived in Scotland, he found his subjects of that kingdom highly elated with the success of their military expedition. Besides the large pay voted them for lying in good quarters at Newcastle, as long as the popular leaders had occasion for them, the English parliament had conferred on them a present of three hundred thousand pounds for their *brotherly assistance*.⁽¹⁾ They were declared, in the articles of pacification, to have been ever good subjects; and their hostile irruptions were approved of, as enterprises calculated and intended for his majesty's *honour and advantage*! Nay, in order to carry yet farther the triumph over their sovereign, these articles, containing terms so ignominious to him, were ordered, by a parliamentary vote, to be read in all churches, on a day of thanksgiving appointed for the national pacification.⁽²⁾

People in such a humour were not likely to be satisfied with trifling concessions. The Scottish parliament began with abolishing the Lords of Articles; who, from their constitution, were supposed to be entirely devoted to the court, and without whose consent no motion could be made;⁽³⁾ a circumstance peculiarly grievous in the Scottish parliament, where the peers and commons formed only one house. A law for triennial parliaments was likewise passed; and it was ordained, that the last act of every parliament should appoint the time and place for holding the parliament next ensuing.⁽⁴⁾ So far all perhaps was laudable; but subjects who usurp on the authority of their prince never know where to draw the line. In their rage for redressing grievances, they invaded the most essential branches of royal prerogative. The king was in a manner dethroned in Scotland, by an article, which declared, that no member of the privy council (in whose hands, during the king's absence, the whole administration was vested), no officer of state, none of the judges, should be appointed but by the advice and approbation of parliament.⁽⁵⁾

To all these encroachments Charles quietly submitted, in order to satisfy his Scottish subjects, and was preparing to return to England, in hopes of completing a similar plan of pacification, when he received intelligence that a bloody rebellion had broke out in Ireland, accompanied with circumstances of cruelty and devastation which fill the soul with horror. On every side surrounded by melancholy incidents and humiliating demands, nature and fortune, no less than faction and fanaticism, seemed to have conspired the ruin of this unhappy prince.

The conduct of James I. in regard to the affairs of Ireland, as we have already had occasion to see, was truly political, and the same plan of administration was pursued by his son Charles; namely, to reconcile the turbulent natives to the authority of law, by the regular distribution of justice, and to cure them of that sloth and barbarism to which they had ever been addicted, by introducing arts and industry among them. For these salutary purposes, and also to secure the dominion of Ireland to the crown of England, great numbers of British subjects had been carried over to that island, and large colonies planted in different parts of it; so that, after a peace of near forty years, the inveterate quarrels between the two nations not only seemed to be obliterated, but the country every where wore a less savage face.

(1) Nelson, vol. i.

(2) Rushworth, vol. v.

(3) Burnet, *Mém.*

(4) Burnet's *Mém. of the House of Hamilton*.

(5) *Ibid.*

To the tranquillity, as well as the prosperity of Ireland, the vigorous government of the earl of Strafford had contributed not a little. During his administration, agriculture had made great advances, by means of the English and Scottish plantations; the shipping of the kingdom had been doubled; the customs tripled upon the same rates; and manufactures introduced and promoted.(1) But soon after that minister fell a victim to popular fury, though dignified with the forms of justice, affairs began to wear a very different aspect in Ireland, and Charles found the parliament of that kingdom as high in its pretensions as those of England and Scotland, and was ready to rise in its encroachments in proportion to his concessions. The court of High-commission was voted to be a grievance; martial law was abolished; the jurisdiction of the council annihilated, and proclamations and acts of state declared of no authority.(2)

The English settlers, who were the chief movers of these measures, did not perceive, in their rage for liberty, the danger of weakening the authority of government, in a country where the Protestants scarce formed the sixth part of the inhabitants, and where two-thirds of the natives were still in a state of wild barbarity. This opportunity, however, thus afforded them, did not escape the discernment of the old Irish. They observed with pleasure every impolitic step, and determined on a general revolt, in order to free their country from the dominion of foreigners, and their religion from the insults of profane heretics. In this resolution they were encouraged by a gentleman, named Roger More, distinguished among them by his valour and abilities, and who, by going from chieftain to chieftain, roused up every latent principle of discontent.

More maintained a close correspondence with lord Maguire and sir Phelim O'Neale, the most powerful of the old Irish chieftains; and he took every opportunity of representing to his countrymen, that the king's authority, in Britain, was reduced to so low an ebb, that he could not possibly exert himself with any vigour, in maintaining the English dominion over Ireland: that the Catholics in the Irish house of commons, assisted by the Protestants, had so diminished the royal prerogative, and the power of the lord-lieutenant, as would much facilitate the conducting of any conspiracy that should be formed; that the Scots, in having so successfully thrown off dependence on the crown of England, and taken the government into their own hands, had set an example to the Irish, who had much greater grievances to complain of; that the English planters, who had expelled them from their ancient possessions, were but a handful in comparison of the original inhabitants; that they lived in the most supine security, interspersed with their numerous enemies, and trusting to the protection of a small army, which was itself scattered in inconsiderable divisions throughout the whole kingdom; that a body of eight thousand men, raised and disciplined by government, in order to suppress the rebellion in Scotland, were now thrown loose, and ready for any daring or desperate enterprise;(3) that although the Catholics had hitherto, from the moderation of their indulgent prince, enjoyed in some measure the exercise of their religion, they must expect that the government would thenceforth be conducted by other maxims and other principles; that the puritanical party in parliament having, at last, subdued the sovereign, would doubtless extend their ambitious views and fanatical

(1) Warwick, p. 115. Rushworth, vol. iv. Nelson, vol. ii. Strafford may be said to have given a beginning to the linen manufacture in Ireland, now become the great staple of the kingdom.

(2) *Id. ibid.*

(3) The English commons entertained the greatest apprehensions on account of this army, the officers of which were Protestants, but the private men Catholics: and never ceased soliciting the king, till he agreed to break it. Nor would they consent to his augmenting the standing army to five thousand men; a number which he judged necessary to retain Ireland in obedience. Nay, they even frustrated an agreement, which he had made with the Spanish ambassador, to have the disbanded troops transported into Flanders; and enlisted in his master's service: Charles thinking it dangerous, that eight thousand men accustomed to idleness, and trained to the use of arms, should be dispersed among a people so turbulent and predatory as the Irish. Clarendon, vol. i. Rushworth, vol. v. Dugdale, p. 67.

politics to Ireland, as soon as they had consolidated their authority, and made the Catholics in that kingdom feel the same furious persecution to which their brethren in England were already exposed; that a people, taking arms to rescue their native country from the dominion of foreign invaders, could at no time be considered as rebels; and much less could the Irish be regarded as such during the present disorders, when royal authority, to which alone they owed any obedience, was in a manner usurped by a set of despots from whom they could expect no favour or indulgence, but might expect every violence and severity. (1)

Influenced by these considerations, all the heads of the native Irish engaged in the conspiracy; and it was not doubted but the old British planters, or the *English of the Pale*, as they were called, being all Catholics, would afterwards join in an attempt to restore their religion to its ancient splendor. The beginning of winter was fixed on for the commencement of this revolt, that there might be more difficulty in transporting forces from England; and the plan of the conspirators was, that sir Phelim O'Neale and his confederates should, on one day, begin an insurrection throughout the country, and attack all the English settlements: while lord Maguire and Roger More, on the same day, should surprise the castle of Dublin.

A concurrence of favourable circumstances seemed to have rendered the success of this undertaking infallible. The Irish Catholics discovered such a propensity to revolt, that it was not thought necessary to trust the secret to many persons; and the appointed day drew nigh without any discovery having been made to government. The earl of Leicester, whom the king had appointed lord-lieutenant, remained in London; and the two chief justices, sir William Parsons and sir John Borlace, were men of slender abilities. The attempt upon the castle of Dublin, however, was defeated by one O'Connell, who betrayed the conspiracy to Parsons. More escaped, Maguire was taken; and Mahone, another of the conspirators, also being seized, discovered to the justices the project of a general insurrection, and increased the terror and consternation of the Protestants. (2)

But this intelligence, though it saved Dublin, was obtained too late to enable the government to prevent the intended rebellion. O'Neale and his confederates immediately took arms in Ulster. They began with seizing the houses, cattle, and goods of the unwary English and Scottish settlers, whom they hated on account of their religion, and envied for their riches and prosperity. After rapacity had fully exerted itself, cruelty began its operations: an universal massacre commenced of the English Protestants, now defenceless, and passively resigned to their inhuman foes, who exercised on them a degree of barbarity unequalled in the history of any other nation, and at which credibility is startled. No age, no sex, no condition, was spared: the wife weeping over her murdered husband, and embracing her helpless children, was butchered with them, and even pierced by the same stroke; all the ties of blood, as well as those of society, were dissolved; and friends, relations, and companions, were hunted down by their kindred and connexions, and involved in one common ruin, by those whom they had formerly considered as most sincerely attached to their persons, and who were most near and dear to them! (3) The women, forgetting the character of their sex, emulated the men in the practice of every cruelty. (4) In comparison with many of which, death might be regarded as a light punishment, and even as a happy release from pain, roused by all the varieties of torture.

Amidst these frightful enormities, the sacred name of religion resounded on every side; not to arrest the fury of the murderers, but to enforce their rage, and to steel their hearts against every movement of natural or social sympathy. The English Protestants were marked out by the Catholic priests for slaughter, as heretics abhorred of God, and detestable to all holy men. (5)

(1) Sir John Temple's *Irish Rebellion*.

(2) *Ibid.* Rushworth, vol. i.

(3) Temple, *ubi sup.*

(4) Rushworth, vol. v. Huume, chap. iv. p. 407.

(5) Temple, p. 85.

Perfidy, as well as cruelty, was accordingly represented as meritorious; and if any where a number of Englishmen assembled together, in order to defend themselves to the last extremity, and to sweeten death at least by taking revenge on their destroyers, they were disarmed by capitulations and promises of safety, confirmed by the most solemn oaths. But no sooner had they surrendered, than the rebels made them share the same fate with the body of their unhappy countrymen and fellow Protestants. Nor was this all. While death finished the sufferings of each unhappy victim, the wretched assassins, with joy and exultation, still echoed to the same, the same dying agonies were but a prelude to torments infinite and eternal. (1)

Such were the barbarities, my dear Philip, by which sir Phelim O'Neale and the Irish in Ulster signified their rebellion. The English colonies there were totally annihilated; and from Ulster the flames of rebellion suddenly spread over the other three provinces of Ireland, where the English had established settlements. In these provinces, however, though death and slaughter were not uncommon, the Irish pretended to act with more moderation and humanity. But cruel, alas! was their humanity, and unfeeling their moderation. Not content with expelling the English planters from their houses, with despoiling them of their property, seizing their possessions, and wasting their cultivated fields, they stripped them of their very clothes, and turned them out naked and defenceless to all the severities of the season; while the heavens themselves, as if joining in conspiracy against the unhappy sufferers, were armed with cold and tempest, unusual to the climate, and executed what the merciless sword had left unfinished. (2) Even the English of the *Pale*, who at first pretended to blame the insurrection, and to detest the barbarity with which it was accompanied, in a little time found the interests of religion to prevail over their regard to their mother-country, and their allegiance to their sovereign; and, joining the old Irish, rivalled them in every act of violence and cruelty against the English Protestants. (3) The number of persons who perished by all these barbarities is computed at forty thousand; and the principal army of the rebels, amounting to twenty thousand men, yet thirsting for further slaughter, and richer plunder, now threatened Dublin, where the miserable remnant of the English planters had taken refuge. (4)

The king, while preparing to leave Edinburgh, as already observed, had received, by a messenger from the north of Ireland, an account of this dreadful insurrection, which ought to be held in perpetual abhorrence by every lover of humanity. (5) He immediately communicated his intelligence to the Scottish parliament, hoping that the same zeal which had induced the Covenanters twice to run to arms, and assemble troops in opposition to the rights of their sovereign, would make them fly to the relief of their Protestant brethren in Ireland, now labouring under the cruel persecutions of the Catholics. But the zeal of the Scots, as is usual among religious sects, was extremely feeble, when neither stimulated by a sense of interest nor by apprehensions of danger. They therefore resolved to make an advantageous bargain for the succours they should send to Ireland; and as the English

(1) Temple, p. 94—100. Whitlocke, p. 47. Rushworth, vol. v.

(2) Temple.

(3) *Ibid.* Both the English and Irish rebels conspired in one imposture, with which they induced many of their deluded countrymen; they pretended authority from the king and queen, but chiefly from the latter, for their insurrection; and they affirmed that the cause of their taking up arms was to vindicate royal prerogative, so shamefully invaded by the puritanical parliament. Rushworth, vol. v.

(4) Whitlocke, p. 49. Hume, chap. iv.

(5) Many attempts have been made to throw a veil over the enormities of the Irish massacre. The natural love of independency, the tyranny of the English government, and the rapacity of the English soldiery, have been pleaded as powerful motives for rebellion, and strong incentives to vengeance, in the breasts of the injured and oppressed natives; and much trouble has been taken to prove, that the horrors of religious hate, though provoked by persecution, have been greatly exaggerated. But the vindictive and sanguinary disposition of the Irish Catholics, in latter times, leaves us no room to suppose that the description of the cruelties of their bigoted and barbarous ancestors has been overcharged. The stimulating causes I have not concealed, nor have I concealed their effects. The general slaughter I have reduced as low even as Mr. Brooke, the author of the *Trial of the Roman Catholics of Ireland*, could wish; but truth forbids me to disguise the atrocious circumstances with which it was accompanied.

commons, with which they were already closely connected, could alone fulfil any article that might be agreed on, they sent commissioners to London, to treat with that order in the state to which the sovereign authority was really transferred. (1)

Thus disappointed in his expectation of supplies from the Scots, and sensible of his own inability to subdue the Irish rebels, Charles was obliged to have recourse to the English parliament; to whose care and wisdom he imprudently declared himself willing to commit the conduct and prosecution of the war. The commons, who possessed alone the power of supply, and who had aggrandized themselves by the difficulties and distresses of the crown, seemed to consider it as a peculiar happiness, that the rebellion in Ireland had succeeded, at so critical a period, to the pacification of Scotland. They immediately laid hold of the expression by which the king committed to them the care of that island: and to this usurpation, the boldest they had yet made, Charles was obliged passively to submit; both because of his utter inability to resist, and lest he should expose himself still more to the infamous reproach with which he was already loaded by the Puritans, of countenancing the Irish rebellion.

The commons, however, who had projected farther innovations at home, took no steps towards suppressing the insurrection in Ireland, but such as also tended to give them the superiority in those commotions which they foresaw would soon be excited in England. They levied money under colour of the Irish expedition, but reserved it for enterprises that concerned them more nearly: they took arms from the king's magazines, under the same pretext, but kept them with a secret intention of employing them against himself. Whatever law they deemed necessary for their own aggrandizement was voted, under pretence of enabling them to recover Ireland; and if Charles withheld the royal assent, his refusal was imputed to those pernicious counsels which had at first excited the popish conspiracy in that kingdom, and which still threatened total destruction to the Protestant interest throughout all his dominions. (2) But so great was the confidence of the people in those hypocritical zealots, whose votes breathed nothing but death and destruction to the rebels, that, although no forces were sent to Ireland, and very little money remitted during the deepest distress of the Protestants, the fault was never imputed to the parliament!

The commons in the mean time were employed in framing that famous remonstrance, which was soon after followed by such extraordinary consequences. It was not, as usual, addressed to the king, but was a declared appeal to the people. Besides gross falsehoods and malignant insinuations, it contained an enumeration of every unpopular measure which Charles had embraced, from the commencement of his reign to the calling of the parliament that framed it, accompanied with many jealous prognostics of future grievances; and the acrimony of the style was equal to the harshness of the matter.

A performance so full of gall, and so obviously intended to excite general dissatisfaction, after the ample concessions made by the crown, was not only regarded by all discerning men as a signal for some farther attacks upon the royal prerogative, but as a certain indication of the approaching abolition of monarchical government in England. The opposition which the remonstrance met with in the house of commons was therefore very great. The debate in regard to it was warmly managed for above fourteen hours; and the vote in its favour was at last carried only by a small majority, and seemingly in consequence of the weariness of the king's party, consisting chiefly of elderly men, many of whom had retired. (3) It was not sent up to the house of peers.

No sooner was the remonstrance of the commons published, than the king dispersed an answer to it. Sensible of the disadvantages under which he laboured in this contest, Charles contented himself with observing, that, even during the period so much complained of, the people had enjoyed not

(1) Rushworth, vol. v.

(2) Clarendon, vol. ii.

(3) Rushworth, vol. v. Nalson, vol. ii. Whitlocks, p. 49. Dugdale, p. 71.

only a greater share of happiness and prosperity than was to be found in other countries, but perhaps in England during times esteemed the most fortunate. He mentioned the great concessions made by the crown, protested his sincerity in the reformed religion, and blamed the infamous libels every where dispersed against his person, government, and the established church. "If, notwithstanding these," added he, "any malignant party shall take heart, and be willing to sacrifice the peace and happiness of their country to their own sinister ends and ambitious and whatever pretence of religion and conscience; if they shall endeavour to lessen my reputation and interest, and to weaken my lawful power and authority; if they shall attempt, by discountenancing the present laws, to loosen the bands of government, that disorder and confusion may break in upon us; I doubt not but God, in his good time, will discover them to me, and that the wisdom and courage of my high court of parliament will join with me in their suppression and punishment."⁽¹⁾

But the ears of the people were too much prejudiced against the king to listen patiently to any thing that he could offer in his own vindication; so that the commons proceeded in their usurpations upon the church and monarchy, and made their purpose of subverting both every day more evident. During the king's residence in Scotland, they had accused thirteen bishops of high treason, for enacting canons without consent of parliament, though no other method had ever been practised since the foundation of the government; and they now insisted, that the peers, upon this general accusation, should sequester those bishops from their seats in parliament, and commit them to prison. But the majority of the peers, who plainly foresaw the depression of the nobility as a necessary consequence of the farther encroachments of the commons, paid little regard to such an unreasonable request. Enraged at this and other checks, the popular leaders openly told the lords, That they themselves were the representative body of the whole kingdom, and that the peers were nothing but individuals, who held their seats in a particular capacity: and, therefore, "If their lordships will not consent to the passing of acts necessary for the preservation of the people, the commons, together with such of the lords as are more sensible of the danger, must join together, and represent the matter to his majesty."⁽²⁾

This was a plain avowal of those democratical principles that began now to be propagated among the people, and which had long prevailed in the house of commons, as well as a bold attempt to form a party among the lords. And the tide of popularity seized many of the peers, and carried them wide of all the established maxims of civil policy. Of these the most considerable were the earls of Essex and Northumberland, and lord Kimbolton, afterward earl of Manchester; men who, sensible that their credit ran high with the nation, rashly ventured to encourage an enthusiastic spirit, which they soon found they wanted power to regulate or control.

The body of the nobility, however, still took shelter under the throne; and the commons, in order to procure a majority in the upper house, had again recourse to the populace. Amidst the greatest security, they affected continual fears of destruction to themselves and the nation:⁽³⁾ they even ordered halberds to be brought into the hall where they assembled; and thus armed themselves against those desperate conspiracies, with which they pretended they were hourly threatened, and the feigned discoveries of which were industriously propagated among the credulous people.⁽⁴⁾ Multitudes flocked to Westminster, and insulted the bishops and such of the peers as adhered to the crown. The lords voted a declaration against these tumults, and sent it to the lower house: but the commons refused their concurrence; and to make farther known their pleasure, they ordered several seditious apprentices, who had been seized and committed to prison, to be set at liberty.⁽⁵⁾

(1) Nelson, vol. ii.

(2) Clarendon, vol. ii.

(3) *Journ.* 16th and 30th of Nov. 1641.

(4) Nelson, vol. ii.

(5) *Ibid.*

Thus encouraged, the populace crowded about Whitehall, and insulted and threatened the king and the royal family. Such audacious behaviour roused the young gentlemen of the Inns of Court, who, with some reduced officers, undertook the defence of their sovereign; and between them and the populace passed frequent skirmishes, which seldom ended without bloodshed. These gentlemen, by way of reproach, gave the fanatical insulters of majesty the name of **ROUNDHEADS**, on account of the short cropt hair which they wore, while the rabble called their more polished opponents, by reason of their being usually mounted on horseback, **CAVALIERS**; names which became famous during the civil war that followed, and which contributed not a little to inflame the animosity between the parties, during the prelude to that contest, by affording the factious an opportunity to rendezvous under them, and signalize their mutual hate, by the reproachful ideas that were affixed to them by each party, no less than by the political distinctions which they marked.

The Cavaliers, who affected a liberal way of thinking, as well as a gaiety and freedom of manners inconsistent with puritanical ideas, were represented by the Roundheads as a set of abandoned prodigates, equally destitute of religion and morals; the devoted tools of the court, and zealous abettors of arbitrary power. The Cavaliers, on the other hand, regarded the Roundheads as a gloomy, narrow-minded, fanatical herd, determined enemies to kingly power, and to all distinction of ranks in society. But in these characters, drawn by the passions of the two parties, we must not expect impartiality; both are certainly overcharged. The Cavaliers were, in general, sincere friends to liberty and the English constitution; nor were republican and levelling principles by any means general at first among the Roundheads, though they came at last to predominate. It must however be admitted, that the Cavaliers, in order to show their contempt of puritanical austerity, often carried their convivial humour to an indecent excess; and that the gloomy temper and religious extravagancies of the Roundheads afforded an ample field for the raillery of their facetious adversaries.

In consequence of these distinctions, and the tumults that accompanied them, the bishops, being easily known by their habits, and exposed to the most dangerous insults from the enraged sectaries, to whom they had long been obnoxious, were deterred from attending their duty in parliament. They, therefore, imprudently protested against all laws, votes, and resolutions, as null and void, which should pass during their forced and involuntary absence. The lords, incensed at this passionate step, desired a conference with the commons on the subject. The opportunity was eagerly seized by the lower house, and an impeachment of high treason sent up against the bishops, as endeavouring to subvert the fundamental laws, and invalidate the authority of the legislature. They were immediately sequestered from parliament, and committed to custody. (1)

The king, who had hastily approved of the protest of the bishops, was soon after hurried into a greater indiscretion; an indiscretion which may be considered as the immediate cause of the civil war that ensued, and to which, or some similar violence, the popular leaders had long wished to provoke him by their intemperate language. They at last succeeded beyond their most sanguine hopes. Enraged to find that all his concessions but increased the demands of the commons; that the people, who, on his return from Scotland, had received him with expressions of duty and affection, were again roused to sedition; that the blackest calumnies were propagated against him, and a method of address adopted, not only unsuitable to a great prince, but which a private gentleman could not bear without resentment; he began to suspect that his government wanted vigour, and to ascribe these unexampled acts of insolence to his own facility of temper. In this opinion he was encouraged by the queen and her confidants, who were continually reproaching him with indolence, and entreating him to display

(1) Rushworth, vol. v. Clarendon, vol. ii.

the majesty of a sovereign; before which, as they fondly imagined, the daring usurpations of his subjects would shrink.(1)

Charles, ever ready to adopt violent counsels, and take advice from people inferior to himself in capacity, gave way to these arguments, and ordered the attorney-general to enter an accusation of high-treason against lord Kimbolton and five commoners; namely, sir Arthur Hazlerig, Hollis, Hamblen, Pym, and Strode. The chief articles of impeachment were, that they had traitorously endeavoured to subvert the fundamental laws and government of the kingdom, and to deprive the king of his regal power; that they had endeavoured, by many foul aspersions on his majesty and his government, to alienate the affections of his people, and make him odious to them; that they had invited and encouraged an hostile army to invade the kingdom; that, in order to complete their traitorous designs, they had endeavoured, as far as in them lay, by force and terror, to compel the parliament to join them; and, to that end, had actually raised and countenanced tumults against the king and parliament.(2)

That so bold a measure should have been embraced at such a crisis, was matter of surprise to all men, and of sincere regret to the real friends of the constitution; more especially, as it did not appear that the members accused were any farther criminal than the body of the commons, except perhaps by the exertion of superior abilities. But whatever might be their guilt, it was evident, that while the house of peers was scarce able to maintain its independency, it would never be permitted by the populace, had it even possessed courage and inclination, to pass a sentence which must totally subdue the lower house; these five members being the very heads of the popular party, and the chief promoters of their ambitious projects.

The astonishment excited by this measure was soon, however, transferred to attempts more bold and precipitant. A serjeant at arms was sent to the house of commons, to demand, in the king's name, the five members accused. He returned without any positive answer; and messengers were employed to search for them and arrest them, wherever they might be found. The house voted these violent proceedings to be breach of privilege, and commanded every one to defend the liberty of the members.(3) Irritated by so much opposition, the king went in person to the house of commons, in hopes of surprising the persons whom he had accused, and demanded in vain; but they, having private intelligence of his resolution, had withdrawn before he entered.(4)

The embarrassment of Charles, on that discovery, may be easier conceived than described. Sensible of his imprudence, when too late, and ashamed of the situation in which he found himself, "I assure you, on the word of a king," said he, "I never did intend any force, but shall proceed against these men in a fair and legal way; for I never meant any other. And now, since I see I cannot do what I came for, I think this no unfit occasion to repeat what I have said formerly; that whatever I have done in favour and to the good of my subjects, I do intend to maintain it."(5) The commons were in the utmost disorder during his stay; and when he was departing, some members cried aloud, "Privilege! privilege!"(6)

The house adjourned till next day; and the accused members, in order to show the greater apprehension of personal danger, removed into the city the same evening. The citizens were in arms the whole night; and some incendiaries, or people actuated by their own fanatical fears, ran from gate to gate crying that the Cavaliers, and the king at their head, were coming to burn the city. In order to show how little occasion there was for any such alarm, and what confidence he placed in the citizens, Charles went next morning to Guildhall, attended only by three or four noblemen, and

(1) Clarendon, vol. ii.

(2) Whitlocke, p. 53. Rushworth, vol. v.

(3) Whitlocke, p. 51. Rushworth, vol. v.

(4) Whitlocke, p. 52.

(5) Ibid.

(6) Whitlocke, *ubi sup.*

endeavoured to conciliate the affections of the lord-mayor and common-council. He had accused some men, he said, of high-treason, against whom he meant to proceed in a legal way; and therefore hoped they would not meet with protection in the city. The citizens, however, showed no inclination to give them up; and the king left the hall, little better satisfied than with his visit to the house of commons.⁽¹⁾ In passing through the streets, he had the mortification to hear the insulting cry, "Privilege of parliament! privilege of parliament!" resound from every quarter; and one of the populace, more daring than the rest, saluted him with the words employed by the mutinous Israelites, when they abandoned Rehoboam, their rash and ill-counselled sovereign:—"To your tents, O Israel!"⁽²⁾

When the commons met, they affected the utmost terror and dismay; and after voting, that they could not sit in the same place, until they had obtained satisfaction for that unparalleled breach of privilege committed by the king, and had a guard appointed for their security, they adjourned themselves for some days. In the mean time a committee was ordered to sit in the city, and inquire into every circumstance attending the king's entry into the house of commons; from all which was inferred an intention of offering violence to the parliament, by seizing, even in that house, the accused members, and of murdering all who should make resistance. They again met, confirmed the votes of the committee, and hastily adjourned, as if exposed to the most imminent danger. This practice they frequently repeated; and when, by these affected panics, they had filled the minds of the people with the most dreadful apprehensions, and inflamed them with enthusiastic rage against the court, the accused members were conducted by the city militia, in a kind of military triumph, to Westminster, in order to resume their seats in the house; the populace, as they passed Whitehall, by land and water, frequently asking, with insulting shouts, "What is become of the king and his cavaliers?"⁽³⁾

Charles, apprehensive of danger from the furious multitude, had retired to Windsor. There, deserted by all the world, and overwhelmed with grief and shame for his misconduct, he had leisure to reflect on the fatal measures into which he had been hurried. He saw himself involved in a situation the most distressing, entirely by his own precipitancy and indiscretion, and how to extricate himself with honour he could not discover: his friends were discouraged, his enemies triumphant, and the people seemed ripe for rebellion. Without submission his ruin appeared to be inevitable: but to make submission to subjects was what his kingly pride could not bear; yet to that humiliating expedient, in his present circumstances surely the most advisable, he had at last recourse. In successive messages to the commons, he told them, that he would desist from his prosecution of the accused members; that he would grant them a pardon; that he would concur in any law that should acquit or secure them; that he would make reparation to the house for the breach of privilege, of which he acknowledged they had reason to complain; and he declared that, for the future, he would be as careful of the privileges of parliament as of his own crown and life.⁽⁴⁾ This was certainly yielding too far; but the uneasy mind is naturally carried from one extreme to another, in attempting to repair its errors.

If the king's violence made him hateful, his unreserved submission made him contemptible to the commons. They thought he could now deny them nothing, and therefore refused to accept any concession for the breach of privilege, unless he would discover his advisers in that illegal measure. But Charles, whose honour as a gentleman was sacred and inviolable, had still spirit enough left to reject with disdain a condition which would have rendered him for ever despicable, and unworthy of all friendship or confidence. He had already shown to the nation, had the nation not been blinded with fan-

(1) Clarendon, vol. ii.

(2) Rushworth, vol. v.

(3) Whitlocke. Dugdale.

(4) Dugdale, p. 84. Rushworth, vol. v.

ticism, that if he had violated the rights of parliament, which was still a question with many,⁽¹⁾ he was willing to make every possible reparation, and yield them any satisfaction not inconsistent with the integrity of his moral character.

Meanwhile the commons continued to declaim against the violation of parliamentary privileges, and to inflame still farther the discontents of the people. For this purpose they had recourse to the old expedient of petitioning, so flattering to human pride!—as it affords the meanest member of the community an opportunity of instructing the highest, and of feeling his own consequence, in the right of offering such instructions. A petition from Buckinghamshire was presented to the house by six thousand men, who promised to live and die in the defence of the privileges of parliament. One of the like nature was presented by the city of London; and petitions from many other places were given in: nay, a petition from the apprentices was graciously received, and one from the porters was encouraged. The beggars, and even the women, were seized with the same rage. A brewer's wife, followed by many thousands of her sex, brought a petition to the house; in which they expressed their terror of papists and prelates, rapes and massacres, and claimed a right equal to that of the men, in communicating their sense of the public danger, since Christ had died for them as well as for the other sex. The apprentices were loud in the praise of liberty, and bold in their threats against arbitrary power. The porters complained of the decay of trade, and desired that justice might be done upon offenders, according to the atrociousness of their crimes: and they added, "that if such remedies were any longer suspended, they would be forced to "extremities not fit to be named."⁽²⁾ The beggars, as a remedy for public miseries, proposed, "that those noble worthies of the house of peers, who "concur with the happy votes of the commons, may separate themselves "from the rest, and sit and vote as one entire body."⁽³⁾ This language, which could not possibly be misunderstood, was evidently dictated by the commons themselves.

But while these inflammatory petitions were encouraged, and received with the warmest expressions of approbation, all petitions which favoured the church or monarchy were discountenanced, and those interested in them imprisoned and prosecuted as delinquents. In a word, by the present fury of the people, as by an inundation, was swept away all opposition in both houses, and every rampart of royal authority was laid level with the ground. The king, as appeared by the vote on the remonstrance, had a strong party in the lower house; and in the house of peers he had a great majority, even after the bishops were chased away. But now, when the populace without doors were ready to execute, on the least hint, the will of their leaders, it was not safe for any member to approach either house, who pretended to oppose the general torrent.

Thus possessed of an undisputed majority in both houses, the popular leaders, who well knew the importance of such a favourable moment, pursued their victory with vigour and dispatch. The bills sent up by the commons, and which had hitherto been rejected by the peers, were now passed, and presented for the royal assent; namely, a bill vesting the par-

(1) No maxim in law, it was said, is more established, or more universally allowed, than that privilege of parliament extends not to treason, felony, or breach of peace; that it was never pretended by any one, that the hall where the parliament assemblies is an inviolable sanctuary; that if the commons complained of the affront offered them by an attempt to arrest their members in their very presence, the blame must lie entirely upon themselves, who had formerly refused compliance with the king's message, when he peacefully demanded these members; that the sovereign is the great executor of the laws; and that his presence was here legally employed, both in order to prevent opposition and to protect the house against those insults which their disobedience had so well merited. (Howell's *Inspection into the Carriage of the late Long Parliament*. Hume, chap. lv.) But whatever might be urged in favour of the legality of Charles's attempt to seize the accused members, no one pretended to vindicate the prudence either of that or the accusation. To impeach the heads of a faction during the full tide of its power was indeed attempting to fetter the waves.

(2) Clarendon, vol. ii. Rushworth, vol. v.

(3) *Ibid.*

liament with the power of impressing men into the service, under pretence of suppressing the rebellion in Ireland, and the long contested bill for depriving the bishops of the privilege of voting in the house of lords. The king's authority was reduced so low, that a refusal would have been both hazardous and ineffectual; and the queen, being secretly threatened with an impeachment, prevailed on her husband speedily to pass those bills, in hopes of appeasing the rage of the multitude, until she could make her escape to Holland.(1)

But these important concessions, like all the former, served only as a foundation for more important demands. Encouraged by the facility of the king's disposition, the commons regarded the smallest relaxation in their invasion of royal authority as highly impolitic at such a crisis. They were fully sensible, that monarchical government, which had been established in England during so many years, would regain some part of its former dignity, as soon as the present storm was blown over, in spite of all their new-invented limitations: yet would it not be safe to attempt the entire abolition of an authority, to which the nation had been so long accustomed, before they were in possession of the sword—which alone could guard their usurped power, or insure to them personal safety against the rising indignation of their insulted sovereign. To this point, therefore, they directed all their views. They conferred the government of Hull, where was a large magazine of arms, on sir John Hotham; they sent orders to Goring, governor of Portsmouth, to obey no orders but such as he should receive from the parliament; and they obliged the king to displace sir John Byron, a man of unexceptionable character, and bestow the government of the Tower on sir John Conyers, in whom alone, they said, they could place confidence.(2)

These were bold steps, but a bolder was yet necessary to be made by the commons, before they could hope to accomplish the ruin of royal authority; and that was, the acquisition of the command of the militia, which would at once give them the whole power of the sword, there being at that time no regular troops in England, except those which the commons themselves had levied for suppressing the Irish rebellion. With this view they brought in a bill, by the express terms of which the lord-lieutenants of counties, or principal officers of the militia, who were all named in it, were to be accountable, not to the king, but to the parliament. Charles here ventured to put a stop to his concessions, though he durst not hazard a flat denial. He only requested, that the military authority should be allowed to remain in the crown: and, if that should be admitted, he promised to bestow commissions, but revocable at pleasure, on the very persons named in the bill. But the commons, whose object was nothing less than sovereignty, imperiously replied: "That the danger and distempers of the nation were such as could endure no longer delay; and unless the king speedily complied with their demands, they should be enforced, for the safety of prince and people, to dispose of the militia by the authority of both houses, and were resolved to do it accordingly."(3)

But what was more extraordinary than all this, while the commons thus menaced the king with their power, they invited him to fix his residence in London, where they knew he would be entirely at their mercy. "I am so much amazed at this message," said Charles, in his prompt reply, "that I know not what to answer. You speak of jealousies and fears! Lay your hands on your hearts, and ask yourselves, whether I may not likewise be disturbed with fears and jealousies? and if so, I assure you, that this message has nothing lessened them. As to the militia, I thought so much of it before I gave that answer, and am so much assured, that the answer is agreeable to what, in justice or reason, you can ask, or I in honour grant, that I shall not alter it in any point. For my residence near you, I wish it might be safe and honourable, and that I had no cause to absent

(1) Clarendon, vol. ii.

(2) Rushworth, vol. v.

(3) Rushworth, part iii. vol. i. chap. iv.

"myself from Whitehall: ask yourselves whether I have not? What would you have? Have I denied to pass any bill for the ease and security of my subjects? I do not ask what ye have done for me. Have any of my people been transported with fears and apprehensions? I offer as free and general a pardon as yourselves can devise. All this considered, there is a judgment of Heaven upon this nation, if these distractions continue. God so deal with me and mine! as all my thoughts and intentions are upright for the maintenance of the true Protestant profession, and for the observance and preservation of the laws; and I hope God will bless and assist those laws for my preservation."⁽¹⁾

The firmness of this reply surprised the commons, but did not discourage them from prosecuting their ambitious aim. They had gone too far to retract: they therefore voted, that those who advised his majesty's answer were enemies to the state, and mischievous projectors against the safety of the nation; that this denial is of such dangerous consequence, that, if his majesty persist in it, it will hazard the peace and tranquillity of all his kingdoms, unless some speedy remedy may be applied by the wisdom and authority of parliament; and that such of the subjects as have put themselves in a posture of defence, against the common danger, have done nothing but what is justifiable, and approved of by the house."⁽²⁾ And, in order to induce the people to second these usurpations, by arming themselves more generally, the most unaccountable panics were spread throughout the nation, by rumours of intended massacres and invasions.

Alarmed at those threatening appearances, and not without apprehensions that force might be employed to extort his assent to the militia-bill, the king thought it prudent to remove to a greater distance from London. Taking with him his two sons, the prince of Wales and the duke of York, he accordingly retired northward, and made the city of York, for a time, the seat of his court. The queen had already taken refuge in Holland. There she resided with her daughter Mary, who had been given in marriage to the prince of Orange.

In the northern parts of his Kingdom, where the church and monarchy were still respected, Charles found himself of more consequence than in the capital or its neighbourhood, which was become a scene of fury and fanaticism. The marks of attachment shown him at York exceeded his fondest expectations. The principal nobility and gentry, from all quarters of England, either personally or by letters, expressed their duty toward him, and exhorted him to save them from that democratical tyranny with which they were threatened.

Finding himself supported by so considerable a body of his subjects, the king began to assume a firmer tone, and to retort the accusations of the commons with spirit. As he still persisted in refusing the militia-bill, they had framed an ordinance, in which, by the sole authority of the two houses of parliament, they had named lieutenants for all the counties, and conferred on them the command of the whole military force—of all the guards, garrisons, and forts in the kingdom. He issued proclamations against this usurpation; and declared, that, as he had formed a resolution strictly to observe the laws himself, he was determined that every one should yield a like obedience.⁽³⁾ The commons, on their part, were neither destitute of vigour nor address. In order to cover their usurped authority with a kind of veil, and to confound in the minds of the people the ideas of duty and allegiance, they bound, in all their commands, the persons to whom they were directed, to obey the orders of his majesty, signified by both houses of parliament.⁽⁴⁾ Thus by a distinction, hitherto unknown, between the office and the person of the king, they employed the royal name to the subversion of royal authority!

The chief object of both parties being the acquisition of the favour of the

(1) Rushworth, vol. v.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid.

people, each was desirous to throw on the other the odium of involving the nation in civil discord. With this view, a variety of memorials, remonstrances, and declarations were dispersed; and the royal party was supposed to have greatly the advantage in the war of the pen. The king's memorials were chiefly composed by himself and lord Falkland, who had accepted the office of secretary of state, and whose virtues and talents were of the most amiable and exalted kind. In these papers Charles endeavoured to clear up the principles of the constitution; to mark the boundaries of the powers entrusted by law to the several orders in the state; to show what great improvements the whole political system had received from his late concessions; to demonstrate his entire confidence in his people; and to point out the ungrateful returns which had been made to that confidence and those concessions. The parliament, on the other hand, exaggerated all his unpopular measures; and attempted to prove, that their whole proceedings were necessary for the preservation of religion and liberty.(1)

But whatever advantage either side might gain by these writings, both were sensible that the sword must ultimately decide the dispute: and they began to prepare accordingly. The troops which had been raised under pretence of the Irish rebellion were now openly enlisted by the parliament for its own purposes, and the command of them given to the earl of Essex. Nor were new levies neglected. No less than four thousand men are said to have been enlisted in London in one day.(2) And the parliament having issued orders that loans of money and plate might be furnished, for maintaining these forces, such vast quantities of plate were brought to their treasurers, that they could hardly find room to stow it. Even the women gave up their ornaments, to support the cause of the godly against the malignants.(3)

Very different was the king's situation. His preparations were not near so forward as those of the parliament. In order to recover the confidence of his people, and remove all jealousy of violent counsels, he had resolved that the usurpations and illegal pretensions of the commons should be evident to the whole world. This he considered as of more importance to his interest than the collecting of magazines or the assembling of armies. But had he even been otherwise disposed, he would have found many difficulties to encounter; for although he was attended by a splendid train of nobility, and by a numerous body of gentlemen of great landed property, supplies could not be raised without a connection with the monied men, who were chiefly attached to the parliament, which had seized his revenues since the beginning of the contest concerning the militia-bill. Yet was he not altogether unprepared. The queen, by disposing of the crown jewels, had been enabled to purchase a cargo of arms and ammunition in Holland. Part of these had arrived safe; and Charles finding that the urgent necessities of his situation would no longer admit of delay, prepared himself for defence, and roused his adherents to arms, with a spirit, activity, and address, that alike surprised his friends and his enemies. The resources of his genius on this as on all other occasions seemed to increase in proportion to the obstacles to be overcome. He never appeared so great as when plunged in distress or surrounded with perils.

The commons, however, conscious of their superiority in force, and determined to take advantage of it, yet desirous to preserve the appearance of a pacific disposition, sent the king conditions on which they were willing to come to an agreement, but to which they knew he would not submit. Their demands, contained in nineteen propositions, amounted to a total abolition of monarchical government, and would have involved in ruin the whole royal party. They required, that no man should remain in the privy council who had not the approbation of parliament; that no deed of the sovereign should have validity, unless it passed that council, and was attested under its seal;

(1) Rushworth, vol. v.

(2) *Vicar's God in the Mount.*

(3) Whitlocke. Dugdale.

that all the principal officers of state and chief judges should be chosen with consent of parliament, and enjoy their offices during life; that none of the royal family should marry without consent of both houses of parliament; that the laws should be executed against Catholics; that the votes of popish lords should be excluded; that the reformation of the liturgy and church government should have place, according to the advice of parliament; that the parliamentary ordinance, with regard to the militia, be submitted to; that the justice of parliament pass upon all delinquents; that a general pardon be granted for all past offences, with such exceptions as shall be advised by parliament; that the forts and castles be disposed of by consent of parliament; and that no peers be made but with the concurrence of both houses.(1)

"Should I grant these demands," said Charles, in his animated reply, "I may be waited on bareheaded; I may have my hand kissed; the title of majesty may be continued to me; and *The king's Authority, signified by both Houses*, may still be the style of your commands: I may have swords and maces carried before me, and please myself with the sight of a crown and sceptre (though even these twigs would not long flourish, when the stock upon which they grew was dead); but as to true and real power, I should remain but the outside, but the picture, but the sign of a king." (2) He accordingly resolved to support his authority by arms; war, at any disadvantage, being esteemed preferable, by himself and all his counsellors, to so ignominious a peace. Collecting therefore some forces, and advancing southward, he erected his royal standard at Nottingham.

This being considered as the open signal of discord and civil war throughout the kingdom, the abettors of the adverse parties began now more distinctly to separate themselves: and when two names so sacred in the English constitution, as those of KING and PARLIAMENT, were placed in opposition to each other, little wonder the people were divided in their choice, and agitated with the most violent animosities!

The greater part of the nobility, and the gentlemen of ancient families, fearing a total confusion of ranks from the fury of the populace, attached themselves to the throne, from which they derived their lustre, and to which it was again communicated. Proud of their birth, of their consequence in the state, and of the loyalty and virtue of their ancestors, they zealously adhered to the cause of their sovereign; which was also supported by most men of a liberal education, or a liberal way of thinking, and by all who wished well to the church and monarchy. But, on the other hand, as the veneration for the commons was extreme throughout the kingdom, and the aversion against the hierarchy general, the city of London, and most of the great corporations, took part with the parliament, and adopted with ardour those principles of freedom, on which that assembly had originally founded its pretensions, and under colour of maintaining which it had taken up arms. Beside these corporations, many families that had lately been enriched by commerce, seeing with envious eyes the superior homage paid to the nobility and elder gentry, eagerly undertook the exaltation of a power, under whose dominion they hoped to acquire rank and distinction.(3)

Thus determined in their choice, both parties, putting a close to argument, now referred the justice of their cause to the decision of the sword.

(1) Rushworth, vol. v. May, book ii.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) Clarendon, vol. iii.

LETTER VI.

Great Britain and Ireland, from the Commencement of the Civil War to the Battle of Naseby, in 1645.

No contest ever seemed more unequal, my dear Philip, than that between Charles I. and his parliament, when the sword was first drawn. Almost every advantage lay on the side of the latter. The parliamentary party being in possession of the legal means of supply, and of all the sea-ports except Newcastle, the customs yielded them a certain and considerable sum; and all contributions, loans, and impositions, were more easily raised by the cities, which possessed the ready money, and were also chiefly in their hands, than they could be by the nobility and gentry, who adhered to the king. The seamen naturally followed the disposition of the sea-ports to which they belonged; and the earl of Northumberland, lord high-admiral, having engaged in the cause of the commons, had named, at their desire, the earl of Warwick as his lieutenant. Warwick at once established his authority in the fleet, and kept the entire dominion of the sea in the hands of his party. They were likewise in possession of all the magazines of arms and ammunition in the kingdom, and had intercepted part of the stores the queen had purchased in Holland.

The king's only hope of counterbalancing so many advantages, on the part of his adversaries, arose from the supposed superiority of his adherents in mental and personal qualities. More courage and enterprise were expected from the generous and lofty spirit of the ancient nobility and gentry than from the base-born vulgar. Nor was it doubted but their tenants, whom they levied and armed at their own expense, would greatly surpass in valour and force the sedentary and enervated inhabitants of cities. But, in making this comparison, the mysterious and elevating influence of the double enthusiasm of religion and liberty was forgot: a kind of holy fury, arising from apprehensions of danger, and a confidence in supernatural aid, which, accompanied with supposed illuminations, inspires the daring fanatic with the most romantic bravery, and enables him to perform such acts of prowess as transcend the common standard of humanity, confirm him in his belief of divine assistance, impel him to future exertions, and render his valour irresistible, when directed against those whom he regards as the enemies of God and of his country.

Of the power of this enthusiastic energy, in animating the most grovelling minds, Charles had unhappily too much reason to become acquainted, during his hostile struggle for dominion; and to learn, from fatal experience, in many a hard-fought field, that it was not inferior in efficacy even to the courage connected with greatness of soul or infused by nobility of birth. At present he had a contemptible idea of the parliamentary party, considered as individuals; but their numbers, their resources, and their military preparations, were sufficient to fill him with the most awful apprehensions. He declared, however, against all advances toward an accommodation. "I have nothing left but my honour," said he; "and this last possession I am firmly resolved to preserve, and rather to perish than yield any farther to the pretensions of my enemies."⁽¹⁾ But he was induced, by the earnest solicitations of his friends, to relax in his purpose; and, in order to gain time, as well as to manifest a pacific disposition, to send ambassadors to the parliament with offers of treaty, before he began hostilities.

The conduct of the parliament justified Charles's opinion. Both houses replied, "That they could not treat with the king until he took down his standard, and recalled his proclamations," in which the members supposed

(1) Clarendon, vol. iii.

themselves to be declared traitors ; and when, by a second message, he offered to recall these proclamations, they desired him to dismiss his forces, to reside with his parliament, and to give up delinquents to justice ; (1) or, in other words, to abandon himself and his friends to the mercy of his enemies.

Hoping that the people were now fully convinced of the insolence of the parliament, and its aversion against peace, the king made vigorous preparations for war. Aware, however, that he was not yet able to oppose the parliamentary army, which was commanded by the earl of Essex, he left Nottingham, and retired, by slow marches, first to Derby, and afterward to Shrewsbury. At Wellington, in that neighbourhood, he collected his forces, and made the following declaration before the whole army : " I do promise, in the presence of Almighty God, and as I hope for his blessing and protection, that I will, to the utmost of my power, defend and maintain the true reformed Protestant religion, established in the church of England ; and, by the grace of God, in the same will live and die.

" I desire that the laws may ever be the measure of my government, and that the liberty and property of the subject may be preserved by them with the same care as my own just right ; and if it please God, by his blessing on this army, raised for my necessary defence, to preserve me from the present rebellion, I do solemnly and faithfully promise, in the sight of God, to maintain the just privileges and freedom of parliament, and to govern, to the utmost of my power, by the known statutes and customs of the kingdom ; and, particularly, to observe inviolably the laws to which I have given my consent this parliament. Meanwhile, if this emergency, and the great necessity to which I am driven, beget any violation of law, I hope it will be imputed, by God and man, to the authors of this war ; not to me, who have so earnestly laboured to preserve the peace of the kingdom." (2)

This declaration, which was considered as a sacred engagement on the part of the king, was received with the warmest expressions of approbation and gratitude, by the generous train of nobility and gentry by whom he was attended ; and who, in the hope of his submitting to a legal and limited government, had alone been induced to take the field, with a resolution of sacrificing their lives and fortunes in his defence. They were in general, no less animated with the spirit of liberty than of loyalty, and held in contempt the high monarchical principles.

Charles was received at Shrewsbury with marks of duty and affection ; and his army increased so fast, while it lay there, that he soon found himself at the head of ten thousand men. With these he resolved to give battle to the army of the parliament, as he heard it was daily augmented with recruits from London. He accordingly directed his march toward the capital, in order to bring on an engagement. Essex was prepared to oppose him. The two armies met on Edgehill, near Keinton in Warwickshire, where a desperate battle was fought. The earl of Lindsay was general of the royal army ; prince Rupert, son of the unfortunate elector Palatine, commanded the horse ; sir Jacob Astley the foot ; sir Arthur Aston the dragoons ; sir John Heydon the artillery ; and lord Bernard Stuart was at the head of a troop of guards, whose estates, according to the computation of lord Clarendon, were equal in value to those of all the members who, at the commencement of hostilities, voted against the king in both houses of parliament. Essex drew up his army with judgment ; but in consequence of the desertion of a troop of horse, under sir Faithful Fortescue, and the furious shock made upon them by prince Rupert, his whole left wing of cavalry immediately gave way, and was pursued two miles. Nor did better fortune attend the right wing of the parliamentary army, which was also broken and put to flight.

The victory must now have been decisive in favour of the royalists, had not the king's body of reserve, commanded by sir John Biron, heedlessly joined in the pursuit. The advantage afforded by this imprudence being perceived by sir William Balfour, who commanded Essex's reserve, he imme-

(1) Rushworth, vol. v.

(2) Clarendon, vol. iii.

diately wheeled about upon the king's infantry, now quite destitute of horse and made great havock among them. Lord Lindsay, the general, was mortally wounded and taken prisoner; and his son, in endeavouring to rescue him, fell likewise into the enemy's hands. Sir Edward Verney, who carried the king's standard, was killed; the standard was taken, and the king himself was in danger. The standard was afterwards recovered by the valour of captain John Smith, but the situation of affairs was not changed. Every thing, on the appearance of prince Rupert, wore the appearance of a defeat rather than of a complete victory, which he thought had been gained. His troops were too much fatigued to renew the charge, and the enemy did not provoke him to it, though both parties faced each other for some time. All night they lay on their arms, and next morning drew off, by a kind of mutual consent, neither side having spirit for a fresh action. Essex retired to Warwick castle, and the king returned to his former quarters, near Bambury. (1) Five thousand men were found dead on the field, and the loss of the two armies, from comparing opposite accounts, appears to have been nearly equal. The troops of both parties suffered much by cold during the night after the engagement.

Though this first battle was so little decisive, that the parliament claimed the victory as well as the king, it was of great service to the royal cause. Charles immediately made himself master of Bambury; and, as soon as his army was recruited and refreshed, he advanced to Reading; the governor and garrison of which place, on the approach of a detachment of royalists, had fled with precipitation to London. The capital was struck with terror, and the parliament voted an address for a treaty; but as no cessation for hostilities had been agreed on, the king continued to advance, and took possession of Brentford. By this time Essex had reached London, and the declining season put a stop to farther operations. (2)

During the winter, the king and parliament were employed in real preparations for war, but in seeming advances towards peace. Oxford, where the king resided, was chosen as the place of treaty. Thither the parliament sent their requisitions by the earl of Northumberland, and four members of the lower house, who acted as commissioners. They abated somewhat of those extravagant demands they had formerly made; but their claims were still too high to admit of an amicable accommodation, unless the king had been willing to renounce the most essential branches of his prerogative. Besides other humiliating articles, they required him, in express terms, utterly to abolish episcopacy; a demand which before they had only insinuated. They insisted, that he should submit to the punishment of his most faithful servants: and they desired him to acquiesce in their settlement of the militia, and to confer on their adherents the entire power of the sword. (3) The negotiation, as may be naturally supposed, served only for a time to amuse both parties.

Meanwhile each county, each town, and almost each family, was divided within itself, and the most violent convulsions shook the whole kingdom. Continual efforts were every where made, by both parties, to surmount each other, even after the season of action was over. The earl of Newcastle, who commanded for the king in Yorkshire, gained several advantages over the parliamentary forces, and established the royal authority in all the northern counties. Actions still more memorable were performed in the south and west. Sir William Waller, who began now to distinguish himself among the generals of the parliament, defeated lord Herbert near Gloucester, and took the city of Hereford. On the other side, sir Ralph Hopton made himself master of Launceston, and reduced all Cornwall to peace and obedience under the king. (4)

Early in the spring Reading was besieged, and taken by the parliamentary army, commanded by the earl of Essex. Being joined soon after by the

(1) May, book iii. Clarendon, vol. iii.

(2) Whitlocke, p. 60.

(3) Clarendon, vol. iii. Rushworth, vol. vi.

(4) Ibid.

forces under sir William Waller, Essex marched toward Oxford, with a view of attacking the king, who was supposed to be in great distress for want of ammunition. But Charles, informed of his design, and of the loose disposition of his forces, dispatched prince Rupert with a party of horse to annoy them; and that gallant leader, who was perfectly fitted for such a service, falling suddenly upon the dispersed bodies of Essex's army, routed two regiments of cavalry, and one of infantry, and carried his ravages almost to the general's quarters at Tame. Essex took the alarm, and dispatched part of his cavalry in pursuit of the prince. They were joined by a regiment of infantry, under the famous John Hambden, who had acted as a colonel from the beginning of the civil war, and distinguished himself no less in the field than in the senate. On the skirts of Calsgrave field they overtook the royalists, who were loaded with booty. The prince wheeled about, however, and charged them with such impetuosity, that they were obliged to save themselves by flight, after having lost some of their best officers; and, among the rest, the much valued and much dreaded Hambden, who was mortally wounded, and died soon after in great agonies.⁽¹⁾ He is said to have received his wound by the bursting of one of his own pistols.

The royal cause was supported with no less spirit in the western counties. The king's adherents in Cornwall, notwithstanding their early successes, had been obliged to enter into a convention of neutrality with the parliamentary party in Devonshire. This neutrality lasted during the winter, but was broken in the spring, by the authority of the parliament; and the earl of Stamford having assembled an army of near seven thousand men, well supplied with money, ammunition, and provisions, entered Cornwall, and advanced upon the royalists, who were not half his number, and oppressed by every kind of necessity. He encamped on the top of a hill, near Stratton, and detached sir George Chudleigh with twelve hundred horse, to surprise Bodmin. The Cornish royalists, commanded by the principal men of the county, seized this opportunity of extricating themselves, by one vigorous effort, from all the dangers and difficulties with which they were surrounded. They boldly advanced up the hill on which Stamford was encamped in four different divisions, and after an obstinate struggle, still pressing nearer and nearer, all met upon the plain at the top, where they embraced with great joy, and signalized their victory with loud shouts and mutual congratulations.⁽²⁾

The attention of both parties were now turned toward the West. The king sent the marquis of Hertford, and prince Maurice, brother to prince Rupert, with a reinforcement of cavalry into Cornwall. Being joined by the Cornish army, they soon over-ran the county of Devon, and advancing into Somersetshire, began to reduce it also to obedience. In the mean time, the parliament having supplied sir William Waller, in whom they had great confidence, with a complete army, dispatched him into the same county, in order to check the progress of the royalists, and retrieve their affairs in that quarter. After some skirmishes, in which the royalists had the advantage, the two armies met at Landsdown-hill, which Waller had fortified. There a pitched battle was fought, with great loss on both sides, but without any decisive advantage; for although the royalists, after an obstinate engagement, gained the top of the hill, and beat the enemy from their ground, the fugitives took refuge behind a stone wall, where they maintained their post till night, and then retired to Bath, under cover of the darkness.⁽³⁾

Hertford and Maurice, disappointed of the success they had promised themselves, attempted to march eastward, and join the king at Oxford. But Waller hung on their rear, and harassed their army until they reached the Devises. There, being reinforced with a large body of fresh troops, he so much surpassed the royalists in number, that they durst no longer continue their

(1) Warwick's Memoirs.

(2) Rushworth, vol. vi. Clarendon, vol. iii.

(3) Id. *ibid.* This battle would have been more decisive, had Waller not been reinforced with 500 cavalry from London, completely covered with cuirasses and other defensive armour. These cuirassiers were generally found to be irresistible.

march, or expose themselves to the hazard of a battle. It was therefore resolved, that the marquis and the prince should proceed with the cavalry, and, having procured a reinforcement from the royal army, should hasten back to the relief of their friends.

Waller was now so confident of capturing the infantry left at the Devises, that he wrote to the parliament their work was done; and that he should, in his next letter, inform them of the number and quality of the prisoners. But the king, even before the arrival of Hertford and Maurice, informed of the difficulties to which his western army was reduced, had dispatched a body of cavalry to their relief, under lord Wilmot. In order to prevent the intended junction, Waller drew up his army on Roundway-down, about two miles from the town of Devises; and Wilmot, in hopes of being supported by the infantry, did not decline the combat. Waller's cavalry, after a smart action, were totally routed, and he himself fled with a few horse to Bristol; while the victorious Wilmot, being joined by the Cornish infantry, attacked the enemy's foot with such impetuosity, that almost the whole body was either killed or taken prisoners.(1)

This important victory, preceded by so many other successes, struck great dismay into the parliament, and gave an alarm to their grand army, commanded by the earl of Essex. Farther discouraged by hearing of the queen's arrival at Oxford with ammunition and artillery; and that, having landed in Burlington-Bay, she had brought from the North a reinforcement of three thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, Essex left Tame and Aylesbury, where he had hitherto lain, and retired to the neighbourhood of London. Freed from this principal enemy, the king sent his main army westward, under prince Rupert; and by the junction of that army with the Cornish royalists, under the marquis of Hertford, a formidable force was composed; a force respectable from numbers, but still more from valour and reputation.

In hopes of profiting by the consternation into which Waller's defeat and the retreat of Essex had thrown the parliamentary party, prince Rupert resolved to undertake an enterprise worthy of the army with which he was entrusted. He accordingly advanced toward Bristol, the second city in the kingdom for riches and size. The place was in a good posture of defence, and had a garrison of three thousand five hundred men, well supplied with ammunition and provisions; but, as the fortifications were found to be not perfectly regular, it was resolved, in a council of war, to proceed by assault, though little provision had been made for such an operation. The Cornish men, in three divisions, attacked the west side with a courage which nothing could repress, or for a time resist; but so great was the disadvantage of ground, and so brave the defence of the garrison, that although the middle division had already mounted the walls, in spite of all opposition, the assailants were in the end repulsed with considerable slaughter, and with the loss of many gallant officers. On the east side, where the approach was less difficult, prince Rupert had better success. After an obstinate struggle, a lodgement was made within the enemy's works; and Nathaniel Fiennes, the governor, son of lord Say, a noted parliamentary leader, surrendered the place at discretion. He and his garrison were allowed to march out with their arms and baggage, but without their colours.(2)

The taking of Bristol was a severe blow to the power of the parliament; and if the king, who soon after joined the camp, had boldly marched to London, before the fears of the people had time to subside, as he was advised by the more daring spirits, the war might in all probability have been finished equally to his honour and advantage. But this undertaking was judged too hazardous, on account of the number and force of the London militia; and Gloucester, lying within twenty miles of his late conquest, seemed to present to Charles an easier, and yet an important acquisition. It would put the whole course of the Severn under his command, open a communication be-

(1) Clarendon, vol. iii. Rushworth, vol. vi.

(2) *Id. ibid.*

tween Wales and the western counties, and free one half of the kingdom from the dominion of the enemy.(1)

These were the king's reasons for undertaking the siege of Gloucester in preference to any other enterprise. Before he left Bristol, however, he sent prince Maurice with a detachment into Devonshire: and, in order to show that he was not intoxicated with good fortune, nor provoked to aspire at a total victory over the parliament, he published a manifesto, in which he renewed the solemn protestation he had formerly made at the head of his army, and expressed his earnest desire of making peace, as soon as the constitution could be re-established.(2)

Before this manifesto was issued, a bold attempt had been made to restore peace to the kingdom, by the celebrated Edmund Waller, so well known as a poet, and who was no less distinguished as an orator. He still continued to attend his duty in parliament, and had exerted all his eloquence in opposing those violent counsels by which the commons were governed; and, in order to catch the attention of the house, he had often, in his harangues, employed the keenest satire and invective. But finding all opposition within doors to be fruitless, he conceived the idea of forming a party without, which might oblige the parliament to accept reasonable conditions. Having sounded the earl of Northumberland, and other eminent persons, whose confidence he enjoyed, he was encouraged to open his scheme to Tomkins, his brother-in-law, and to Chaloner, the intimate friend of Tomkins, who had entertained similar sentiments. By these gentlemen, whose connexions lay chiefly in the city, he was informed that the same abhorrence of war there prevailed among all men of sense and moderation. It therefore seemed not impracticable, that a combination might be formed between the peers and citizens, to refuse payment of the illegal and oppressive taxes imposed by the parliament without the royal assent. But while this affair was in agitation, and lists were making out of such noblemen as the confederates believed to be well affected to their design, it was betrayed to Pym by a servant of Tomkins who had overheard their discourse. Waller, Tomkins, and Chaloner were immediately seized, and tried by a court-martial. They were all three condemned, and Tomkins and Chaloner were executed on gibbets erected before their own doors; but Waller saved his life by counterfeiting sorrow and remorse, by bribing the Puritanical clergy, and by paying a fine of ten thousand pounds.(3)

The discovery of this project, and the severity exercised against the persons concerned in it, could not fail to increase the authority of the parliament; yet so great was the consternation occasioned by the progress of the king's arms, the taking of Bristol, and the siege of Gloucester, that the cry for peace was renewed, and with more violence than ever. A multitude of women, with a petition for this purpose, crowded about the house of commons, and were so clamorous, that orders were given for dispersing them; and a troop of horse being employed in that service, several of the women were killed and wounded. Many of the popular noblemen had deserted the parliament, and gone to Oxford. Northumberland retired to his country seat; and Essex himself, extremely dissatisfied, exhorted the parliament to think of peace. The house of lords sent down terms of accommodation, more moderate than any that had hitherto been offered; a vote was even passed, by a majority of the commons, that these proposals should be transmitted to the king. But this pleasing prospect was soon darkened. The zealous republicans took the alarm: a petition against peace was framed in the city, and presented to the parliament by Pennington, the factious lord mayor. The pulpits thundered their anathemas against malignants; rumours of popish conspiracies were spread; and the majority being again turned towards the violent side, all thoughts of pacification were banished,

(1) May, book iii. Whitlocke, p. 68.

(2) *Id.* *ibid.*

(3) Rushworth, vol. vi. Clarendon, vol. iii.

and every preparation made for war, and for the immediate relief of Gloucester.(1)

That city was defended by a numerous garrison, and by a multitude of fanatical inhabitants, zealous for the crown of martyrdom. Massey, the governor, was a soldier of fortune, and by his courage and ability had much retarded the advances of the king's army. Though no enthusiast himself, he well knew how to employ to advantage that enthusiastic spirit which prevailed among the soldiers and citizens. By continued sallies, he molested the royalists in their trenches; he gained sudden advantages over them; and he repressed their ardour, by disputing every inch of ground. The garrison, however, was reduced to the last extremity; when Essex, advancing to its relief with a well-appointed army of fourteen thousand men, obliged the king to raise the siege, and threw into the city a supply of ammunition and provisions.(2)

Chagrined at the miscarriage of his favourite enterprise, and determined to intercept Essex in his return, the king, by hasty marches, took possession of Newbury before the arrival of the parliamentary army. An action was now unavoidable; and Essex, conscious of his inferiority in cavalry, drew up his forces on an advanced ground, called Brig's-hill, within a mile of the town. The battle was begun by the royalists, and fought with steady and desperate courage on both sides. Essex's horse were several times broken by the king's, but his infantry maintained their ground; and, beside keeping up a constant fire, they presented an invincible rampart of pikes against all the furious shocks of prince Rupert, and those gallant troops of gentlemen of which the royal cavalry was chiefly composed. Night at last put an end to the combat, and left the victory undecided. Next morning Essex pursued his march; and although his rear was severely harassed by prince Rupert, he reached London without losing either his cannon or baggage. The king followed him; and taking possession of Reading, there established a garrison, to be a kind of curb upon the capital.(3)

Though the king's loss, in this battle, was not very considerable with respect to numbers, his cause suffered greatly by the death of some gallant noblemen. Beside the earls of Sunderland and Carnarvon, who had served their royal master with courage and ability in the field, fell Lucius Cary, viscount Falkland, no less eminent in the cabinet; the object of universal admiration while living, and of regret when dead. Devoted to the pursuits of learning, and fond of polite society, he had abstracted himself from politics till the assembling of the present parliament; when, deeming it criminal any longer to remain inactive, he stood foremost in all attacks upon the high prerogatives of the crown, and displayed, with a bold freedom, that warm love of liberty and masculine eloquence, which he had imbibed from the sublime writers of antiquity. But no sooner did he perceive the purpose of the popular leaders, than, tempering the ardour of his zeal, he attached himself to his sovereign; and, convinced that regal authority was already sufficiently reduced, he embraced the defence of those limited powers that remained to it, and which he thought necessary to the support of the English constitution. Still, however, anxious for the liberties of his country, he seems to have dreaded the decisive success even of the royal party; and the word *PEACE* was often heard to break from his lips, accompanied with a sigh. Though naturally of a gay and cheerful disposition, he became, from the commencement of the civil war, silent and melancholy, neglecting even a decent attention to his person: but on the morning of the battle of Newbury, as if he had foreseen his fate, he dressed himself with his usual elegance and neatness, giving as a reason for so doing, his desire that the *enemy* might not find his *body* in a *slovenly condition*. "I am weary of the times," added he, "and foresee much misery to my country; but believe I shall be out

(1) Rushworth, vol. vi.

(2) Clarendon, vol. iii.

(3) Ibid.

"of it before night!"(1) He charged in the front of Byron's regiment, and was shot in the belly.

The shock which both armies had received in the battle of Newbury discouraged them from any second trial of strength before the close of the campaign; and the declining season soon obliged them to retire into winter-quarters. There we must leave them for a time, and take a view of the progress of the war in other parts of the kingdom, and of the measures pursued by both parties for acquiring a superiority.

In the northern counties, during the summer, the marquis of Newcastle, by his extensive influence, had raised a considerable force for the king; and high hopes were entertained of success from the known loyalty and abilities of that nobleman. But in opposition to him appeared two men, on whom the fortune of the war was finally to depend, and who began about this time to be distinguished by their valour and military talents; namely, sir Thomas Fairfax and Oliver Cromwell. The former, son of lord Fairfax, put to flight a party of royalists at Wakefield, and the latter obtained a victory over another party at Gainsborough. But the total rout of lord Fairfax, at Ather-ton, more than balanced both those defeats; and the marquis of Newcastle, with an army of fifteen thousand men, sat down before Hull, into which the elder Fairfax had thrown himself with the remnant of his broken forces.(2)

After having carried on the attack of Hull for some time without effect, Newcastle was beat off by an unexpected sally of the garrison; and suffered so much in the action, that he thought proper to raise the siege. About the same time, the earl of Manchester, having advanced from the eastern associated counties, and formed a junction with Cromwell and young Fairfax, obtained a considerable advantage over the royalists at Horn Castle.(3) But notwithstanding these misfortunes, the royal party still retained great interest in the northern counties; and had Yorkshire not been kept in awe by the garrison of Hull, a junction of the northern and southern armies might have been effected, and the king had perhaps been enabled to terminate the war with the campaign.

The prospect was now very different. Alarmed at the rapid progress of the king's forces, during the early part of the summer, the English parliament had sent commissioners to Edinburgh, with ample powers, to treat of a nearer union and confederacy with the Scottish nation.

The Scots, who, not satisfied with having accomplished the restoration of the Presbyterian religion in their own country, still indulged an ardent passion for propagating that religion in the neighbouring kingdom, declared themselves ready to assist their brethren of England; and proposed, that the two nations should enter into a covenant for the extirpation of prelacy, and a more intimate union of the English and Scottish parliaments. By the address of the younger sir Henry Vane, who took the lead among the English commissioners, was accordingly framed at Edinburgh the famous SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT.

A copy of that Covenant was transmitted to the two houses of parliament at Westminster, where it was received without opposition; and after being subscribed by the lords, the commons, and an assembly of divines, it was ordered to be received by all who lived under their authority. The subscribers, besides engaging mutually to defend each other against all opponents, bound themselves to endeavour the extirpation of popery and prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism, and profaneness; to maintain the rights and privileges of parliament, and defend his majesty's person and authority; to discover and bring to justice all incendiaries and malignants; to humble

(1) Whitlocke, p. 70. Clarendon, vol. iii.

(2) Lord Fairfax was appointed governor of this place in the room of sir John Hotham. That gentleman and his son, repenting of their engagements with the parliamentary party, had entered into a correspondence with the marquis of Newcastle, and expressed an intention of delivering Hull into his hands for the king. But their purpose being discovered, they were arrested, and sent prisoners to London; where, without any regard to their former services, they fell victims to the severity of the parliament. Rushworth, vol. vi.

(3) Warwick. Walker.

themselves for their sins, amend their lives, and vie with each other in the great work of reformation.(1)

The Scots were elated at the thought of being the happy instruments of extending what they believed to be the only true religion, and of dissipating that profound darkness in which they supposed all other nations involved. The general assembly applauded the pious League, and every one was ordered by the convention of estates to swear to the Covenant, under penalty of confiscation; besides what farther punishment it should please the parliament to inflict on the disobedient, as enemies of God, the king, and the kingdom!—Flaming with holy zeal, and determined that the sword should carry conviction to all refractory minds, the Scottish Covenanters now prepared themselves with vigour for military service. A hundred thousand pounds, remitted from England, enabled them to complete their levies; and, having added to their other forces a body of troops which they had recalled from Ireland, they were soon ready to enter England with an army of twenty thousand men.(2)

In order to secure himself against this gathering tempest, which he foresaw it would be impossible to dispel, the king turned his eye toward Ireland. The English parliament, to whose care the suppression of the Irish rebellion was committed, had never taken any effectual measures for that purpose: yet the remaining Protestants, who were now all become soldiers, joined with some new adventurers, under lord More, sir William St. Leger, sir Frederick Hamilton, and others, had in many rencounters put the Catholics to flight, and returned in triumph to Dublin. The rebels had been obliged to raise the siege of Drogheda, in spite of their most vigorous efforts. The marquis of Ormond, then lord-lieutenant, had obtained two complete victories over them, and had brought relief to all the forts that were besieged or blockaded in different parts of the kingdom. But the Irish Catholics, in their wild rage against the British planters, having laid waste the whole cultivated part of the country, the victorious Protestants were in want of the most common necessities of life; and as the king had it not in his power to relieve them by sending money or provisions into Ireland, he resolved to embrace an expedient which would enable them to provide for their own support, and at the same time contribute to the advancement of his affairs in England. He accordingly gave orders to the lord-lieutenant and the chief justices, who were entirely in his interest, to conclude a truce for one year with the council of the rebels at Kilkenny; and afterward to transport part of the Protestant army over to England.(3)

The parliament, whose business it was to find fault with every measure adopted by the king, did not let slip so fair an opportunity of reproaching him with favouring the Irish papists. They exclaimed loudly against the truce, affirming that England must justly dread the divine vengeance for tolerating antichristian idolatry, under pretence of civil contracts and political expediency!(4) And the forces brought from Ireland, though the cause of so much odium, were of but little service to the royal party. Being

(1) Whitlocke, p. 73. Rushworth, vol. vi. Clarendon, vol. iii. The subscribers to the Covenant vowed also to preserve the reformed religion established in the church of Scotland; but, by the artifice of sir Henry Vane, no declaration more explicit was made with respect to England and Ireland, than that these kingdoms should be reformed according to the word of God, and the *example* of the *purest churches*. (Id. *ibid.*) The Scottish zealots, when prelacy was abolished, deemed these expressions quite free from ambiguity, considering their own mode of worship as the only one which corresponded in any degree to such a description. But Vane had other views. That able politician, even while he employed his great talents in over-reaching the Presbyterians, and secretly laughed at their simplicity as well as at their fanaticism, had blindly devoted himself to wilder and more dangerous opinions, which he hoped to diffuse and establish.

(2) Clarendon, vol. iii.

(3) Carte's *Life of Ormond*, vol. iii. Rushworth, vol. vi. Some Irish Catholics came over with the Protestants, and joined the royal army, where they continued the same cruelties and disorders to which they had been accustomed: (Whitlocke, p. 78.) and the parliament voted that no quarter, in any action, should ever be given to them. But prince Rupert, by severe retaliation, soon put a stop to this inhumanity. Rushworth, vol. vi.

(4) Id. *ibid.*

landed at Mostyne, in North Wales, and put under the command of lord Byron, they besieged and took the castle of Hawarden, Beeston, Acton, and Deddington-house: but a stop was soon put to their career of glory. Elated with success, and entertaining the most profound contempt for the parliamentary forces, they sat down before Nantwich in the depth of winter. This was the only place that now adhered to the parliament in Cheshire or its neighbourhood. Its importance was well known, and consequently the necessity of attempting its relief. Sir Thomas Fairfax, alarmed at the progress of the royalists in this quarter, accordingly assembled in Yorkshire an army of four thousand men; and, having joined sir William Brereton, suddenly attacked Byron's camp. The swelling of the river Wever by a thaw had divided one part of the royal army from the other, and the whole was routed and dispersed.(1)

The invasion from Scotland, in favour of the parliament, was attended with more momentous consequences. The Scottish army, under the command of the earl of Leven, having summoned the town of Newcastle without effect, passed the Tyne, and faced the marquis of Newcastle, who lay at Durham with an army of fourteen thousand men. The marquis did not decline the challenge; but before any action took place, he received intelligence of the return of sir Thomas Fairfax, with his victorious forces, from Cheshire. Afraid of being inclosed between two armies, he retreated to York; and Leven having joined lord Fairfax, they sat down before that city. The earl of Manchester arrived soon after with an accession of force; and York, though vigorously defended by the marquis of Newcastle, was so closely besieged by these combined armies, and reduced to such extremity, that the parliamentary generals flattered themselves with a speedy conquest.

A siege of so much importance roused the spirit of prince Rupert. By exerting himself vigorously in Lancashire and Cheshire, he collected a considerable army; and being joined by sir Charles Lucas, who commanded Newcastle's horse, he hastened to the relief of York with an army of twenty thousand men. The Scottish and parliamentary generals, on his approach, immediately raised the siege, and drew up their forces on Marston-moor, where they proposed to give battle to the royalists. Prince Rupert entered the town by another quarter, and safely joined his forces to those of Newcastle, by interposing the river Ouse between him and the enemy. Having so successfully effected his purpose, the prince ought to have remained satisfied with his good fortune. The marquis was sensible of it, and endeavoured, by many arguments, to persuade him to decline a battle; but especially as the Scottish and English armies were at variance, and must soon separate of their own accord, while a few days would bring him a reinforcement of ten thousand men.

That violent partisan, however, whose martial disposition was not sufficiently tempered with prudence, or softened by complaisance, treated this advice with contempt; and without deigning to consult Newcastle, who had long been the chief prop of the royal cause in the North, he imperiously issued orders for battle, and led out the army to Marston-moor. The marquis refused to take any share in the command, but behaved gallantly as a volunteer. Fifty thousand British troops were, on this occasion, led to mutual slaughter. The numbers on each side were nearly equal, and victory continued long undecided. At length lieutenant-general Cromwell, who conducted the prime troops of the parliament, having broken the right wing of the royalists, led by prince Rupert, returned from the pursuit, and determined a contest which before seemed doubtful. Sir Charles Lucas, who commanded the left wing of the royalists, and who had put the right wing of the parliamentary army to flight, being ignorant of the fortune of the day in other quarters, was surprised to see that he must again renew, with this determined leader, the combat for victory. Nor was Cromwell a little disappointed to find, that the battle was yet to be gained. The second en-

(1) Rushworth, ubi sup.

gement was no less furious than the first. All the hostile passions that can inflame civil or religious discord were awakened in the breasts of the two parties; but, after the utmost efforts of courage by both, success turned wholly to the side of the parliament. The king's artillery was taken, and his army pushed off the field.(1)

The loss of this battle was, in itself, a severe blow to the royal cause, and its consequences were still more fatal than could have been expected. The marquis of Newcastle, enraged to find all his successful labours rendered abortive by one act of temerity, and frightened at the prospect of renewing the desperate struggle, immediately left the kingdom in despair, and continued abroad till the Restoration.(2) Prince Rupert, with the utmost precipitation, drew off the remains of his army, and retired to Lancashire, instead of throwing himself into York, and waiting his majesty's orders; so that Glenham, the lieutenant-governor, was in a few days obliged to surrender that city.(3) Lord Fairfax, fixing his residence in York, established his government over the whole neighbouring country; while the Scottish army marched northward, in order to join the earl of Calendar, who was advancing with ten thousand additional forces, and, having formed that junction, laid siege to Newcastle, and carried it by assault.(4)

In the mean time, the king's affairs in the South, though there no less dangerous or critical, were conducted with more ability and success. The parliament had made extraordinary exertions in that quarter. Two armies, of ten thousand men each, were completed with all possible speed; and Essex and Waller, the two generals, had orders to march with their combined forces toward Oxford, and attempt by one enterprise to put an end to the war. Leaving a numerous garrison in Oxford, the king passed with dexterity between the two armies, and marched towards Winchester. Essex gave orders to Waller to follow him, and watch his motions, while he himself marched to the West in quest of prince Maurice. But the king, eluding the vigilance of Waller, returned suddenly to Oxford; and having reinforced his army from that garrison, marched out in quest of his pursuer. The two armies faced each other at Cropredy-bridge, near Banbury. The Charwel ran between them; and the king, in order to draw Waller from his advantageous post, decamped next day, and marched toward Daventry. This movement had the desired effect. Waller ordered a considerable detachment to ford the river, while he himself passed the bridge with the main body, and fell upon the king's rear with his whole forces. He was repulsed, routed, and pursued back to the bridge with great slaughter.(5)

The king thought he might now safely leave the remains of Waller's army behind him, and march westward against Essex, who carried all before him in that quarter. He accordingly followed the parliamentary general; and Essex, convinced of his inferiority, retired into Cornwall, entreating the parliament to send an army to fall upon the king's rear. General Middleton was dispatched for that purpose, but came too late. Cooped up in a narrow corner at Lestwithiel, deprived of all forage and provisions, and seeing no prospect of relief, Essex's army was reduced to the greatest extremity. The king pressed them on one side, prince Maurice on another, and sir Richard

(1) Clarendon, vol. v. Rushworth, vol. vi. Whitlocke, p. 89.

(2) This nobleman, who was considered as the ornament of the court, and of his order, had been engaged, contrary to the natural bent of his disposition, by a high sense of honour and personal regard to his master, to take part in these military transactions. He disregarded the dangers of war, but its anxieties and fatigues were oppressive to his natural indolence of temper. Liberal, polite, courteous, and humane, he brought a great accession of friends to the royal party. But amidst all the hurry of action, his inclinations were secretly drawn to the soft art of peace, in which he took particular delight; and the charms of poetry, music, and conversation, stole him often from his rougher occupations. Though he lived abroad in extreme indigence, he disdained, by submission or composition, to recognize the usurped authority of the parliament, or look up to it for relief, but saw with indifference the sequestration of his ample fortune. Clarendon, vol. v. Hume, vol. vii.

(3) Rushworth, vol. vi.

(4) Whitlocke, p. 88.

(5) Rushworth, vol. vi. Clarendon, vol. v. Ruthven, a Scottish officer, who had been created earl of Brentford, attended the king as general in these operations.

Granville on a third. Essex and some of his principal officers escaped in a boat to Plymouth; and Balfour, with the horse, having passed the king's out-posts in a thick fog, got safe to the parliamentary garrisons; but the foot, under Skippon, were obliged to surrender their arms, artillery, ammunition, and baggage.(1)

By this surrender, which was no small cause of triumph to the royalists, the king obtained what he stood much in need of; and yet his enemies were not materially injured, as the troops were preserved. In order to conceal their disgrace, the common-soldiers thanks to Essex for his courage and conduct; and having armed his troops anew, they ordered Manchester and Cromwell, as well as Waller and Middleton, to join him, and offer battle to the king. Charles, having thrown succours into Deddington-castle, long besieged by the parliamentary forces, and knighted the governor for his gallant defence, had taken post at Newbury, where an obstinate battle, as we have seen, was formerly fought. There the generals of the parliament attacked him with great vigour; and the royalists, though they defended themselves with their wonted valour, were at last overpowered by numbers. Night came seasonably to their relief, and prevented a total defeat. Leaving his cannon and baggage at Deddington-castle, the king retreated to Wallingford, and afterward to Oxford; where, being joined by prince Rupert and the earl of Northampton, with considerable bodies of cavalry, he ventured again to advance toward the enemy. They did not choose to give him battle, though still greatly superior in forces; and the king had the satisfaction of bringing off his cannon from Deddington-castle, in the face of his adversaries, and of distributing his army into winter-quarters without molestation.(2)

During this season of inaction, certain disputes between the parliamentary generals, which were supposed to have disturbed their military operations, were revived in London; and each being supported by his own faction, their mutual reproaches and accusations agitated the whole city and parliament. The cause of these disputes will require explication.

There had long prevailed among the Puritans, or parliamentary party, a secret distinction, which, though concealed for a time, by the dread of the king's power, began to discover itself in proportion as the hopes of success became nearer, and at last broke forth in high contest and animosity. The INDEPENDENTS, who had at first sheltered themselves under the wings of the PRESBYTERIANS, now openly appeared as a distinct party, actuated by different views and pretensions. They rejected all ecclesiastical establishments, and would admit of no spiritual courts, no government among pastors, nor any interposition of the magistrate in religious concerns. Each congregation, according to their principles, united voluntarily, and by spiritual ties, composed within itself a separate church; and as the election of the congregation was alone sufficient to bestow the sacerdotal character and office, to which no benefits were annexed, all essential distinction was denied between the laity and the clergy. No ceremony, no institution, no imposition of hands, was thought requisite, as in every other church, to convey a right to holy orders; but the soldier, the merchant, the mechanic, indulging the fervours of zeal, and guided by the illapses of the spirit, resigned himself to an inward and superior direction, and was consecrated by a supposed intercourse and immediate communication with heaven.(3)

Nor were the Independents less distinguished from the Presbyterians by their political than their religious principles. The Presbyterians were only desirous of restraining within narrow limits the prerogatives of the crown,

(1) Whitlocks, p. 86. Clarendon, vol. v. Rushworth, vol. vi.

(2) Rushworth, vol. vii.

(3) Sir Ed. Walker's *Hist. of Independency*. Hume, vol. vii. The Independents were the first Christian sect, which, during its prosperity, as well as its adversity, always adopted the principle of toleration. The reason assigned by Mr. Hume for this liberty of conscience is truly ingenious. The mind, says he, set afloat in the wide sea of inspiration, could confine itself within no certain limits; and the same variations in which an enthusiast indulged himself, he was apt, by a natural train of thinking, to permit in others. *Hist. Eng.* vol. vii.

and of reducing the king to the rank of first magistrate; but the Independents, more ardent in their pursuit of liberty, aspired at a total abolition of the monarchical and even of the aristocratical branch of the English constitution. They had projected an entire equality of rank and order, in a republic quite free and independent. Of course, they were declared enemies to all proposals for peace; rigidly adhering to the maxim, that whoever draws his sword against his sovereign should throw away the scabbard. And by widely diffusing the apprehensions of vengeance, they engaged multitudes who differed from them in opinion, both with respect to religion and government, to oppose all terms of pacification with their offended prince.⁽¹⁾

Sir Henry Vane, Oliver Cromwell, Nathaniel Fiennes, and Oliver St. John, were considered as the leaders of the Independents. The earl of Northumberland, proud of his rank, regarded with horror their scheme, which would confound the nobility with the meanest of the people. The earl of Essex, who began to foresee the pernicious consequences of the war, adhered to the Presbyterians, and promoted every reasonable plan of accommodation. The earls of Warwick and Denbigh, sir Philip Stapleton, sir William Waller, Hollis, Massey, Whitlocke, Maynard, Glyn, and other eminent men, had embraced the same sentiments; so that a considerable majority in parliament, and a much greater in the nation, were attached to the Presbyterian party.⁽²⁾ But the Independents, first by cunning and deceit, and afterward by violence, accomplished the ruin of their rivals, as well as of the royal cause.

Provoked at the impeachment which the king had lodged against him, the earl of Manchester had long forwarded the war with alacrity; but being a man of humanity and sound principles, the view of the public calamities, and the prospect of a total subversion of the established government, began to moderate his ardour, and inclined him to promote peace on any safe and equitable terms. He was even suspected, in the field, of not having pushed to the utmost the advantages obtained by the arms of the parliament; and Cromwell accused him, in the house of Commons, of wilfully neglecting, at Deddington-castle, a favourable opportunity of finishing the war, by a total defeat of the royalists. Manchester, by way of recrimination, informed the parliament, that Cromwell, on another occasion, in order to induce him to embrace a scheme to which he thought the parliament would not agree, warmly said, "My Lord, if you will stick firm to honest men, you shall find yourself at the head of an army which shall give law both to king and parliament."⁽³⁾—"This discourse," continued Manchester, made the greater impression on me, because I knew the lieutenant-general to be a man of deep designs. And he has even ventured to tell me," added the earl, "that it would never be well with England till I was Mr. Montague, and there was ne'er a lord or peer in the realm."⁽⁴⁾

These violent dissensions brought matters to extremity between the two sects, and pushed the Independents to the immediate execution of their designs. The command of the sword was their grand object; and this they craftily obtained, under pretence of new modelling the army. The first intimation of such a measure, conformable to the genius of the hypocritical policy of that age, was communicated from the pulpit on a day of solemn humiliation and fasting, appointed through the influence of the Independents. All the reigning divisions in the parliament were ascribed, by the fanatical preachers, to the selfish ends pursued by the members; in whose hands, it was observed, were lodged all the considerable commands in the army, and all the lucrative offices in the civil administration. "It cannot be expected," added these spiritual demagogues, "that men, who fatten on the calamities of their country, will ever embrace any effectual measure for bringing them to a period, or the war to a successful issue." The Independents in parliament caught the same tone, and represented the con-

(1) Sir Ed. Walker's *Hist. of Independency*.

(2) Hume, vol. vii.

(3) Clarendon, vol. v.

(4) *Ibid*.

currence of so many godly men, in different congregations, in lamenting *one* evil, as the effect of the immediate operation of the Holy Spirit. Such, in particular, was the language of Sir Henry Vane; who, therefore, entreated the members, in vindication of their own honour, and in consideration of their duty to God and their country, to lay aside all private views, and renounce every office attended with profit or advantage. Cromwell also acted his part to admiration. He declared, that until there was a perfect reformation in these particulars, nothing which they undertook could possibly prosper; for although the parliament, he added, had doubtless done wisely on the commencement of hostilities, in engaging several of its members in the most dangerous military commands, in order to satisfy the nation that they intended to share all hazards with the meanest of the people, affairs were now changed; and a change of measures, he affirmed, must take place, if they ever hoped to terminate the war to advantage.(1)

On the other side, it was urged by the Presbyterians, and particularly by Whitlocke, who endeavoured to show the inconveniency, as well as danger of the projected alteration, that the rank possessed by such as were members of either house of parliament prevented envy, retained the army in obedience, and gave weight to military orders; that greater confidence might safely be reposed in men of family and fortune than in mere adventurers, who would be apt to entertain views distinct from those embraced by the persons that employed them; that no maxim in policy was more undisputed than the necessity of preserving an inseparable connection between the civil and military power, and of retaining the latter in strict subordination to the former; that the Greeks and Romans, the wisest politicians, and the most passionate lovers of liberty, had always entrusted to their senators the command of the armies of the state; and that men, whose interests were involved with those of the public, and who possessed a vote in civil deliberations, would alone sufficiently respect the authority of the parliament, and never could be tempted to turn the sword against those by whom it was committed to them.(2) Notwithstanding these arguments, a committee was appointed to frame what was called the *Self-denying Ordinance*; by which the members of both houses were excluded from all civil and military employments—a few offices, which were specified, excepted; and through the envy of some, the false modesty of others, and the republican and fanatical views of many, it at last received the sanction of parliament.

In consequence of this ordinance, Essex, Warwick, Manchester, Denbeigh, Waller, Brereton, and others, resigned their commands, and received the thanks of both houses. Cromwell, who was a member of the lower house, should also have been discarded; but this impartiality would have disappointed the views of those who had introduced the *Self-denying Ordinance*. Care was therefore taken, at the time the other officers resigned their commissions, that he should be sent with a body of horse to relieve Taunton, then besieged by the royalists. His absence being remarked, orders were dispatched for his immediate attendance in parliament. But sir Thomas Fairfax, the new general, having appointed a rendezvous of the army, desired leave to retain for a few days lieutenant-general Cromwell, whose advice, he wrote to the parliament, would be useful in supplying the place of those officers who had resigned: and shortly after he begged, with much earnestness, that Cromwell might be permitted to serve during the ensuing campaign.(3)

Thus, my dear Philip, the Independents, though the minority, prevailed by art and cunning over the Presbyterians; and bestowed the whole military authority, in appearance, upon Fairfax, but in reality upon Cromwell. Fairfax, who was equally eminent for courage and humanity, sincere in his professions, disinterested in his views, and open in his conduct, would have formed one of the most shining characters of that age, had not the extreme

(1) Rushworth, vol. vi. Clarendon, vol. v.

(2) Whitlocke, p. 114, 115.

(3) Clarendon, vol. v. Whitlocke, p. 141.

narrowness of his genius, in every thing but war, diminished the lustre of his merit, and rendered the part which he acted, even when vested with the supreme command, but secondary and subordinate. Cromwell, by whose sagacity and insinuation the general was entirely governed, though naturally of an imperious and domineering temper, knew to employ, when necessary, the most profound dissimulation, the most oblique and refined artifice, and the semblance of the greatest moderation and simplicity. His vigorous capacity enabled him to form the deepest designs, and his enterprising spirit was not dismayed at the boldest undertakings.(1)

During this competition between the Presbyterians and Independents, for power, both piously united in bringing to the block the venerable archbishop Laud, who had remained a prisoner ever since his first impeachment. He was now accused of high treason, in endeavouring to subvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and of other high crimes and misdemeanours. The same violence and the same illegality of an accumulative crime and constructive evidence which had appeared in the case of Strafford were employed against Laud: yet, after a long trial, and the examination of above a hundred and fifty witnesses, the commons found so little likelihood of obtaining a judicial sentence against him, that they were obliged to have recourse to their legislative authority, and to pass an ordinance for taking away his life. "No one," said the aged primate, "can be more willing to send me out of the world, than I am desirous to go." Seven peers only voted on this important question, the rest absenting themselves either from fear or shame.(2)

This new example of the vindictive spirit of the commons promised little success to the negotiations for peace, which were soon after set on foot at Uxbridge; where sixteen commissioners from the king met with twelve authorized by the parliament, attended by some Scottish commissioners. It was agreed that the Scottish and parliamentary commissioners should give in their demands with respect to three important articles; religion, the militia, and Ireland; and that these should be successively examined and discussed, in conferences with the king's commissioners.(3) But it was soon found impracticable to come to an agreement in regard to any of those articles.

Besides the insuperable difficulties in regard to religion, the article of the militia was an eternal bar against all accommodation. The king's partisans had always maintained, that the fears and jealousies of the parliament, after the effectual measures taken in 1641 for the security of public liberty, were either feigned or groundless. Charles however offered, in order to cure their apprehensions, that the arms of the state should be entrusted, during three years, to twenty commissioners, who should be named, either by common agreement between him and the parliament, or one half by him, and the other by the parliament. But the parliamentary commissioners positively insisted on being entrusted with the absolute power of the sword, for at least seven years. This, they affirmed, was essential to their safety. On the other hand, the king's commissioners asked, whether there was any equity in securing only one party, and leaving the other, during the space of seven years, entirely at the mercy of their enemies? and whether, if unlimited authority was entrusted to the parliament for so long a term, it would not be easy for them to keep for ever possession of the sword, as well as of every department of civil power and jurisdiction?(4) After the debate had been carried on to no purpose for twenty days, the commissioners separated, and returned to London and Oxford.

While the king was thus endeavouring, though in vain, to bring about an

(1) Hume, vol. vii.

(2) Warwick, p. 169.

(3) Dugdale, p. 768. Whitlocke, p. 121.

(4) Dugdale, p. 877. The parliamentary commissioners were no less unreasonable in regard to Ireland. They demanded, that the truce with the rebels should be declared null; that the management of the war should be given up entirely to the parliament; and, after the conquest of Ireland, that the nomination of the lord-lieutenant and of the judges, or, in other words, the sovereignty of that kingdom, also should remain in their hands. Ibid. p. 826.

accommodation with the English parliament, by the most humiliating concessions, some events happened in Scotland that seemed to promise a more prosperous issue to his declining affairs. James Graham, marquis of Montrose, a man of a bold and generous spirit, filled with indignation to see the majority of two kingdoms conspire against their lawful and, in many respects, indulgent sovereign, undertook by his own credit, and that of a few friends, who had not yet forgot their allegiance, to raise such commotions in Scotland, as should oblige the Covenanters to recall their forces. In this design he was assisted by a body of the Macdonalds, who came over from Ireland to recover the county of Kintore, out of which they had been driven about fifty years before by the Argyle family. With these adventurers, who amounted to about twelve hundred, and eight hundred native Highlanders, very indifferently armed, he defeated an army of six thousand Covenanters, under lord Elcho, near Perth, and killed two thousand of them.(1)

In consequence of this victory, by which he acquired arms and ammunition, Montrose was enabled to prosecute his enterprise, though not without incredible difficulties. The greater part of the low country Scots were extremely attached to the Covenant; and such as bore affection to the royal cause were over-awed by the established authority of the opposite party. But Montrose, whose daring soul delighted in perilous undertakings, eluded every danger, and seized the most unexpected advantages. He retreated sixty miles in the face of a superior army without sustaining any loss: he took Dundee by assault, and defeated the marquis of Argyle at Innerlochy, after having gratified the Macdonalds with the pillage of that nobleman's country.(2) The power of the Campbells being thus broken, the Highlanders, who were in general well affected to the royal cause, joined Montrose in more considerable bodies. By their assistance he successively defeated Baillie and Urrey, two officers of reputation, sent from England to crush him, and who were confident of victory from the superiority of their numbers, as well as from the discipline of their troops. He defeated Baillie a second time, with great slaughter, at Alford.(3) And the terror of his name, and the admiration of his valour, being now great all over the north of Scotland, he summoned his friends and partisans, and prepared himself for marching into the southern provinces, in order there to restore the king's authority, and give a final blow to the power of the Covenanters.

But, unhappily for Charles, before Montrose could carry his success so far as to oblige the Covenanters to withdraw any part of their forces, events had taken place in England which rendered the royal cause almost desperate. In consequence of the change in the formation of the parliamentary army, the officers, in most regiments, assumed the spiritual as well as military command over their men. They supplied the place of chaplains; and, during the intervals of action, occupied themselves in sermons, prayers, and pious exhortations. These wild effusions were mistaken by the soldiers, and perhaps even by those who uttered them, for divine illuminations; and gave new weight to the authority of the officers, and new energy to the valour of their troops. In marching to battle, they lifted up their souls to God in psalms and hymns, and made the whole field resound with spiritual as well as martial music.(4) The sense of present danger was lost in the prospect of eternal felicity; wounds were esteemed meritorious in so holy a cause, and death martyrdom. Every one seemed animated, not with the vain idea of conquest or the ambition of worldly greatness, but by the brighter hope of attaining in heaven an everlasting crown of glory.

The royalists, ignorant of the influence of this enthusiasm, in rousing the courage of their antagonists, treated it with contempt and ridicule. In the mean time, their own licentious conduct, if less ludicrous, was less becoming the character of soldiers or of citizens. More formidable even to

(1) Rushworth, vol. vi. Wishart, chap. v.

(2) Burnet, *Hist.* vol. i. Wishart, chap. 10.

(3) Rushworth, vol. viii. Wishart, chap. 11.

(4) Rushworth, vol. vi. Harris's *Life of Oliver Cromwell*.

their friends than to their enemies, they in some places committed universal spoil and havock, and laid the country waste by their undistinguishing rapine. So great, in a word, was the distress become, that many of the most devoted friends of the church and monarchy now wished for such success to the parliamentary forces as might put a stop to these oppressions: and the depredations committed in Scotland, by the Highlanders under Montrose, made the approach of the royal army the object of terror to both parties, over the whole island.(1)

Under these disadvantages, it was impossible for the king much longer to continue the war: the very licentiousness of his own troops was sufficient to ruin his cause. On the opening of the campaign, however, being joined by the princes Rupert and Maurice, he left Oxford with an army of fifteen thousand men, determined to strike some decisive blow. The new-modelled parliamentary army, under Fairfax and Cromwell was posted at Windsor, and amounted to about twenty-two thousand men. Yet Charles in spite of their vigilance, effected the relief of Chester, which had long been blockaded by sir William Brereton; and, in his return southward, he took Leicester by storm, after a furious assault, and gratified his soldiers with an immense booty. Fifteen hundred prisoners fell into his hands.(2)

Alarmed at this success, Fairfax, who had received orders from the parliament to besiege Oxford during the king's absence, immediately left that place, and marched to Leicester, with an intention of giving battle to the royal army. Charles, in the mean time, was advancing toward Oxford, in order to raise the siege, which he apprehended was already in some forwardness; so that the two armies were within a few miles of each other, before they were aware of their danger. The king called a council of war; in which it was rashly resolved, through the influence of prince Rupert and the impatient spirit of the nobility and gentry, immediately to engage Fairfax; though the royalists had the prospect of being soon reinforced with three thousand horse and two thousand foot, under experienced officers. They accordingly advanced upon the parliamentary army, which was drawn up in order of battle on a rising ground, in the neighbourhood of the village of Naseby.

The king himself commanded the main body of the royal army, prince Rupert the right wing, and sir Marmaduke Langdale the left. The main body of the parliamentary army was conducted by Fairfax, seconded by Skippon; the right wing by Cromwell; the left by Ireton, Cromwell's son-in-law. Prince Rupert began the charge with his usual impetuosity and success. Ireton's whole wing was routed and chased off the field, and himself wounded and taken prisoner. The king led on his main body with firmness; and displayed, in the action, all the conduct of an experienced general, and all the courage of a gallant soldier. The parliamentary infantry was broken, in spite of the utmost efforts of Fairfax and Skippon, and would have been totally routed, if the body of reserve had not been brought to their relief. Meanwhile Cromwell, having broken the left wing of the royalists, under Langdale, and pursued it a little way, returned upon the king's infantry, and threw them into confusion. At length prince Rupert, who had imprudently wasted his time in a fruitless attempt to seize the enemy's artillery, joined the king with his cavalry, though too late to turn the tide of the battle. "One charge more," cried Charles, "and we recover the day!" But his troops, aware of the disadvantage under which they laboured, could by no means be prevailed on to renew the combat. He was obliged to quit the field; and although the parliament had a thousand, and he only eight hundred men slain, scarce any victory could be more complete.

(1) Rushworth, vol. vii. Clarendon, vol. v. This licentiousness was partly occasioned by the want of pay; but other causes conspired to carry it to its present degree of enormity. Prince Rupert, negligent of the interests of the people, and fond of the soldiery, had all along indulged them in unwarrantable liberties. Wilmot, a man of dissolute manners, had promoted the same spirit of disorder; and too many other commanders, sir Richard Grenville, Goring, and Gerrard, improved on the pernicious example. *Ibid.*

(2) Clarendon, vol. v.

Near five thousand of the royalists were made prisoners, among whom were five hundred officers; and all the king's baggage, artillery, and ammunition, fell into the hands of the enemy.(1)

LETTER VII.

England from the Battle of Naseby to the Execution of Charles I. and the Subversion of the Monarchy in 1649

AFTER the battle of Naseby, the king's affairs went so fast to ruin in all quarters, that he ordered the prince of Wales, now fifteen years of age, to make his escape beyond sea, and save at least one part of the royal family from the violence of the parliament. The prince retired to Jersey, and afterwards to Paris, where he joined the queen, who had fled thither from Exeter, at the time the earl of Essex conducted the parliamentary army to the West. The king himself retreated first to Hereford, then to Abergavenny; and remained some time in Wales, in hopes of raising a body of infantry in that loyal but exhausted country.

In the mean time the parliamentary generals and the Scots made themselves masters of almost every place of importance in the kingdom, and every where routed and dispersed the royalists. Fairfax and Cromwell immediately retook Leicester; and having also reduced Bridgewater, Bath, and Sherborne, they resolved, before they divided their forces, to besiege Bristol, into which prince Rupert had thrown himself, with an intention of defending to the uttermost a place of so much consequence. Vast preparations were made for an enterprise, which, from the strength of the garrison, and the reputation of the governor, was expected to require the greatest exertions of valour and perseverance. But so precarious a quality, in most men, is military courage, that a poorer defence was not made by any town during the course of the war. Though prince Rupert had written a letter to the king, in which he undertook to hold out four months, if the garrison did not mutiny, he surrendered the place a few days after, on articles of capitulation, and at the first summons.(2)

Charles, astonished at this unexpected event, which was scarcely less fatal to the royal cause than the battle of Naseby, and full of indignation at the manner in which so important a city had been given up at the very time he was collecting forces for its relief, instantly recalled all prince Rupert's commissions, and ordered him to quit the kingdom. After an unsuccessful attempt to raise the siege of Chester, the king himself took refuge with the remains of his broken army in Oxford, where he continued during the winter season.(3)

Fairfax and Cromwell having divided their armies, after the taking of Bristol, reduced to obedience all the west and middle counties of England; while the Scots made themselves masters of Carlisle, and other places of importance in the North. Lord Digby, in attempting to break into Scotland, and join Montrose with twelve hundred horse, was defeated at Sherburn, in Yorkshire, by colonel Copely; and, to complete the king's misfortunes, news soon after arrived, that Montrose himself, the only remaining hope of the royal party, was at last routed.

That gallant nobleman, having descended into the low country, had de-

(1) Whitlocks, p. 145, 146. Rushworth, vol. vii. Clarendon, vol. iv. Among other spoils, the king's cabinet fell into the hands of the enemy. It contained copies of his letters to the queen, which were afterward wantonly published by the parliament, accompanied with many malicious comments. They are written with delicacy and tenderness; and, at worst, only show that he was too fondly attached to a woman of wit and beauty, who had the misfortune to be a papist, and who had acquired a dangerous ascendant over him. She is certainly chargeable with some of his most unpopular, and even arbitrary measures.

(2) Rushworth, vol. vii. Clarendon, vol. iv.

(3) Id. *ibid.*

feated the whole force of the Covenanters at Kilsyth, and left them no remains of an army in Scotland. Edinburgh opened its gates to him; and many of the nobility and gentry, who secretly favoured the royal cause, when they saw a force able to support them, declared openly for it. But Montrose, advancing still farther south, in hopes of being joined by lord Digby, was surprised, through the negligence of his scouts, at Philiphaugh, in Eterick Forest, by a strong body of cavalry under David Lesly, who had been detached from the Scottish army in England, in order to check the career of this heroic leader; and, after a sharp conflict, in which he displayed the highest exertions of valour, the marquis was obliged to quit the field, and fly with his broken forces into the Highlands.(1)

The Covenanters used their victory with great rigour. Many of the prisoners were butchered in cold blood; and sir Robert Spotswood, sir Philip Nisbet, sir William Rolls, colonel Nathaniel Gordon, Andrew Guthry, son of the bishop of Murray, and William Murray, son of the earl of Tullibardine, were condemned and executed. The clergy incited the civil power to this severity, and even solicited that more blood might be spilt upon the scaffold. The pulpit thundered against all who did the work of the Lord deceitfully. "Thine eye shall not pity?" and "Thou shalt not spare!" were maxims frequently inculcated after every execution.(2)

The king's condition, during the winter, was truly deplorable. Harassed by discontented officers, who over-rated those services and sufferings which they now apprehended must for ever go unrewarded, and by generous friends whose misfortunes wrung his heart with sorrow; oppressed by past disasters, and apprehensive of future calamities, he was in no period of his unfortunate life more sincerely to be pitied. In vain did he attempt to negotiate with the parliament: they would not deign to listen to him, but gave him to understand, that he must yield at discretion.(3) The only remaining body of his troops, on which fortune could exercise her rigour, and which he had ordered to march toward Oxford under lord Astley, in order to reinforce the garrison of that place, was met by colonel Morgan at Stowe, and totally defeated. "You have done your work," said Astley to the parliamentary officers by whom he was taken prisoner; "and may now go to play, unless you choose to fall out among yourselves."(4)

Thus deprived of all hope of prevailing over the inflexibility of the parliament, either by arms or treaty, the only prospect of better fortune that remained to the king was in the dissensions of his enemies. The civil and religious disputes between the Presbyterians and Independents agitated the whole kingdom. The Presbyterian religion was now established in England in all its forms: and its followers, pleading the eternal obligations of the Covenant to extirpate schism and heresy, menaced their opponents with the same rigid persecution under which they themselves had groaned while held in subjection by the hierarchy. But although Charles entertained some hopes of reaping advantage from these divisions, he was much at a loss to determine with which side it would be most for his interest to take part. The Presbyterians were, by their principles, less inimical to monarchy, but they were bent upon the extirpation of prelacy; whereas the Independents, though resolute to lay the foundation of a republican government, as they pretended not to erect themselves into a national church, might possibly

(1) Wishart, chap. 13. Rushworth, vol. vii. Montrose's army, when attacked by Lesly, was much reduced by the desertion of the Highlanders, who had returned home in great numbers, in order to secure the plunder they had acquired in the South, and which they considered as inexhaustible wealth. Id. *Ibid.*

(2) Burnet, *Hist.* vol. i. See also Guthrie's *Memoirs*. The Presbyterians about this time, by considering themselves as the chosen people of God, and regulating their conduct by the maxims of the Old Testament, seem to have departed totally from the spirit of the Gospel. Instead of forgiving their enemies, they had no bowels of compassion for those who differed from them in the slightest article of faith.

(3) Clarendon, vol. iv.

(4) Rushworth, vol. vii. It was the same Astley who made the following short but emphatical prayer before he led on his men at the battle of Edgehill: "O Lord, thou knowest how busy I must be this day; if I forget thee, do not thou forget me!" and then cried, "March on, boys!" Warwick, p. 229.

admit the re-establishment of the hierarchy ; and Charles was, at all times, willing to put episcopal jurisdiction in competition with regal authority.

But the approach of Fairfax toward Oxford put an end to these deliberations, and induced the king to embrace a measure that must ever be considered as imprudent. Afraid of falling into the hands of his insolent enemies, and of being led in triumph by them, he resolved to throw himself on the generosity of the Scots ; without sufficiently reflecting that he must, by such a step, disgust his English subjects of all denominations, and that the Scottish Covenanters, in whom he meant to repose so much confidence, were not only his declared enemies, but now acted as auxiliaries to the English parliament. He left Oxford, however, and retired to their camp before Newark. The Scottish generals and commissioners affected great surprise at the appearance of Charles, though previously acquainted with his design ; and while they paid him all the exterior respect due to his dignity, and appointed him a guard under pretence of protecting him, they made him in reality a prisoner. (1)

The next step which the Scots took, in regard to the unfortunate monarch, was to assure the English parliament, that they had entered into no treaty with the king, and that his arrival among them was altogether unexpected. Sensible, however, of the value of their prisoner, and alarmed at some motions of the English army, they thought proper to retire northward, and fixed their camp at Newcastle. This movement was highly agreeable to Charles, who now began to entertain the most sanguine hopes of protection from the Scots. But he soon found cause to alter his opinion ; and had, in the mean time, little reason to be pleased with his situation. All his friends were kept at a distance, and all correspondence with them was prohibited. And the Covenanters, after insulting him from the pulpit, and engaging him, by deceitful or unavailing negotiations, to disarm his adherents in both kingdoms, agreed to deliver him up to the English parliament, on condition of being paid their arrears, which were compounded at four hundred thousand pounds sterling. (2) The king was accordingly put into the hands of the parliamentary commissioners, and conducted under a guard to Holmby, in the county of Northampton.

The civil war was now over. The Scots returned to their own country, and every one submitted to the authority of the ruling powers. But the dominion of the parliament was of short duration. No sooner was the king subdued, than the division between the Presbyterians and Independents became every day more evident ; and as nothing remained to confine the wild projects of zeal and ambition, after the sacred boundaries of law had been violated, the Independents, who, in consequence of the Self-denying Ordinance, had obtained the command of the army, solaced themselves with the prospect of a new revolution. Such a revolution as they desired was accomplished by the assistance of the military power, which tumbled the parliament from its slippery throne.

The manner in which this revolution was effected it must now be our business to examine, and to notice the most striking circumstances that accompanied it. The Presbyterians still retained the superiority among the commons, and all the peers, except lord Say, were esteemed of that party ; but the Independents, to whom the inferior sectaries adhered, predominated in the army, and the troops on the new establishment were universally infected with that enthusiastic spirit. Aware of this, as well as that their antagonists trusted to the sword, in their projects for acquiring an ascendancy, the Presbyterian party in parliament, under pretence of easing the public burdens, obtained a vote for disbanding one part of the army, and for sending

(1) Rushworth, vol. vii. Clarendon, vol. v.

(2) Rushworth, vol. vii. *Parl. Hist.* vol. xv. The infamy of this transaction had such an effect on the members of the Scottish parliament, that they voted the king should be protected, and his liberty insisted on. But the general assembly interposed, and declared, that as he had refused to take the Covenant, which was pressed on him, it became not the godly to concern themselves about his future welfare. And after this declaration, it behoved the parliament to retract its vote. (*Parl. Hist.* vol. xv. p. 244.) Such influence had the Presbyterian clergy in those days !

another part of it into Ireland, in order to subdue the rebels in that kingdom.⁽¹⁾

The army had small inclination to the service of Ireland, a barbarous country laid waste by massacres, and still less to disband. Most of the officers having risen from the lowest conditions, were alarmed at the thought of returning to their original poverty, at a time when they hoped to enjoy, in ease and tranquillity, that pay which they had earned through so many dangers and fatigues. They entered into mutinous combinations; and the two houses of parliament, under apprehensions for their own safety, inconsiderately sent Cromwell, Ireton, and Fleetwood, the secret authors of all these discontents, to make *offers* to the army, and inquire into the cause of its *distempers*.

This was the crisis for Cromwell to lay the foundation of his future greatness; and he did not fail to take advantage of it. By his suggestion, a measure was embraced, which at once brought matters to extremity, and rendered the mutiny incurable. In opposition to the parliament at Westminster, a kind of military parliament was formed; consisting, first, of a council of the principal officers, in imitation of the house of peers; and next, of a more free representation of the army, by the election of two private men or inferior officers, under the title of *Agitators*, from each troop or company.⁽²⁾ This terrible consistory declared, that they found no *distempers* in the army, but many *grievances*; and immediately voted the *offers* of the parliament *unsatisfactory*.⁽³⁾

The two houses of parliament made one more trial of their authority; they voted, that all the troops that did not engage to serve in Ireland should instantly be disbanded in their quarters. In answer to this vote, the council of the army, which was entirely governed by Cromwell, commanded a general rendezvous of all the regiments, in order to provide for their common interests. And, at the same time that they thus prepared themselves for opposition to the parliament, they struck a blow, which at once decided the victory in their favour. They sent to Holmby, where the king was still confined, a party of horse, under cornet Joyce, a famous agitator; and this rough soldier, rudely entering the royal apartment, and pointing to his troopers when asked for his authority, conducted the astonished monarch to the rendezvous of the army, at Triplo-heath, near Cambridge.⁽⁴⁾

The parliament, when informed of this event, were thrown into the utmost consternation. Nor was Fairfax, the general, who was totally ignorant of the enterprise of Joyce, a little surprised at the arrival of his sovereign. That bold measure had been solely concerted by Cromwell; who, by seizing the king's person, and thus depriving the parliament of any means of accommodation with him, hoped to be able to dictate to them, in the name of the army, what conditions he thought proper. He accordingly engaged Fairfax, over whom he had acquired the most absolute ascendant, to advance with the troops to St. Alban's, in order to overawe the deliberations of the two houses. This movement had the desired effect. The resolution, by which the military petitioners had been declared public enemies, was recalled;⁽⁵⁾ and the army, hoping by terror alone to effect their purposes, entered into a negotiation with their masters, without advancing any nearer to the capital.

In that negotiation, the advantages were greatly in favour of the army. They had not only the sword in their hand, but the parliament was now become the object of general hatred and aversion, as much as ever it had been the idol of superstitious veneration. The Self-denying Ordinance, introduced only to serve a temporary purpose, was soon laid aside, by tacit consent; and the members, sharing all offices of power and profit among them, proceeded with impunity in oppressing the helpless people. Though near one half the lands, rents, and revenues of the kingdom had been sequestered,

(1) Rushworth, vol. vii.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) Whitlocke, p. 250.

(4) Clarendon, vol. v. Rushworth, vol. vii.

(5) *Id. ibid.*

the taxes and impositions were far higher than in any former period of the English government. The excise, an odious tax, formerly unknown to the nation, had been introduced : and it was now extended over provisions, and the common necessities of life. But what excited the most universal complaint was the unlimited tyranny and despotic rule of the country committees ; which could sequester, fine, imprison, and corporally punish without law or remedy.(1) They interposed even in question of private property ; and, under colour of malignancy, they exercised vengeance against their private enemies.(2) Thus, my dear Philip, instead of one Star-chamber, which had been abolished, a great number were anew erected, fortified with better pretences, and armed with more unlimited authority.

The parliamentary leaders, conscious of their decay in popularity, were reduced to despair on the approach of the army, and the army, no less sensible of it, were thereby encouraged in their usurpations on the parliament ; in which they copied exactly the model set them by the parliament itself, in its late usurpations upon the crown. They rose every day in their demands : one claim was no sooner yielded, than another, still more enormous and exorbitant, was presented. At first they pretended only to petition for what concerned themselves as soldiers ; then, they must have a vindication of their character ; anon, it was necessary that their enemies should be punished ; and, at last, they claimed a right of new-moulding the government, and of settling the nation.(3) They even proceeded so far as to name eleven members, the very leaders of the Presbyterian party, whom, in general terms, they charged with high treason, as enemies to the army, and even counsellors to the parliament : and they insisted, that these members should be immediately sequestered from parliament, and thrown into prison.(4) The commons replied, that they could not proceed so far upon a general charge. The army produced, as precedents, the cases of Strafford and Laud ; and the obnoxious members themselves, not willing to be the occasion of discord, begged leave to retire from the house.(5)

The army seemed satisfied with this proof of submission ; and, in order to preserve appearances, they removed, at the desire of the parliament, to a greater distance from London, and fixed their head-quarters at Reading, still carrying the king along with them. Nor was Charles displeased at this jealous watchfulness over his person. He now began to find of what consequence he was to both parties ; and fortune, amid all his calamities, seemed again to flatter him. The parliament, afraid of his forming some accommodation with the army, addressed him in a more respectful style than formerly ; and even invited him to reside at Richmond, and contribute his assistance toward the settlement of the nation. The chief officers of the army treated him with regard, and talked upon all occasions of restoring him to his just powers and prerogatives. Nay, the settlement of his revenue and authority was insisted on, in the public declarations of the military body ; so that the royalists, every where, entertained hopes of the re-establishment of monarchy.(6)

Though the king kept his ear open to all proposals, and hoped to hold the balance between the opposite parties, he entertained more hopes of an accommodation with the army than the parliament, whose rigour he had severely felt. To this opinion he was particularly inclined, by the proposal sent from the council of officers for the settlement of the nation ; in which they neither insisted on the abolition of episcopacy nor on the punishment of the royalists—the very points he had the greatest reluctance to yield, and which had rendered every former negotiation abortive. He also hoped, that, by gratifying a few persons with titles and preferments, he might draw over

(1) Clement Walker's *Hist. of Independency*. Rushworth, vol. vi. *Parl. Hist.* vol. xv.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) Rushworth, vol. vii. and viii.

(4) The names of these members were sir Philip Stapleton, sir William Lewis, sir John Clotworthy, sir William Waller, sir John Maynard, Hollis, Massay, Glyn, Long, Harley, Nichols. Rushworth, vol. vii.

(5) *Ibid.*

(6) Rushworth, *ubi sup.*

the whole military power, and at once reinstate himself in his civil authority. To Cromwell he offered a garter, a peerage, and the command of the army; and to Ireton, the lieutenancy of Ireland. Nor did he think that private gentlemen, by birth, could entertain more ambitious views.(1)

Cromwell, willing to keep a door open for an accommodation with the king, if the course of events should render it necessary, pretended to listen to these secret negotiations; but he continued, at the same time, his scheme of reducing the parliament to subjection, and of depriving it of all means of resistance. For this purpose it was required, that the militia of the city of London should be changed, the Presbyterian commissioners displaced, and the command restored to those who during the course of the war had constantly exercised it. The parliament complied even with so imperious a demand; hoping to find a more favourable opportunity for recovering its authority and influence. But the impatience of the city deprived that assembly of all prospect of advantage from its cautious measures, and afforded the army a plausible pretext for their concerted violence. A petition against the alteration of the militia was carried to Westminster, accompanied by a seditious multitude, who besieged the house of commons, and obliged the members to reverse the vote they had so lately passed.(2)

No sooner was intelligence of this tumult conveyed to Reading, than the army was put in motion, and marched toward the capital; in order to vindicate, as they said, the invaded privileges of parliament against the seditious citizens, and restore that assembly to its just freedom of debate and counsel. They were met on Hounslow-heath by the speakers of the two houses, accompanied with eight peers, and about sixty commoners; who having secretly retired from the city, presented themselves before the army with their maces, and all the ensigns of their dignity, complaining of the violence put upon them, and craving protection.(3) Thus encouraged, the army advanced to chastise the rebellious city, and reinstate the violated parliament.

Meanwhile the remaining members prepared themselves with vigour for defence, and determined to resist the violence of the army. The two houses immediately chose new speakers, renewed their orders for enlisting troops, and commanded the train-bands to man the lines. But the terror of an universal pillage, and even of a massacre, having seized the timid inhabitants, the parliament was obliged to submit. The army marched in triumph through the city, but without committing any outrage. They conducted to Westminster the two speakers, who resumed their seats, as if nothing had happened; and the eleven impeached members, being accused as the authors of the tumult, were expelled. Seven peers were impeached; the lord mayor, one sheriff, and three aldermen, were sent to the Tower; several citizens and officers of the militia were committed to prison; the lines round the city were levelled; the militia restored to the Independents; several regiments were quartered in Whitehall and the Mews; and the parliament being reduced to absolute servitude, a day was appointed for a solemn thanksgiving to God for the restoration of its liberty.(4)

The Independents, who had secretly concurred in all the encroachments of the military upon the civil power, exulted in their victory. They had now a near prospect of moulding the government into the form of that imaginary republic which had long been the object of their wishes; and they vainly expected, by the terror of the sword, to impose a more perfect system of liberty on the nation, without perceiving that they themselves, by such a conduct, must become slaves to some military despot. Yet were the leaders of this party, Vane, Fiennes, St. John, and others, the men in England most celebrated for sound thought and deep design: so certain it is, that an extravagant passion for sway will make the most prudent overlook the dangerous consequences of those measures which seem to tend to their own aggran-

(1) *Parl. Hist.* vol. xvi. Clarendon, vol. v. Hume, vol. vii.

(2) Rushworth, vol. vii.

(3) Rushworth, vol. viii.

(4) *Ibid.* Hume, vol. vii.

lization.—Men under the influence of such a passion may be said to see objects only on one side; hence the hero and the politician, as well as the over, in the failure of their self-deceiving projects, have often occasion to lament their own blindness.

The king, however, derived some temporary advantages from this revolution. The leaders of the army, having now established their dominion over the city and parliament, ventured to bring their captive sovereign to his palace of Hampton-court; where he lived, for a time, with an appearance of dignity and freedom. He still entertained hopes that his negotiations with the generals would be crowned with success, and declined all advances from the parliament. Cromwell, it is asserted, really intended to have made a private bargain with the king, but found insuperable difficulties in attempting to reconcile the military fanatics to such a measure. This reason, it is at least certain, he assigned for more seldom admitting the visits of the king's friends. The agitators, he said, had already rendered him odious to the army, by representing him as a traitor, who, for the sake of private interest, was ready to betray the cause of God to the great enemy of piety and religion.(1)

Cromwell thus finding, or pretending to find, that he could not safely close with the king's proposals, affected to be much alarmed for his majesty's safety. Desperate projects, he asserted, were formed by the agitators against the life of the captive monarch; and he was apprehensive, he said, that the commanding officers might not be able to restrain those desperate enthusiasts from effecting their bloody purpose.(2) In order, however, that no precaution might seem to be neglected, the guards were doubled upon him, the promiscuous concourse of people was restrained, and a more jealous care was exerted in attending his person; all under colour of protecting him from danger, but really with a view of making his present situation uneasy to him.

These artifices soon produced the desired effect. Charles took a sudden resolution of withdrawing himself from Hampton-court. He accordingly made his escape, attended by three gentlemen, in whom he placed particular confidence, namely, sir John Berkeley, Ashburnham, and Legg, though seemingly without any rational plan for the future disposal of his person. He first went toward the sea-coast, and expressed great anxiety, that a certain ship, in which it was supposed he intended to have transported himself beyond sea, had not arrived. After secreting himself for some time at Titchfield, he determined to put himself under the protection of Hammond, governor of the Isle of Wight, nephew to Dr. Hammond, his favourite chaplain, but intimately connected with the republican party. For this purpose, Ashburnham and Berkeley were dispatched to that island, but with orders not to discover to the governor the place where the king lay concealed, until they had obtained a promise from him, that he would not deliver up his majesty to the parliament or army. Such a promise would have been a slender security; yet Ashburnham imprudently, if not treacherously, brought Hammond to Titchfield, without exacting it: and the king was obliged to accompany him to Carisbrook-castle in the Isle of Wight; where, although received with expressions of duty and respect, he found himself in reality a prisoner.(3)

It is impossible to say how far the firmest mind may, on some occasions, be influenced by the apprehensions of personal danger; but it is certain that Charles never took a weaker step, or one more agreeable to his enemies, than in abandoning his palace of Hampton-court. There, though a captive, he was of more consequence than he could possibly be any where else, unless at the head of an army. He was now indeed far enough removed from

(1) Clarendon, vol. v. Rushworth, vol. viii.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) All the historians of that age, except Clarendon, whose authority is chiefly followed in this narration, represent the king's departure for the Isle of Wight as altogether voluntary. He seems to have probability on his side, in ascribing that measure partly to necessity. *Hist.* vol. v.

the fury of the agitators, but he was also totally separated from his adherents, and still at the disposal of the army. The generals could, no doubt, have sent him at any time, while in their custody, to such a place of confinement; but the attempt would have been apt to rouse the returning loyalty of the nation. It was therefore an incident as fortunate for his persecutors as it proved fatal to himself; that he should thus timidly rush into the snare.

Cromwell being now freed from all anxiety in regard to the custody of the king's person, and entirely master of the parliament, employed himself seriously to cure the disorders of the army. That arrogant spirit, which he himself had so artfully fostered among the inferior officers and private men, in order to prepare them for a rebellion against their masters, and which he had so successfully employed against both king and parliament, was become dangerous to their leaders. The camp, in many respects, carried more the appearance of civil liberty than of military subordination. The troops themselves were formed into a kind of republic: and all hostile opposition being at an end, nothing was now talked of by these armed legislators, but plans of imaginary commonwealths; in which royalty was to be abolished, nobility set aside, all ranks of men levelled, and an universal equality of property as well as of power introduced among the citizens. A perfect party, they said, had place among the elect; and consequently the meanest sentinel, if enlightened by the Holy Ghost, was entitled to equal regard with the highest commander.⁽¹⁾

In order to mortify this spiritual pride, Cromwell issued orders for discontinuing the meetings of the agitators; and having nothing farther to fear from the parliament, he resolved to make that assembly the instrument of his future authority, and feigned the most perfect obedience to its commands. But the *Levellers*, as the fanatical party in the army were called, secretly continued their meetings; and at length began to affirm, that the military establishment, as much as any part of the church or state, stood in need of reformation. Several regiments joined in seditious remonstrances and petitions; separate rendezvous were concerted; and every thing tended to anarchy and confusion, when the bold genius of Cromwell applied a remedy adequate to the disease. At a general review of the forces, he ordered the ringleaders to be seized in the face of their companions. He held a council of war in the field; shot one mutineer, confined others, and by this well-timed rigour reduced the whole army to discipline and obedience.⁽²⁾

Cromwell's power was now too great to permit him to suffer an equal; although, the better to accomplish his ambitious purposes, he willingly allowed Fairfax to retain the name of commander-in-chief. But while the king lived, he was still in danger of, one day, finding a master. The destruction of Charles was, therefore, the great object that thenceforth engaged his thoughts. Insurrections, he was sensible, would never be wanting, if not a general combination, in favour of a prince who was so extremely revered and beloved by his own party, and whom the nation in general began to regard with an eye of affectionate compassion. But how to get rid of him was a question not easy to answer. To murder him privately, beside the baseness of such a crime, would expose all concerned in it to the odious epithets of traitors and assassins, and rouse universal indignation. Some unexpected measure, he foresaw, must be adopted which, coinciding with the fanatical notions of the entire equality of mankind, would bear the semblance of justice, insure the devoted obedience of the army, and astonish the world by its novelty: but what that should be, he could not yet fully determine.

In order to extricate himself from this difficulty, Cromwell had recourse to the counsels of Ireton; who, having grafted the soldier on the lawyer, and the statesman on the saint, thought himself dissolved from the ordinary rules of morality in the prosecution of his holy purposes. At his suggestion,

(1) C. Walker's *Hist. of Independency*.

(2) Rushworth, vol. viii. Clarendon, vol. v.

Cromwell secretly called, at Windsor, a council of the chief officers of the army, in order to deliberate concerning the settlement of the nation, and the future disposal of the king's person. And in that hypocritical conference, after many enthusiastic prayers and fanatical effusions, was first opened the daring counsel of subjecting the king to a judicial sentence, and of rebel subjects bringing their sovereign to the block for his pretended tyranny and mal-administration.(1)

This resolution being solemnly formed, it became necessary to concert such measures as would make the parliament adopt it; and to conduct them insensibly from violence to violence, till that last act of atrocious iniquity should seem essential to their own safety. The Levellers were prepared for such a proceeding by frequent sermons from the following passage of Scripture, on which the fanatical preachers of those times delighted to dwell: "Let the high praises of the Lord be in the mouth of his saints, and a two-edged sword in their hands, to execute vengeance upon the Heathen, and punishment upon the people; and bind their kings with chains, and their nobles with fetters of iron; to execute upon them the judgments written!" "This honour hath all his saints."

The conspirators accordingly, as a first step toward their bloody purpose, instigated the Independents in the house of commons, by whom its resolutions were now wholly governed, to frame four propositions, by way of preliminaries, which were sent to the king; and to each of which they demanded his positive assent, before they would condescend to treat with him, though they knew that the whole would be rejected. These propositions were altogether exorbitant. Charles therefore demanded a personal treaty with the parliament; and desired, that all the general terms on both sides should be adjusted, before particular concessions on either side should be insisted on. The republican party in parliament pretended to take fire at this answer, and openly inveighed against the person and government of the king; while Ireton, seeming to speak the sense of the army, under the appellation of *many thousands of the godly*, said that, the king having denied the four propositions, which were essential to the safety and protection of his people, they were freed from all obligations to allegiance, and must settle the nation without any longer consulting so misguided a prince. Cromwell added, that it was expected the parliament would thenceforth rule and defend the kingdom by their own power and resolutions, and not accustom the people any longer to expect safety and government from an obstinate man, whose heart God had hardened.(2) In consequence of these arguments, it was voted, that no more addresses be made to the king, nor any letters or messages received from him; and that it be accounted treason for any one, without leave of the two houses of parliament, to have any intercourse with him.(3)

By this vote the king was in reality dethroned, and the whole constitution formally overthrown. And the commons, in order to support so violent a measure, issued a declaration, in which the blackest calumnies were thrown upon the king; as if they had hoped, by blasting his fame, to prepare the nation for the violence intended against his person. By command of the army, he was shut up in close confinement; all his servants were removed, and all correspondence with his friends was cut off. In this state of dreary solitude, while he expected every moment to be poisoned or assassinated, he reposed himself with confidence in the arms of that Great Being who penetrates and sustains all nature, and whose chastisements, if received with piety and resignation, he regarded as the surest pledges of favour and affection.(4)

In the mean time, the army and parliament enjoyed not in tranquillity

(1) Rushworth, vol. viii. Clarendon, vol. v.

(2) C. Walker's *Hist. of Independency*.

(3) Rushworth, vol. viii.

(4) Hume, vol. vii. "Whom the Lord loveth he chastiseth!" was indeed a text that Charles had much occasion to call to his assistance; and a firm belief in this consolatory doctrine supported him under all his sufferings, and made him triumph even in the hour of death.

that power which they had usurped. The Scots, enraged at the depression of the Presbyterian party, had protested against the four propositions, as containing too great a diminution of the king's civil power, and providing no security for religion; and the persons sent to London for this purpose, and who accompanied the English commissioners to the Isle of Wight, had secretly entered into engagements with Charles for arming Scotland in his favour.⁽¹⁾ Nor was England quiet under its new masters. The people, roused from their delirium, found themselves loaded with a variety of taxes formerly unknown, and scarcely any appearance of law or liberty remaining in the administration of government. Every part of the kingdom was agitated with tumults, insurrections, and conspiracies; and all orders of men were inflamed with indignation at seeing the military prevail over the civil power, and both king and parliament reduced to subjection by a mercenary army.

But although the whole English nation seemed to agree in declaring their detestation of military tyranny, the end which the several parties pursued were so different, that little concert was observed in their insurrections. A jealousy also prevailed between them and the Scots, who had marched a considerable army southward, under the marquis of Hamilton; and before the parliament, where the Presbyterians had again acquired the ascendant, could conclude a treaty on which they had entered with the king, Cromwell and his associates, by their vigour and activity, had routed the Scots, and dispersed or subdued all the English insurgents. But the parliament, though deprived of all hopes of prevailing,* had still the courage to resist. Denzil Hollis, the present leader of the Presbyterians, was a man of great intrepidity; and many others of the party seemed to inherit the same unconquerable spirit. It was magnanimously proposed by these bold senators, that the generals and principal officers of the army should, for their disobedience and usurpations, be proclaimed traitors by the parliament.⁽²⁾

The generals, however, were not to be frightened by words. They marched the army to London; and placing guards in Whitehall, the Mews, St. James's, Durham-house, Covent-garden, and Palace-yard, surrounded the parliament with their forces. Yet the commons attempted, in the face of the army, to finish their treaty with the king; and, after a violent debate of three days, it was carried by a majority of thirty-six, above an opposition of eighty-three, that the king's concessions were a foundation for the parliament to proceed upon in the settlement of the kingdom. This was the time for the generals to interpose; and they knew it. Next morning, when the commons were to meet, colonel Pride, formerly a drayman, had, by order of his superiors, environed the house with a party of soldiers. He seized in the passage forty-one members of the Presbyterian party: above a hundred and fifty more commoners were excluded; and none were allowed to enter but the most furious and determined of the Independents, who did not exceed sixty in number. This remnant, ludicrously called the *Rump*, instantly reversed the former vote, and declared the king's concessions unsatisfactory.⁽³⁾

The future proceedings of the parliament, if a fanatical junto entirely under the direction of the army can deserve that honourable name, were worthy of the members that composed it. After having exercised their vengeance on all whom they feared, or who had been engaged in the late insurrections, they determined to close the scene with the public trial and execution of their sovereign. A committee of the house of commons was accordingly appointed to bring in a charge against the king; and, on their report, a vote passed, declaring it *High Treason* in a king to *levy war* against his *Parliament*, and appointing an *High Court of Justice* to try CHARLES STUART for that crime. This vote was sent up to the house of peers, and rejected without one dissenting voice, contemptible as were the few peers that now attended! But the commons were not to be stopped by so small an obstacle.

(1) Clarendon, vol. v. Burnet's *Memoirs of Hamilton*.

(2) Rushworth, vol. viii. Clarendon, vol. v. Hume, vol. vii.

(3) *Id. ibid.*

Having first established the principle, that "the people are the origin of all just power,"—a maxim noble in itself, but which, as in the present case, may be perverted to the worst of purposes,—they next declared, "that the commons of England, assembled in parliament, being chosen by the people, and representing them, have the supreme authority of the nation, and that whatever is enacted and declared law by the commons hath the force of law, without the consent of the king or house of peers."⁽¹⁾ This matter being settled, the ordinance for the trial of Charles Stuart, king of England, was again read, and unanimously agreed to.

"Should any one have voluntarily proposed," said Cromwell, "to bring the king to punishment, I should have regarded him as the greatest traitor ; but since Providence and necessity have cast us upon it, I will pray to God for a blessing on your counsels, though I am not prepared to give you any advice on this important occasion. Even I myself," added he, "when I was lately offering up petitions for his majesty's restoration, felt my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, and considered this supernatural movement as the answer which Heaven, having rejected the king, had sent to my supplications !"⁽²⁾

Colonel Harrison, the son of a butcher, and the most furious enthusiast in the army, was sent with a strong party to conduct the king to London. All the exterior symbols of sovereignty were now withdrawn, and Charles was sensible, that a period would, in a short time, be put to his life ; yet could he not persuade himself, after all the steps that had been taken, that his enemies really meant to conclude their violences by a public trial and execution. The form of the trial, however, was soon regulated, and the high court of justice, or rather of iniquity, fully constituted. It sat in Westminster-hall, and consisted of near a hundred and fifty persons, as named by the commons ; though scarce seventy ever attended, and few of these were men of either birth or character. Cromwell, Ireton, Harrison, and other officers of the army, some members of the lower house, and some citizens of London, were the awful judges appointed to try their sovereign. Bradshaw, a lawyer, was chosen president ; Coke, another lawyer, was appointed solicitor for the people of England ; and Dorislaus, Steele, and Aske, were named assistants.

Though the king had long been detained a prisoner, and was now produced as a criminal, he still remembered what he owed to himself before such an inferior tribunal, and sustained with composure and magnanimity the majesty of the throne. Being conducted to a chair, placed within the bar, he took his seat with his hat on, and surveyed his judges with an air of dignified disdain. The solicitor represented, in the name of the commons, that Charles Stuart, being admitted king of England, and entrusted with a limited power, had nevertheless, from a wicked design to erect an unlimited and tyrannical government, traitorously and maliciously levied war against the present parliament, and the people whom they represented, and was therefore impeached as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and a public and implacable enemy to the commonwealth. When the charge was finished, the president directed his discourse to the king, and told him that the court expected his answer. Charles, with great temper and firmness, declined the authority of the court. Having been engaged in a treaty with the two houses of parliament, and having finished almost every article, he had expected, he said, before this time, to be brought to his capital in another manner, and to have been restored to his power, dignity, and revenue, as well as to his personal liberty ; that he could now perceive no appearance of the upper house, so essential a part of the constitution ; and had learned, that even the commons, whose authority was pleaded, were subdued by lawless force ; that the whole authority of the state, though free and united, was not entitled to try him, their hereditary king ; that he acknowledged he had a trust committed to him, and one most sacred and inviolable : he was entrusted with the liberties of his people, and would not now betray them, by recognising a power

(1) *Parl. Hist.* vol. xvii.

(2) *Ibid.*
Vol. II.

founded on the most atrocious violence and usurpation; that having taken arms, and frequently exposed his life in defence of public liberty, of the constitution, and of the fundamental laws of the kingdom, he was willing, in this last and most solemn scene, to seal with his blood those precious rights, for which, though unsuccessfully, he had struggled so long.⁽¹⁾ The president still contended that the king must not decline the authority of his judges; that they over-ruled his objections; that they were delegated by the people, the only source of all lawful power; and that kings themselves act only in trust from that community, which had invested this high court of justice with its jurisdiction.

Three times was Charles produced before the court, and as often declined its jurisdiction. On the fourth sitting, the judges having examined some witnesses, by whom it was proved that the king had appeared in arms against the forces commissioned by the parliament, they pronounced sentence against him; adjudging, that he, the said Charles Stuart, as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy, should be put to death, by the severing of his head from his body. Firm and intrepid in all his appearances before his judges, the unfortunate monarch never forgot himself either as a prince or as a man; nor did he discover any emotion at this extraordinary sentence, but seemed to look down, with a mixture of pity and contempt, on all the efforts of human malice and iniquity.⁽²⁾ Three days were allowed him between his sentence and execution. These he passed in great tranquillity, occupied himself chiefly in reading and devotion, and every night slept as sound as usual; though the noise of workmen employed in framing the scaffold, and making other preparations for his exit, continually resounded in his ears.⁽³⁾

Charles, however, though thus oppressed by a rebellious faction, was not suffered to die without the tear of compassion, or the interposition of friendly powers. The people who, in their misguided fury, had before so violently rejected him, now avowed him for their monarch, by their generous sorrow; nor could they forbear pouring forth their prayers for his preservation, notwithstanding the rod of tyranny that hung over them. The French ambassador, by orders from his court, interposed in the king's behalf; the Dutch employed their good offices; the Scots exclaimed and protested against the intended violence, which insultingly pretended to conceal itself under the semblance of law and justice; and the queen and the prince of Wales wrote pathetic letters to the parliament. But all their solicitations were in vain. Nothing could alter the resolutions of men whose ambitious projects required the blood of their sovereign as a seal.

On the morning of the fatal day, the king rose early, and continued his devotions till noon, assisted by bishop Juxon; a man whose mild and steady virtues very much resembled those of his sovereign. The street before Whitehall was the place destined for the execution; it being intended, by choosing that place, to display more fully the triumph of popular justice over tyrannical power. And Charles, having drank a glass of wine, and ate a bit of bread, walked through the Banqueting-house to the scaffold, which was covered with black cloth. In the middle of it appeared the block and axe, with two executioners in masques. Several troops of horse and companies of foot were placed around it; and a vast number of spectators waited, in silent horror, at a greater distance. The king eyed all these solemn preparations with great composure; and finding that he could not expect to be heard by the people, he addressed himself to the few about his person, but particularly to colonel Tomlinson, to whose care he had been lately committed, and on whom he had wrought an entire conversion. He vindicated himself from the accusation of having commenced war against his parliament. But, although innocent toward his people, he acknowledged the equity of his execution in the eye of Heaven; and observed, that an unjust sentence which he had suffered to take effect upon the earl of Strafford was now

(1) *State Trials*, vol. ii. Rushworth, vol. viii. Clarendon, vol. v. C. Walker's *Hist. of Independency*. Ludlow, vol. i.

(2) *Id. ibid.*

(3) C. Walker's *Hist. of Independency*.

punished by an unjust sentence upon himself.(1) He declared, that he forgave all his enemies, even the chief instruments of his death; but exhorted them and the whole nation to return to the ways of peace, by paying obedience to their lawful sovereign, his son and successor.(2)

These exhortations being finished, the king prepared himself for the block; bishop Juxon in the mean time warning him, that there was but one stage more between him and heaven, and that, though troublesome, it was short. "I go," said Charles, "from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown, where no disturbance can arise."—"You are exchanged," replied the bishop, "from a temporal to an eternal crown: a good exchange!" One of the executioners, at a single blow, severed the king's head from his body; and the other holding it up, streaming with blood, cried aloud, "This is the head of a traitor!"(3) Grief, terror, and indignation, took at once hold of the hearts of the astonished spectators; each of whom seemed to accuse himself either of active disloyalty to his murdered sovereign, or with too indolent a defence of his oppressed cause, and to regard himself as an accomplice in this horrid transaction, which had fixed an indelible stain upon the character of the nation, and must expose it to the vengeance of an offended Deity. The same sentiments spread themselves throughout the whole kingdom. The people were every where overwhelmed with sorrow and confusion, as soon as informed of the fatal catastrophe of the king, and filled with unrelenting hatred against the authors of his death. His sufferings, his magnanimity, his patience, his piety, and his Christian deportment, made all his errors be forgot; and nothing was now to be heard but lamentations and self-reproaches.(4)

(1) I have formerly taken occasion to observe, that Charles ought not to have given his assent to the bill of attainder against Strafford, unless he thought his minister had exceeded his instructions. This solemn expression of remorse proves that the king believed him guiltless. And Strafford's vindication of himself from the *accusation of rigour*, in a letter to his intimate friend sir Christopher Wandesworth, fully justifies the character I have given of him, explains the motives of his conduct, and evinces the necessity of strong measures, as well as their conformity to the will of his master. "I have been represented," says he, "rather as a bashaw of Buda, than the minister of a pious and Christian king. Howbeit, if I were not much mistaken in myself it was quite the contrary. No man could show wherein I had expressed it in my nature; no friend would charge me with it in my private conversation; no creature had found it in the management of my domestic affairs: so if I stood so clear in all these respects, it was to be confessed by any equal mind that it was not any thing *within*, but the necessity of his majesty's service, which enforced me into a seeming strictness *outwardly*. And that was the reason indeed; for where I found a crown, a church, and a people *spoiled*, I could not imagine to redeem them from under the pressure with gracious smiles and gentle looks. Where a dominion was once gotten and settled, it might be stayed and kept where it was by soft and moderate counsels; but where a *sovereignty* (be it spoken with reverence) was *going down the hill*, the nature of men did so easily *slide into the paths of uncontrolled liberty*, as it would not be brought back without strength, nor be forced up the hill again but by vigour. And true it was, I knew no other rule to govern by, but by reward and punishment. If this be *sharpness*, if this be *severity*, I desire to be better instructed by his majesty and their lordships," (this letter being the substance of a speech in the privy-council) "for in truth it did not seem so to me. However, if I were once told that his majesty *liked not to be thus served* I would readily conform myself; follow the bent and current of my own disposition, which is to be quiet. Here his majesty interrupted me, and said, that was no severity: if I served him otherwise, I should not serve him as he expected from me." Strafford's *Letters and Dispatches*, vol. ii.

(2) *State Trials*, vol. ii. Rushworth, vol. viii. Whitlocke, p. 375. Burnet, vol. i. Herbert's *Mem.* 117-127.

(3) *Id. ibid.* It being remarked that the king, the moment before he stretched out his neck to the executioner, had emphatically pronounced the word REMEMBER! great mysteries were supposed to be concealed under that expression; and the generals insisted that Juxon should inform them of its latent meaning. The bishop told them, that the king, having frequently charged him to inculcate on his son the forgiveness of his murderers, had taken this opportunity, in the last moment of his life, to reiterate that desire; and that his mild spirit thus terminated its present course, by an act of benevolence toward his greatest enemies. Hume, vol. vii.

(4) This disposition of mind was much heightened by the appearance of the Icon Basilike, a work published in the king's name a few days after his execution, and containing, beside his prayers in the exercise of his private devotions, meditations, or self-conversations, in which the most blamable measures of his government are vindicated or palliated. A performance so full of piety, meekness, and humanity, believed to be written by the Royal Martyr, as he was called by the friends of the church and monarchy, and published at so critical a time, had wonderful effects upon the nation. It passed rapidly through many editions; and, independent of all prejudice or partiality,

Charles I. was of a middling stature, strong, and well proportioned. His features were regular, and his aspect sweet but melancholy. He excelled in horsemanship and other manly exercises. His judgment was sound, his taste elegant, and his general temper moderate. He was a sincere admirer of the fine arts, and a liberal encourager of those who pursued them. As a man, his character was unexceptionable, and even highly exemplary; in a word, we may say with lord Clarendon, that "he was the worthiest gentleman, the best master, the best friend, the best husband, the best father, and the best Christian in his dominions:" But he had the misfortune, as a king, to be educated in high notions of the royal prerogative, which he thought it his duty to support, at a time when his people were little inclined to respect such rights; (1) and to be superstitiously devoted to the religion of his country, when the violence of fanaticism was ready to overturn both the church and monarchy. In the convulsion occasioned by these opposite humours and pretensions, he fell beneath the fury of an ambitious faction, a martyr to his principles and the English constitution. Had he acceded more early to the reasonable demands of the commons, he might perhaps have avoided his fate. Yet their furious encroachments on the prerogative, after those demands had been granted, leave it doubtful, whether they would, at any time, have been satisfied with equitable concessions, or whether it was possible for Charles, by any line of conduct, to have averted the evils that overtook him, unless he had possessed vigour and capacity enough to have crushed the rising spirit of liberty; an event which must have proved no less dangerous to the constitution than the victory of the parliament. It is certain, however, that he was too easy in yielding to the opinion of others, and too apt to listen to violent counsels. His abilities, like those of his father, shone more in reasoning than in action; and his virtues as well as his talents were better suited to private than to public life. As he wanted firmness in his regal capacity, he is also reproached with want of sincerity; and to these two defects in his character, but more especially to a strong imputation to the latter, from which he cannot be altogether vindicated, have been ascribed, by the zealous friends of freedom, the utter ruin of the royal cause, the triumph of the military despots over the parliament, and the death of Charles. The great body of the commons were surely not enemies to monarchy; but having no confidence in the king, they thought they could never sufficiently

it must be allowed to be a work of merit, especially in regard to style and composition. But whether it be really the production of Charles, or of Dr. Gauden, is a matter not yet settled among the learned: though the internal proofs, it is owned, are strongly in favour of the advocates for this unfortunate prince, whose style was, on all occasions, as remarkable for its purity, neatness, and simplicity, the characteristics of the Icon, as Dr. Gauden's for the opposite faults. Along with that performance were published several others, and particularly a poem, which has been much admired, entitled *Majesty in Misery*, said to have been written by the king during his confinement in Carisbrook castle, in the year 1648. The two first stanzas of this poem are sufficiently remarkable to merit the attention of the historian, as they contain a vindication of Charles's veracity, by way of appeal to an awful Judge, whom he could not hope to deceive.

"Great Monarch of the World, from whose power springs
 "The potency and power of kings;
 "Record the royal woe, my suffering sings;
 "And teach my tongue, that ever did confine
 "Its faculties in Truth's seraphic line,
 "To track the Treasons of thy Foes and mine."

(1) The king's sentiments, in regard to government, seem to have been sufficiently moderate before his death. "Give belief to my experience," says he, in a letter to the prince of Wales, "never to effect more greatness or prerogative than what is really and intrinsically for the good of your subjects not the satisfaction of favourites. If you thus use it, you will never want means to be a father to all, and a bountiful prince to any whom you incline to be extraordinarily gracious to. You may perceive, that all men trust their treasure where it returns them interest; and if a prince, like the sea, receive and repay all the fresh streams which the rivers entrust with him, they will not grudge, but pride themselves to make him up an ocean. These considerations may make you as great a prince as your father is a low one; and your state may be so much the more established, as mine hath been shaken: for our subjects have learned, I dare say, that victories over their princes are but triumphs over themselves; and so will more unwillingly hearken to changes hereafter."—This letter was written soon after the last negotiation with the parliament in the Isle of Wight, in 1648.

fetter him with limitations. Hence their rigour, and the rise of the civil war. The subsequent events were not within their control.

The death of the king was soon followed by the dissolution of the monarchy. The commons, after having declared it high-treason to proclaim, or otherwise acknowledge Charles Stuart, commonly called *Prince of Wales*, as sovereign of England, passed an act abolishing kingly power, as *useless, burthensome, and dangerous*. They also abolished the house of peers, as *useless and dangerous*; and ordered a new great-seal to be made, on one side of which was engraved the date, and on the other they themselves were represented as assembled in parliament, with this inscription: "IN THE FIRST YEAR OF FREEDOM, BY GOD'S BLESSINGS RESTORED."⁽¹⁾ It was committed in charge to a certain number of persons, denominated *The Conservators of the Liberties of England*; in whose name all public business was transacted, under the direction of the house of commons. The king's statue in the Exchange was thrown down; and on the pedestal the following words were incised:—*Exit Tyrannus, Regum ultimus*; "The Tyrant, the last of the Kings, is gone."⁽²⁾

We must now, my dear Philip, turn aside to contemplate the affairs on the continent, and take a view of those events that introduced the reign of Lewis XIV. before we carry farther the transactions of England.

LETTER VIII.

A general View of the European Continent, from the Peace of Westphalia, in 1648, to the Pyrenean Treaty, in 1659, and the Peace of Oliva, in 1660.

THOUGH the peace of Westphalia restored tranquillity to Germany and the North of Europe, war was continued between France and Spain, as I have formerly had occasion to observe,⁽³⁾ and soon broke out among the northern powers. France was, at the same time, distracted by civil broils, though less fatal than those of England.

These broils were fomented by the coadjutor-archbishop of Paris, afterward the famous cardinal de Retz, so well known by his interesting *Memoirs*, which unfold minutely the latent springs of the intrigues of state, and the principles by which they are governed. This extraordinary man united to the most profligate manners a profound genius and a factious spirit. Conscious of his superior abilities, and jealous of the greatness of Mazarine, whose place of prime minister he thought himself better qualified to fill, he infused the same jealousies into the nobility and the princes of the blood; while he roused the people to sedition, by representing, in the strongest colours, the ignominy of submitting to the oppressive administration of a stranger. Yet that minister had highly contributed to the grandeur of the French monarchy, by the important possessions obtained and secured by the treaty of Munster; nor were the taxes complained of more weighty than the necessities of the state required, or half so burthensome as those which the civil war soon brought upon the kingdom, besides its destructive rage, and the advantage it gave to the Spanish arms.

But although the coadjutor seems to have had nothing less at heart than the good of his country, such a pretence was necessary to cover his ambitious projects; and in order still farther to give a sanction to his pretended reformation, he artfully drew the parliament of Paris into his views. Inflamed with the love of power, and stimulated by the insinuations of an intriguing prelate, the parliament boldly set its authority in opposition to that of the court, even before any of the princes of the blood had declared themselves.

(1) *Journal*, Jan. 1648-9.

(2) C. Walker's *Hist. of Independency*. Clarendon, vol. v.

(3) Part I. Letter LXXIV.

This was a very extraordinary step ; for the parliament of Paris, though a respectable body, was now no more than the first college of justice in the kingdom, the ancient parliaments or national assemblies having been long since abolished. But the people, deceived by the name, and allured by the successful usurpations of the English parliament, considered the parliament of Paris as the *Parent of the State* ; (1) and under its sanction, and that of the archbishop, they thought every violence justifiable against the court ; or, as was pretended, against the minister.

Lewis XIV. was yet in his minority, and had discovered no symptoms of that ambitious spirit which afterward spread terror over Europe. Anne of Austria, the queen-regent, reposed her whole confidence in cardinal Mazarine ; and Mazarine had hitherto governed the kingdom with prudence and moderation. Incensed, however, to see a body of lawyers, who had purchased their places, set themselves in opposition to that authority by which they were constituted, he ordered the president and one of the most factious counsellors to be arrested, and sent to prison. The populace rose ; barricaded the streets ; threatened the cardinal and the queen-regent ; and continued their outrages, till the prisoners were set at liberty. (2)

Thus encouraged by the support of the people, the parliament and the archbishop proceeded in their cabals. The queen-regent could not appear in public without being insulted. She was continually reproached with sacrificing the nation to her friendship for Mazarine ; and ballads and madrigals were sung in every street, in order to confirm the suspicions entertained of her virtue, or rather to circulate the tale of her amours. In consequence of these disagreeable circumstances, and apprehensions of yet greater evils, the queen-regent left Paris, accompanied by her children and her minister, and retired to St. Germain's. Here, if we may credit Voltaire, the distress of the royal family was so great, that they were obliged to pawn the crown jewels, in order to raise money ; that the king himself was often in want of common necessaries ; and that they were forced to dismiss the pages of his chamber, because they could not afford them a maintenance. (3)

In the mean time the parliament, by solemn arrêt, declared cardinal Mazarine a disturber of the public peace, and an enemy to the kingdom. This was the signal of hostility and revolt. A separation of parties now took place ; and the prince of Conti, the duke of Longueville, the duke of Beaufort, the duke of Bouillon, and their adherents, instigated by the factious spirit of the coadjutor, and flattered with the hopes of making the wild proceedings of the parliament subservient to their ambitious views, came and offered their services to that body. Seduced by the example of Paris, other cities, other parliaments, and even provinces revolted : the whole kingdom was a scene of anarchy and confusion. But the conduct of the insurgents was every where ludicrous and absurd. Having no distinct aim, they had neither concert nor courage to execute any enterprise of importance ; but wasted their time in vain parade, until the great Condé, who, though dissatisfied with the court, had engaged in the royal cause at the earnest entreaties of the queen-regent, threw the capital into an alarm, and dispersed the undisciplined troops of the parliament, with no more than six thousand men. A conference was agreed to, and a treaty concluded at Rouel, by which a general amnesty was granted, and a temporary quiet procured, but without any extinction of hatred on either side. (4)

While the parties remained in such a temper, no solid peace could be expected. The court, however, returned to Paris, and the cardinal was received by the people with expressions of joy and satisfaction. It is this levity of the French nation, the absurd mixture of a frivolous gallantry with the intrigues of state, with plots and conspiracies, and the influence that the duchess of Longueville, and other libertine women had, in making the most

(1) Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV.* tom. i. chap. iii.

(2) *Mém. de Gui Joli*, tom. i.

(3) *Siècle*, chap. iii.

(4) *Mém. de Mad. Motteville*, tom. iii. *Mém. de Gui Joli*, tom. i. *Mém. de Card. de Retz*, tom. i.

eminent leaders several times change sides, that has made these contemptible wars to be considered with so much attention by philosophical writers.

A fresh instance of that levity was soon displayed. The prince of Condé, always the prey of a restless ambition, presuming on his great services, and setting no bounds to his pretensions, repeatedly insulted the queen and the cardinal. He also by his haughtiness, disgusted the coadjutor, and entered into cabals against the court with other factious leaders. By the advice of this intriguing prelate, Condé was arrested at the council table, together with the prince of Conti and the duke of Longueville, the very heads of the malecontents; and the citizens of Paris, with bonfires and public rejoicings, celebrated the imprisonment of those turbulent spirits, whom they had lately adored as their deliverers.(1)

But the triumph of the minister was of short duration. The imprisonment of the princes roused their partisans to arms in every corner of the kingdom; and the duke of Orléans, the young king's uncle, whom the cardinal had slighted, became the head of the malecontents. Mazarine, after setting the princes at liberty, in hopes of conciliating their favour, was obliged to fly first to Liege, and then to Cologne; where he continued to govern the queen-regent, as if he had never quitted the court. By their intrigues, assisted by the coadjutor, who, though he had been deeply concerned in these new disturbances, was again dissatisfied with his party, the duke of Bouillon and his brother Turenne were detached from the malecontents. Mazarine re-entered the kingdom, escorted by six thousand men. Condé once more flew to arms; and the parliament declared him guilty of high-treason, nearly at the same time that it set a price upon the head of the cardinal, against whom only he had taken the field!(2)

The great, but inconsistent Condé, in this extremity of his fortune, threw himself upon the protection of Spain; and, after pursuing the cardinal and the court from province to province, he entered Paris with a body of Spanish troops. The people were filled with admiration of his valour, and the parliament was struck with awe. In the mean time Turenne, who, by his masterly retreats, had often saved the king when his escape seemed impracticable, now conducted him within sight of his capital; and Lewis, from the eminence of Charonne, beheld the famous battle of St. Antoine, near the suburb of that name, where the two greatest generals in France performed wonders at the head of a few men. The duke of Orléans, being doubtful what conduct to pursue, remained in his palace, as did the coadjutor-archbishop, now cardinal de Retz. The parliament waited the event of the battle before it published any decree. The people, equally afraid of the troops of both parties, had shut the city gates, and would suffer nobody either to go in or out. The combat long remained suspended, and many gallant noblemen were killed or wounded. At last it was decided in favour of the prince of Condé, by a very singular exertion of female intrepidity. The daughter of the duke of Orléans, more resolute than her father, had the boldness to order the cannon of the Bastille to be fired upon the king's troops, and Turenne was obliged to retire.(3) "These cannon have killed her husband!" said Mazarine, when informed of that circumstance, knowing how ambitious she was of being married to a crowned head, and that she hoped to be queen of France.(4)

Encouraged by this success, the parliament declared the duke of Orléans *Lieutenant-general of the Kingdom*; an incomprehensible title that had formerly been bestowed on the duke of Mayenne, during the time of the League: "and the prince of Condé was styled *Commander-in-chief of the Armies of France*." These new dignities, however, were of short duration. A popular tumult, in which several citizens were killed, and of which the prince of Condé was supposed to be the author, obliged him to quit Paris, where he

(1) *Mém. de Card. de Retz*, tom. ii. *Mém. du Comte de Brienne*, tom. iii.

(2) Voltaire, *Sicéle de Louis XIV.* chap. iv.

(3) *Mém. de Mad. Motteville*, tom. v. *Mém. de Gui Joli*, tom. ii.

(4) Voltaire, *Sicéle*, chap. iv.

found his credit fast declining ; and the king, in order to appease his subjects, being now of age, dismissed Mazarine, who retired to Sedan.

That measure had the desired effect. The people every where returned to their allegiance ; and Lewis entered his capital, amid the acclamations of persons of all ranks. The duke of Orléans was banished the court, and cardinal de Retz committed to prison. Condé, being condemned to lose his head, continued his unhappy engagements with Spain. The parliament was humbled, and Mazarine recalled ; (1) when, finding his power more firmly established than ever, the subtle Italian, in the exultation of his heart at the universal homage that was paid him, looked down with an eye of contempt on the levity of the French nation, and determined to make them feel the pressure of his administration, of which they had formerly complained without reason.

During these ludicrous, but pernicious wars, which for several years distracted France, the Spaniards, though feeble, were not altogether inactive. They had recovered Barcelona, after a tedious siege ; they had taken Casal from the duke of Savoy, and attached the duke of Mantua to their interest, by restoring that place to him : they had reduced Gravelines, and again made themselves masters of Dunkirk. But Lewis XIV. being now in full possession of his kingdom, and Turenne opposed to Condé, the face of affairs was soon changed ; in spite of the utmost efforts of Don Lewis de Haro, nephew to the late minister Olivarez, who governed Spain and Philip IV. with as absolute an ascendant as Mazarine did France and her young king.

The first event that gave a turn to the war was the relief of Arras. The siege of this city was undertaken by the prince of Condé, the archduke Leopold, and the count de Fuensaldagna, and pressed with great vigour. The marshals Turenne and De la Ferté, who had formed the siege of Stenay, a place strong and well defended, came and encamped in the neighbourhood of the Spaniards, and tried every method to oblige them to abandon their enterprise, but without effect. At length Stenay surrendered, and another division of the French army, under the marshal de Hoquincourt, joined Turenne, who, contrary to the opinion of his principal officers, resolved to force the Spanish lines. This he performed with great success, and made himself master of the baggage, artillery, and ammunition of the enemy. (2) Condé, however, gained no less honour than his rival. After defeating the marshal de Hoquincourt, and repulsing De la Ferté, he retreated gloriously himself, by covering the flight of the vanquished Spaniards, and saving the shattered remains of their army. "I am informed," said Philip IV. in his letter of acknowledgment to the prince, "that every thing was lost, and that you "have recovered every thing." (3)

This success, which Mazarine vainly ascribed to himself, because he and the king were, at the time, within a few leagues of Arras, was nearly balanced by the relief of Valenciennes, where fortune shifted sides, and taught Condé, his victorious competitor, to seek, in his turn, the honours of war in a retreat. The siege of that place had been undertaken by Turenne and De la Ferté, with an army of twenty thousand men. The lines were completed, and the operations in great forwardness, when the prince of Condé and Don John of Austria, bastard son of Philip IV. advanced toward with an equal if not superior army, and forced, in the night, the lines of the quarter where the marshal De la Ferté commanded. Turenne flew to his assistance, but all his valour and conduct were not sufficient to restore the battle. He carried off his artillery and baggage, however, unmolested ; and even halted, on the approach of the enemy, as if he had been desirous to renew the combat. Astonished at his cool intrepidity, the Spaniards did not dare to attack him. He continued his march ; and took Capelle, in sight of Don John and the Prince of Condé. (4) It was this talent of at once inspi-

(1) Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. iv.

(2) *Hist. de Vicomte de Turenne*, tom. iv.

(3) Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV.* tom. i. c. 5.

(4) *La Vie de Turenne*, p. 298. Hainault, *Chronol. Hist. de France*, tom. ii. Voltaire, *Siècle*, tom. i. c. 5.

ring confidence into his troops, and intimidating his enemies by the boldness of his enterprises, that made Turenne superior to any general of his age. Conscious that his force would be estimated by the magnitude of his undertakings, after he had acquired the reputation of prudence, he conquered no less by his knowledge of human nature than of the art of war; and he had the singular good fortune to escape the most imminent dangers, by seeming to be above them.

Thus for a time the balance was held almost even between France and Spain, by the address of two able ministers, and the operations of two great generals. But when the crafty Mazarine, by sacrificing to the pride of Cromwell, drew England to the assistance of France, Spain was no longer able to maintain the contest. Dunkirk, the most important fortress in Flanders, was the first object of their united efforts. Twenty English ships blocked up the harbour, while a French army, under Turenne, and six thousand English veterans, besieged the town by land. The prince of Condé and Don John came to its relief: Turenne led out his army to give them battle: and by the obstinate valour of the English, and the impetuosity of the French troops, the Spaniards were totally defeated near the Downs, in spite of the most vigorous exertions of the great Condé. Dunkirk surrendered ten days after, and was delivered to the English according to treaty. Furnes, Dixmude, Oudenarde, Menin, Ypres, and Gravelines, also submitted to the arms of France: (1) and Spain saw the necessity of suing for peace.

One great object of Mazarine's policy was, to obtain the house of Bourbon the eventual succession to the Spanish monarchy. With this view he had formerly proffered peace to Philip IV. by proposing a marriage between the infanta, Maria Theresa, and Lewis XIV. But as the king of Spain had, at that time, only one son, whose unhealthy infancy rendered his life precarious, the proposal was rejected; lest the infanta, who might probably become heiress to the Spanish dominions, should carry her right into the house of an enemy. That obstacle, however, was now removed. The king of Spain had got another son, by a second wife, and the queen was again with child. It was therefore agreed, that the infanta should be given to Lewis XIV. in order to procure peace to the exhausted monarchy; and, the better to settle the preliminaries of a treaty, cardinal Mazarine and Don Lewis de Haro met on the frontier of both kingdoms, in the Isle of Pheasants in the Pyrénées. There, after many conferences and much ceremony, all things were adjusted, by the two ministers, to the satisfaction of both parties. Philip agreed to pardon the rebellious Catalans, and Lewis to receive Condé into favour; Spain renounced all pretensions to Alsace; and the long-disputed succession of Juliers was granted to the duke of Neuburg. (2)

In little more than a year after signing the Pyrénéan treaty died Cardinal Mazarine, and left the reins of government to Lewis XIV. who had become impatient of a yoke which he was afraid to shake off. Historians have seldom done justice to the character of this accomplished statesman, whose political caution restrained the vigour of his spirit, and the lustre of whose genius was concealed beneath his profound dissimulation. If his schemes were less comprehensive, or his enterprises less bold than those of Richelieu, they were less extravagant. (3) He has been accused of avarice, and seemingly with justice; yet if we reflect that, being an indigent foreigner him-

(1) *La Vie de Turenne*, p. 236. Hainault, *Chronol. Hist. de France*, tom. ii. Voltaire, *Siècle*, tom. i. c. 5.

(2) Voltaire, *ubi sup.* P. Daniel, tom. v.

(3) Voltaire has placed the talents of these two ministers in a just point of view, by applying them to the same object, along with a less worthy associate, in order to make the illustration more perfect. "If, for example," says he, "the subjection of Rochelle had been undertaken by such a genius as Cæsar Borgia, he would, under the sanction of the most sacred oaths, have drawn the principal inhabitants into his camp, and there have put them to death. Mazarine would have got possession of the place two or three years latter, by corrupting the magistrates, and sowing discord among the citizens. Cardinal Richelieu, in imitation of Alexander the Great, laid a boom across the harbour, and entered Rochelle as a conqueror; but had the sea been a little more turbulent, or the English a little more diligent, Rochelle might have been saved, and Richelieu called a rash and inconsiderate projector!" *Siècle*, tom. i. c. v.

self, he married seven nieces to French noblemen of the first distinction, and left his nephew duke of Nevers, we shall perhaps be inclined partly to forgive him. So many matches could not be formed without money:—and the pride of raising one's family is no contemptible passion. He had the singular honour of extending the limits of the French monarchy, while France was distracted by intestine hostilities; and of twice restoring peace to the greater part of Europe, after the longest and most bloody wars it had ever known. Nor must we forget his attention to the Spanish succession, which has since made the house of Bourbon so formidable to its neighbours, and is a striking proof of his political foresight. His leading maxim was, That force ought never to be employed but in default of other means; and his perfect knowledge of mankind, the most essential of all mental acquisitions for a minister, enabled him often to accomplish his views without it. When absolutely necessary, we have seen him employ it with effect.

The affairs of Germany and the northern crowns now claim our attention. That tranquillity which the peace of Westphalia had restored to Germany continued unmolested till the death of Ferdinand III. in 1657, when an interregnum of five months ensued, and the diet was violently agitated in regard to the choice of a successor. At last, however, his son Leopold was raised to the Imperial throne; for although jealousies prevailed among some of the electors, on account of the ambition of the house of Austria, the greater number were convinced of the propriety of such a choice, in order to prevent more alarming dangers. While the Turks remained masters of Buda, the French in possession of Alsace, and the Swedes of Pomerania, a powerful emperor seemed necessary.(1)

The first measure of Leopold's reign was the finishing of an alliance, which his father had begun, with Poland and Denmark, in opposition to Sweden. But we shall have occasion to notice the events to which this alliance gave birth, in tracing the history of the northern kingdoms.

Sweden had been raised to the highest pitch of military reputation by the victories of Gustavus Adolphus, who was considered as the champion of the Protestant cause; but who gratified his own ambition and love of glory, at the same time that he protected the liberties of Germany, which his immature death only perhaps prevented him from overturning. And his daughter Christina, no less ambitious of fame, though neither in the camp nor cabinet, immortalized her short reign, by declaring herself the patroness of learning and the polite arts. She drew to her court Grotius, Vossius, Des Cartes, and other eminent men, whom she liberally rewarded. But her studies, in general, were too antiquated and abstract to give lustre to her character as a woman; and, by occupying too much her attention, they were injurious to her reputation as a queen. She acceded to the peace of Westphalia, as I have formerly had occasion to observe, from a desire of indulging her passion for study, rather than out of any regard to the happiness of Sweden or the repose of Europe. That peace lightened the cares of government; but they were still too weighty for Christina. "I think I see the Devil!" said she, "when my secretary enters with his dispatches."(2)

In order to enable the queen to pursue her literary amusements, without disadvantage to the state, the Senate of Sweden proposed, that she should marry her cousin, Charles Gustavus, Prince Palatine of Deux-Ponts, for whom she had been designed from her infancy. But although this prince appears to have been a favourite, and Christina's conduct proves that she was by no means insensible to the passion of the sexes, like our Elizabeth, she did not choose to give herself a master. She prevailed, however, with the States to declare Charles Gustavus her successor; a measure by which she kept herself at liberty, secured the tranquillity of Sweden, and repressed the ambition of some great families, who, might, in case of her death, otherwise have offered pretensions to the crown.

But the Swedes, among whom refinement had made little progress, but

(1) *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. ii.

(2) *Mém. de Christine.*

whose martial spirit was now at its height, and among whom policy was well understood, could not bear to see the daughter of the great Gustavus devote her time and her talents solely to the study of dead languages; to the disputes about vortexes, innate ideas, and other unavailing speculations; to a taste for medals, statues, pictures, and public spectacles, in contempt of the nobler cares of royalty. And they were yet more displeased to find the resources of the kingdom exhausted, in what they considered as inglorious pursuits and childish amusements. An universal discontent arose, and Christina was again pressed to marry. The disgust occasioned by this importunity first suggested to her the idea of quitting the throne. She accordingly signified her intention of resigning, in a letter to Charles Gustavus, and of surrendering her crown in full senate.

But Charles, trained in dissimulation, and fearing the queen had laid a snare for him, rejected her proposal, and prayed that God and Sweden might long preserve her majesty. Perhaps he flattered himself, that the senate would accept her resignation, and appoint him to the government, in recompense for his modesty; but he was deceived, if these were his expectations. The senate and the chief officers of state, headed by the chancellor Oxenstiern, waited upon the queen. And whether Christina had a mind to alarm her discontented subjects, and establish herself more firmly on the throne, by pretending to desert it, or whatever else might be her motive for resigning; in a word, whether having renounced the crown out of vanity, which dictated most of her actions, she was disposed to resume it out of caprice; she submitted, or pretended to submit, to the importunity of her subjects and successor, and consented to reign, on condition that she should be no more pressed to marry.⁽¹⁾

Finding it impossible, however, to reconcile her literary pursuits, or more properly her love of ease and her romantic turn of mind, with the duties of her station, Christina finally resigned her crown in 1654; and Charles Gustavus ascended the throne of Sweden, under the name of Charles X. After despoiling the palace of every thing curious or valuable, she left her capital and her kingdom, as the abodes of ignorance and barbarism. She travelled through Germany in men's clothes; and having a design of fixing her residence at Rome, that she might have an opportunity of contemplating the precious remains of antiquity, she embraced the Catholic religion at Brussels, and solemnly renounced Lutheranism at Inspruck.⁽²⁾ The Catholics considered this conversion as a great triumph, and the Protestants were not a little mortified at the defection of so celebrated a woman; but both without reason; for the queen of Sweden, who had an equal contempt for the peculiarities of the two religions, meant only to conform, in appearance, to the tenets of the people among whom she intended to live, in order to enjoy more agreeably the pleasures of social intercourse. Of this her letters afford sufficient evidence to silence the cavillers of either party.

But Christina, like most sovereigns who have quitted a throne in order to escape from the cares of royalty, found herself no less uneasy in private life: so true it is, that happiness depends on the mind, not on the condition! She soon discovered, that a queen without power was a very insignificant character in Italy, and is supposed to have repented of her resignation. But however that may be, it is certain she became tired of her situation, and made two journeys into France; where she was received with much respect by the learned, whom she had pensioned and flattered; but with little attention by the polite, especially of her own sex. Her masculine air and libertine conversation kept women of delicacy at a distance. Nor does she seem to have desired their acquaintance; for when, on her first appearance, some ladies were eager to pay their civilities to her, "What," said she, "make these women so fond of me? Is it because I am so like a man?" The celebrated Ninon de l'Enclos, whose wit and beauty gave her the power of pleasing to the most advanced age, and who was no less distinguished by

(1) Puffend. lib. vi. Arckenholtz, tom. i.

(2) *Mém. de Christine*.

the multiplicity of her amours than the singularity of her manner of thinking, was the only woman in France whom Christina honoured with any particular mark of her esteem.(1) She loved the free conversation of men; or of women, who, like herself, were above vulgar restraints.

The modest women in France, however, repaid Christina's contempt with ridicule. And happy had it been for her character, had she never excited, in the mind of either sex, a more disagreeable emotion; but that was soon succeeded by those of detestation and horror. As if not only sovereignty but despotism had been attached to her person, in a fit of libidinous jealousy she ordered Monaldeschi, her favourite, to be assassinated in the great gallery of Fontainebleau, and almost in her own presence.(2) Yet the woman who thus terminated an amour by a murder did not want her apologists among the learned: and this atrocious violation of the law of nature and nations, in an enlightened age, and in the heart of a civilized kingdom, was allowed to pass, not only without punishment, but without inquiry!

Christina found it necessary, however, to leave France, where she was now justly held in abhorrence. She therefore returned to Rome, where, under the wing of the vicar of Christ, the greatest criminals find shelter and consolation; and where the queen of Sweden, a dupe to vanity and caprice, spent the remainder of her life, in sensual indulgences and literary conversations, with cardinal Azzolini, and other members of the sacred college; in admiring many things for which she had no taste, and in talking about more which she did not understand.

While Christina was thus rambling over Europe, and amusing herself in a manner as unworthy of her former character as of the daughter of the great Gustavus, her successor, Charles X. was indulging the martial spirit of the Swedes, by the conquest of Poland. This he accomplished, after several signal victories, in which he discovered both courage and conduct. Warsaw, the capital, was obliged to surrender; and Casimir, the Polish king, took refuge in Silesia. But that conquest was of small advantage to Sweden. The Poles revolted, in violation of the most solemn oaths and engagements; and the Russians, the Danes, the elector of Brandenburg, and the emperor Leopold, assisted them in expelling their invaders.(3)

But the king of Sweden, though assailed by so many enemies, was not discouraged. Depending on the valour of his troops, he suddenly entered Denmark, then governed by Frederic III. and laid siege to Copenhagen, which must have surrendered, if it had not been relieved by a Dutch fleet. He made a second attack on the same capital the year following, though without success; and the ardour of his spirit being still unabated, he was taking measures to push the war with redoubled vigour against all his enemies, when he was carried off by an epidemical fever that raged in his camp.(4)

As the son of this warlike and ambitious monarch was yet a minor, peace now became necessary to Sweden. A treaty of general pacification for the North was accordingly concluded at Oliva; by which Polish Prussia was restored to Casimir, who ceded Esthonia, and the Northern Livonia, to Sweden. The Danish monarch, still under the terror of the Swedish arms, made also considerable sacrifices.

We must now, my dear Philip, return to the transactions of England, become powerful and formidable under a republican form of government; and which, during the latter part of the period that we have been reviewing, was the terror and admiration of all Europe.

(1) *Mém de Christine.*

(2) D'Alembert, *ibid.*

(3) Puffend. lib. vii.

(4) *Ibid.*

LETTER IX.

The History of the Commonwealth of England to the Death of Cromwell; with an Account of the Affairs of Scotland, Ireland, and Holland.

THE progress of Cromwell's ambition is an object worthy of a philosophic mind. No sooner was the monarchy abolished than he began seriously to aspire after—what Charles had lost his head for being suspected to aim at—*absolute sovereignty*. But many bars were yet in his way, and much blood was to be spilt, before he could reach that enormous height, or the commonwealth attain the quiet government of the three kingdoms.

After the dissolution of that civil and religious constitution, under which the nation had ever been governed, England was divided into a variety of sects and factions, many of which were dissatisfied with the ruling powers, and longed for the restoration of monarchy. But all these were overawed by an army of fifty thousand men, by which the republican and independent faction was supported, and of which Cromwell was the soul. The commonwealth parliament, as that inconsiderable part of the house of commons that remained was called, finding every thing composed into seeming tranquillity by the terror of its arms, therefore began to assume more the air of legal authority, and to enlarge a little the narrow foundation on which it stood, by admitting, under certain conditions, such of the excluded members as were liable to least exception. A council of state was also named, consisting of thirty-eight persons, to whom all addresses were made; who gave orders to all generals and admirals; who executed the laws, and who digested all business before it was introduced into parliament. (1) Among these counsellors were several peers, who gave still more weight to the government; particularly the earls of Denbigh, Mulgrave, Pembroke, and Salisbury.

But although the force of the army kept every thing quiet in England, and the situation of foreign powers, as well as the needy and neglected condition of the young king, who had now assumed the title of Charles II. and lived sometimes in Holland, sometimes in France, and sometimes in Jersey, which still retained its allegiance, preserved the parliament from all apprehensions from abroad, the state of parties in the sister kingdoms of Scotland and Ireland filled the new republic with no small uneasiness.

The Scottish covenanters, who had begun the troubles, and who bore little affection to the royal family, but who had, notwithstanding, protested against the execution of the king and of the marquis of Hamilton, who was also brought to the block, now rejected the proposition of the English parliament, to mould their government into a republican form. They resolved still to adhere to monarchy, which had ever prevailed in their country; and which, by the express terms of the covenant, they had engaged to defend. They therefore declared Charles II. king of Scotland; but expressly on condition "of his good behaviour and strict observance of the covenant, and of entertaining no other persons about him but such as were godly men, and faithful to that obligation." (2) Clauses so unusual, inserted in the first acknowledgement of their prince, showed their intention of limiting extremely his authority; so that the English parliament, foreseeing the disputes that would likely arise between the parties, and having no decent pretext for interfering in the affairs of Scotland, left the covenanters to settle their government according to their own mind.

The dominion which England claimed over Ireland interested the commonwealth more immediately in the concerns of that island, where the royal cause still wore a favourable aspect. In order to understand this matter fully, it will be necessary to take a retrospective view of Irish affairs.

(1) *Parl. Hist.* vol. xix.

(2) Burnet. Whitlocke. Clarendon.

We have already seen how the parliament attempted to blacken the character of the late king, for concluding, in 1643, that cessation of arms with the popish rebels, which was become absolutely necessary for the security of the Irish Protestants, as well as requisite for promoting his interest in England. They even went so far as to declare it null and invalid, because finished without their consent: and to this declaration the Scots in Ulster, and the earl of Inchiquin, a nobleman of great authority in Munster, professed to adhere. The war was, therefore, still kept alive. But as the hostilities in England hindered the parliament from sending any considerable assistance to their allies in Ireland, Inchiquin concluded an accommodation with the marquis of Ormond, whom the king had created lord-lieutenant of that kingdom.

Ormond, who was a native of Ireland, and a man of virtue and prudence, now formed a scheme for composing the disorders of his country, and engaging the Irish rebels to support the royal cause. In this he was assisted by the progress of the arms of the English parliament, from whose fanatical zeal the Irish Catholics knew they could expect no mercy. The council of Kilkenny, composed of deputies from all the Catholic counties and cities, accordingly concluded, in 1646, a treaty of peace with the lord-lieutenant; by which they engaged to return to their duty and allegiance, to furnish ten thousand men for the support of the king's authority in England, in consideration of obtaining a general indemnity for their rebellion, and the unlimited toleration of their religion.(1)

This treaty, however, so advantageous and even necessary to both parties, was rendered ineffectual through the intrigues of an Italian priest, named Rinuccini, whom the pope had sent over to Ireland in the character of nuncio; and who foreseeing that a general pacification with the lord-lieutenant would put an end to his own influence, summoned an assembly of the clergy at Waterford, and engaged them to declare against the peace, which the civil council had concluded with their sovereign. He even thundered out a sentence of excommunication against all who should adhere to a treaty so prejudicial, as he pretended, to the Catholic faith: and the deluded Irish, who were alike ignorant and bigoted, terrified at these spiritual menaces, every where renounced their civil engagements, and submitted to the nuncio's authority. Ormond, who was not prepared against such a revolution in the sentiments of his countrymen, was obliged to shelter his small army in Dublin, and the other fortified towns, which still remained in the hands of the Protestants.

Meanwhile the unfortunate Charles, who was then involved in the greatest distress, and had taken refuge, as we have seen, in the Scottish camp, sent orders to the lord-lieutenant, if he could not defend himself, rather to submit to the English than the Irish rebels; and Ormond accordingly delivered up, in 1647, Dublin, Drogheda, Dundalk, and other garrisons, to colonel Michael Jones, who took possession of them in the name of the English parliament.(2) He himself went over to England, received a grateful acknowledgement of his past services from his royal master, and lived for some time in tranquillity near London; but finding every thing turn out unhappily for his beloved sovereign, and foreseeing that awful catastrophe which afterward overtook him, he retired to France, and there joined the queen and prince of Wales.

During these transactions, the nuncio's authority was universally acknowledged among the Catholics in Ireland. By his insolence and indiscretion, however, he soon made them repent of their bigoted confidence, in entrusting him with so much power; and all prudent men became sensible of the necessity of supporting the declining authority of the king, in order to preserve the Irish nation from that destruction, otherwise inevitable, with which it was threatened by the English parliament. A combination for this purpose was accordingly formed, in 1648, among the Catholics, by the earl of Clan-

(1) Carte's *Life of Ormond*.

(2) *Ibid*.

ricarde; a nobleman of an ancient family, who had ever preserved his loyalty. He also entered into a correspondence with Inchiquin, who still maintained great influence over the Protestants in Munster: he attacked the nuncio, and chased him out of the island; and he sent a deputation to the lord-lieutenant, inviting him to return, and take possession of his government.

Ormond, on his arrival in Ireland, found the kingdom divided into many factions, among which either open war or secret enmity prevailed. And the authority of the English parliament was still established in Dublin, and the other towns, which he himself had delivered up. He did not, however, let slip the opportunity, though less favourable than could have been wished, of promoting the royal cause. Having collected, by his indefatigable diligence, in spite of every obstacle, an army of sixteen thousand men, he advanced upon the parliamentary garrisons, which had been totally neglected by the republican party, while employed in the trial and execution of their sovereign. Dundalk, where Monk commanded, was delivered up by the troops, who mutinied against their governor: Drogheda, Newry, and other places, were taken: Dublin itself was threatened with a siege; and the affairs of the lord-lieutenant wore every where so favourable an aspect, that the young king entertained thoughts of going in person into Ireland.⁽¹⁾ But his hopes were soon extinguished in that quarter.

The English commonwealth was no sooner established than Ireland became the object of its peculiar attention; and much intrigue was employed by the leading men, in order to procure the government of that island. Lambert expected to obtain it. But Cromwell, who considered Ireland as a new field of glory, as well as a theatre where his ambition might expand itself, without exciting jealousy, had the address to get himself named lord-lieutenant, by the council of state, without seeming to desire such an office. He even affected surprise, and seemed to hesitate, whether he should accept the command. But these hypocritical scruples being got over, he applied himself in making preparations for his Irish expedition with that vigour which distinguished all his proceedings. He immediately sent over a reinforcement of four thousand men to colonel Jones, governor of Dublin, in order to enable him to defend that capital; and after suppressing a second mutiny of the Levellers, and punishing the ringleaders, he himself embarked with a body of twelve thousand excellent troops.⁽²⁾

In the mean time, an event took place that rendered the success of the new lord-lieutenant infallible. Ormond having passed the river Liffy, at the head of the royal army, and taken post at Rathmines, with a view of commencing the siege of Dublin, had begun the reparation of an old fort, which stood near the gates of the city; and was well calculated for cutting off supplies from the garrison. Being exhausted with fatigue, in superintending this labour, he retired to rest, after giving orders to keep his forces under arms.

But he was suddenly awaked with the noise of firing, and found all things in tumult and confusion. The officers had neglected Ormond's orders. Jones, an excellent soldier, observing their want of caution, had sallied out with the late reinforcement; and having thrown the royalists into disorder, totally routed them, in spite of all the efforts of the lord-lieutenant. He took their tents, baggage, and ammunition, and returned victorious into the city, after killing four thousand men, and taking two thousand five hundred prisoners.⁽³⁾

Soon after this signal victory, which reflected so much honour upon Jones, which tarnished the military reputation of Ormond, and ruined the royal cause in Ireland, Cromwell arrived at Dublin, to complete the conquest of that kingdom. He suddenly marched to Drogheda, which was well fortified, and into which Ormond, foreseeing it would be first invested, had thrown a garrison of three thousand men, under sir Arthur Aston, an officer of tried courage; in hopes of finding the enemy employment in the siege of that place, until he could repair his broken forces. But Cromwell, who knew the

(1) Carte, ubi sup.

(2) Whitlocke. Ludlow.

(3) Ludlow, vol. i. Borlace, p. 222. fol. edit.

importance of dispatch, having made a breach in the fortifications, instantly ordered an assault. Though twice repulsed with loss, he renewed the attack; and the furious valour of his troops at length bearing down all resistance, the place was entered sword in hand, and a cruel massacre made of the garrison. Even those who escaped the general slaughter, and whom the unfeeling hearts of the fanatical soldiery had spared, were butchered next day, in cold blood, by orders from the English commander; one person alone escaping, to bear the mournful tidings to Ormond.(1)

By this severe execution of military justice, Cromwell pretended to retaliate the cruelties of the Irish massacre. But as he well knew the garrison of Drogheda consisted chiefly of Englishmen, his real purpose evidently was to strike terror into the other garrisons: and his inhuman policy had the desired effect. Having conducted his army to Wexford, the garrison offered to capitulate, after a slight resistance. But this submission did not save them. They imprudently neglected their defence, before they had obtained a formal cessation of arms; and the English fanatics, now fleshed in blood, rushed in upon them, and executed the same slaughter as at Drogheda. Henceforth every town, before which Cromwell presented himself, opened its gates on the first summons. He had no farther difficulties to encounter but what arose from fatigue and the declining season. Fluxes and contagious distempers crept among his soldiers, who died in great numbers; and he had advanced so far with his decayed army, that he found it difficult either to subsist in the enemy's country, or to retreat to the parliamentary garrisons. His situation was truly perilous.

But Cromwell's good fortune soon relieved him from his distress. Corke, Kinsale, and all the English garrisons in Munster, resolving to share the glory of their countrymen, deserted to him, in that extremity, and opened their gates for the reception of his sickly troops. This desertion put an end to Ormond's authority. The Irish, at all times disorderly, could no longer be kept in obedience by a Protestant governor, whom their priests represented as the cause of all their calamities. Seeing affairs so desperate as to admit of no remedy, Ormond left the island; and Cromwell, well acquainted with the influence of religious prejudices, politically freed himself from all farther opposition, by permitting the Irish officers and soldiers to engage in foreign service. Above forty thousand Catholics embraced this voluntary banishment.(2)

These unexpected events, which blasted all the hopes of the young king from Ireland, induced him to listen to the offers of the Scottish Covenanters, and appoint a meeting with their commissioners at Breda. Those commissioners had no power of treating. Charles was required to submit, without reserve, to the most ignominious terms surely ever imposed by a people upon their prince. They insisted, that he should issue a proclamation, banishing from court all excommunicated persons; or, in other words, all who, under Hamilton and Montrose, had ventured their lives for his family; that no English subject, who had served against the parliament, should be allowed to approach him; that he should bind himself by his royal promise to take the Covenant; that he should ratify all acts of parliament by which Presbyterian discipline and worship were established; that, in all civil affairs, he should conform himself entirely to the direction of the parliament, and in ecclesiastical, to that of the general assembly of the Kirk.

Most of the king's English counsellors dissuaded him from acceding to such dishonourable conditions. Nothing, they said, could be more disgraceful than to sacrifice, for the empty name of royalty, those principles for which his father died a martyr, and in which he himself had been strictly educated; that by such hypocrisy he would lose the royalists in both kingdoms, who alone were sincerely attached to him, but could never gain the Presbyterians, who would ascribe his compliance merely to policy and necessity. But these sound arguments were turned into ridicule by the young

(1) Carte's *Life of Ormond*. Ludlow's *Memoirs*.

(2) Clarendon, vol. vi. Ludlow, vol. i.

duke of Buckingham, afterward so remarkable for the pleasantry of his humour and the versatility of his character, and who was now in high favour with Charles. Being himself a man of no principle, he treated with contempt the idea of rejecting a kingdom for the sake of episcopacy, and he made no scruple to assert, that the obstinacy of the late king, on the article of religion, ought rather to be held up as a warning, than produced as an example for imitation of his son.⁽¹⁾ Charles, whose principles were nearly as libertine as those of Buckingham, and of whose character sincerity formed no part, agreed to every thing demanded of him by the Covenanters; but not before he had received intelligence of the utter failure of his hopes from the Scottish royalists, in consequence of the total defeat and capture of the marquis of Montrose.

That gallant nobleman, having laid down his arms at the command of the late king, had retired to France, where he resided some time inactive, and afterward entered into the Imperial service. But no sooner did he hear of the tragical death of his sovereign, than his ardent spirit was inflamed with the thirst of revenge; and, having obtained from young Charles a renewal of his commission of captain-general in Scotland, he set sail for that country with five hundred foreign adventurers. Naturally confident, he hoped to rouse the royalists to arms, and restore his master's authority, at least in one of his kingdoms. These expectations, however, appear to have been ill-founded. Scotland was wholly under the dominion of Montrose's old enemies, Argyle and the Covenanters, who had severely punished many of his former adherents. They were apprized of his design; and they had a disciplined army ready to oppose him, of such force as left no reasonable prospect of success. By a detachment from this army, Montrose and the few royalists who had joined him were attacked, and totally routed. They were all either killed or made prisoners; the marquis himself, who had put on the disguise of a peasant, being delivered into the hands of his enemies by Mackland of Assin, to whom he had entrusted his person.⁽²⁾

The Covenanters carried their noble prisoner in triumph to Edinburgh, where he was exposed to the most atrocious insults. After being conducted through the public streets, bound down on a high bench in a cart made for the purpose, with his hat off, the hangman by him, and his officers walking two and two in ~~front~~ behind him, he was brought before the parliament. Loudon, the chancellor, in a violent declamation, reproached him with the horrible murders, treasons, and impieties for which he was now to suffer condign punishment. Montrose, who bore all these indignities with the greatest firmness, and looked down with a noble disdain on the rancour of his enemies, boldly replied: That in all his warlike enterprises he was warranted by that commission, which he had received from his and their master, against whose lawful authority they had erected their standard; that no blood had ever been shed by him but in the field of battle, and many persons were now in his eyes, many now dared to pronounce sentence of death upon him, whose life, forfeited by the laws of war, he had formerly saved from the fury of the soldiers; that he was sorry to find no better testimony of their return to allegiance than the murder of a faithful subject, in whose death the king's commission must be, at once, so highly injured and insulted; that, as for himself, he scorned their vindictive fanatical rage, and was only grieved at the contumely offered to that authority by which he acted.⁽³⁾

This speech, so worthy of the heroic character of Montrose, had no effect on his unfeeling judges. Without regard to his illustrious birth or great renown, the man who had so remarkably distinguished himself by adhering to the laws of his country and the rights of his sovereign was condemned to suffer the ignominious death allotted to the basest felon. His sentence bore, that he ~~James~~ Graham, should be carried to the cross of Edinburgh, and there be hanged on a gallows thirty feet high; that his head should be cut off on a scaffold, and fixed on the Tolbooth or city prison; that his legs and

(1) Burnet, vol. i. Clarendon, vol. xi.

(2) Id. *ibid.*

(3) Burnet, vol. i. Hume, vol. vii.

arms should be stuck up on the most conspicuous place in the four chief towns in the kingdom, and his body be buried in the place appropriated for malefactors. This last part of his sentence, however, was to be remitted, in case the Kirk, on his repentance, should take off his excommunication. Furnished with so good a pretence, the clergy flocked about him; and exulted over his fallen fortunes, under colour of converting him. He smiled at their enthusiastic ravings, and rejected their spiritual aid: nor did he regard the solemnity with which they pronounced his eternal damnation, or their assurance that his future sufferings would surpass the present, as far in degree as in duration. He showed himself, through the whole, superior to his fate; and when led forth to execution, amid the insults of his enemies, he overawed the cruel with the dignity of his looks, and melted the humane into tears.

In this last melancholy scene, when enmity itself is commonly disarmed, one effort more was made, by the governing party in Scotland, to subdue the magnanimous spirit of Montrose. The executioner was ordered to tie about his neck, with a cord, that book which had been published, in elegant Latin, by Dr. Wishart, containing the history of his military exploits. He thanked his enemies for their officious zeal; declaring, that he wore the testimony of his bravery and loyalty with more pride than he had ever worn the Garter; and finding they had no more insults to offer, he patiently submitted to the ignominious sentence. (1) Thus unworthily perished the heroic James Graham, marquis of Montrose, in the thirty-eighth year of his age. Great talents he certainly had for war, and also for the polite arts, which he cultivated with success; but his courage appears to have been accompanied with a certain degree of extravagance, which, while it led him to conceive the boldest enterprises, prevented him from attending sufficiently to the means of accomplishing them. Along with Montrose were sacrificed all the persons of any eminence who had repaired to his standard, or taken arms in order to second his designs.

Though this cruel and unjust execution of a nobleman who had acted by royal authority made the young king more sensible of the furious spirit of the Covenanters, as well as how little he had to expect from their generosity, his forlorn condition induced him to ratify the agreement with their commissioners, as the only resource left for recovering any part of his dominions. He accordingly embarked with them for Scotland, in a Dutch ship of war, furnished by the prince of Orange, and arrived safe in the frith of Cromarty. Here his humiliations began. Before he was permitted to land, he was obliged to sign the Covenant, and to hear many sermons and lectures on the duty of persevering in that holy confederacy. The duke of Hamilton, formerly earl of Lanerk, the earl of Lauderdale, and other noblemen who had shared his councils abroad, and whom the Covenanters called *Engagers*, were immediately separated from him, and obliged to retire to their own houses. None of his English courtiers, except the duke of Buckingham, were allowed to remain in the kingdom; so that he found himself entirely in the hands of Argyle and the more rigid Presbyterians, by whom he was considered as a mere pageant of state, and at whose mercy lay both his life and liberty. (2)

In order to please these austere zealots, Charles embraced a measure, which neither his inexperienced youth nor the necessity of his affairs can fully justify. At their request, he published a declaration, which must have rendered him contemptible even to the fanatics who framed it: and yet his refusal might have been attended with the most serious consequences. "He gave thanks for the merciful dispensations of Providence, by which he was recovered from the snares of evil counsel, had attained a full persuasion of the righteousness of the Covenant, and was induced to cast himself and his interests wholly upon God. He desired to be deeply humbled and afflicted in spirit, because of his father's following wicked measures; opposing the Covenant and the work of reformation, and shedding the blood

(1) Burnet, vol. i. Hume, vol. vii.

(2) Burnet, vol. i. Clarendon, vol. vi.

"of God's people throughout all his dominions. He lamented the idolatry of his mother, and the toleration of it in his father's house; a matter of great offence," he said, "to all the Protestant churches, and a heinous provocation of HIM who is a *jealous God, visiting the sins of the father upon the children*. He professed that he would have no enemies but the enemies of the Covenant; and that he detested all popery, superstition, prelacy, heresy, schism, and profaneness, and was resolved not to tolerate, much less to countenance any of them, in any part of his dominions." (1)

This declaration had not the desired effect. The Covenanters and the clergy were still diffident of the king's sincerity; and their suspicions were increased when they compared his education, and the levity of his character, with the solemn protestations he had so readily made. They had therefore prepared other trials for him. They meant that he should go through a public penance before his coronation:—and even to that indignity Charles had consented. In the mean time he found his authority totally annihilated. He was not called to assist at any public council, and his favour was sufficient to discredit any candidate for office or preferment. The same jealousy rendered abortive all his attempts to reconcile the opposite parties. Argyle, the chief leader of the Covenanters, artfully eluded all the king's advances toward a coalition. *Malignants* and *Engagers* continued to be objects of general hatred and persecution; and whoever happened to be obnoxious to the clergy was sure to be branded with one or other of those epithets. (2)

The animosities among the parties, in Scotland were so violent, that the approach of an English army was not sufficient to allay them. The progress of that army it must now be our business to observe.

The English parliament was no sooner informed of the issue of the negotiations at Breda, than Cromwell was recalled from Ireland: and vigorous preparations were made for hostilities, which it was foreseen would prove inevitable between the two British kingdoms. Ireton was left to govern Ireland, in the character of deputy, during Cromwell's absence; and as Fairfax still retained the name of commander-in-chief of the forces in England, it was expected that he, assisted by the lord-lieutenant, would conduct the war against Scotland. But although Fairfax had permitted the army to make use of his name in offering violence to the parliament, and in murdering his sovereign, he could not be prevailed upon to bear arms against his covenanted brethren; so inconsistent are the ideas of fanatics in regard to moral duty!

Cromwell, on this occasion, acted the part of a profound hypocrite. Being sent as one of a committee of parliament, to overcome the scruples of Fairfax, (with whose rigid inflexibility, in every thing that he regarded as a matter of principle, Oliver was well acquainted) he went so far as to shed tears, seemingly of grief and vexation, in the affected earnestness of his solicitations. But all in vain: Fairfax resigned his commission: and Cromwell, whose ambition no one could suspect, after he had laboured so zealously to retain his superior in the chief command, was declared captain-general of all the forces in England. (3) This was the greatest step he had yet made toward sovereignty, such a command being of the utmost consequence in a commonwealth that stood solely by arms. Fully sensible of the importance of rank he had attained, the new general immediately assembled his forces; and before the Scots had signified any intention of asserting the right of Charles to the crown of England, he entered their country with an army of sixteen thousand men.

The Scots, who had begun to levy troops, on being threatened with an invasion, now doubled their diligence, and soon brought together a stout army. The command of this army was given to David Lesly, an officer of experience, who formed a very proper plan of defence. He entrenched himself in a fortified camp between Edinburgh and Leith, after having taken care to remove from the counties between Berwick and Edinburgh every thing that

(1) Sir Edward Walker's *Historical Discourses*. Burnet, vol. i. Hume vol. vii.

(2) *Id. ibid.*

(3) Whitlocke. Clarendon.

could serve to subvert the English army. Cromwell advanced to the Scottish camp, and tried, by every provocation, to bring Lesly to a battle, but without effect. The prudent Scotsman, aware, that, though superior in numbers, his army was inferior in discipline to the enemy, kept carefully within his entrenchments; so that Cromwell, reduced to distress for want of provisions, and harassed by continual skirmishes, was obliged to retire to Dunbar, where his fleet lay at anchor. Lesly followed him, and encamped on the heights of Lammermure, which overlook that town. Cromwell, who had but a few days forage, seemed now on the brink of ruin or disgrace. He was conscious of his danger, and is said to have embraced the desperate resolution of sending to Newcastle his foot and artillery by sea, and of attempting, at all hazards, to force his way with his cavalry. But in this he would have found the utmost trouble, as Lesly had taken possession of all the difficult passes between Dunbar and Berwick: and could he even have accomplished his retreat, it would have occasioned, in the present unsettled disposition of men's minds, a general insurrection for the king in England.(1)

But the enthusiastic zeal of the Scottish clergy relieved Cromwell from all his difficulties. They had ordered the king to leave the camp, on finding he gained on the affections of the soldiery; and they had likewise carefully purged it of a large body of *Malignants* and *Engagers*, whose loyalty had led them to attend their young sovereign, and who were men of the greatest credit and military appearance in the nation. They now thought they had an army composed wholly of saints; and so confident were they of success, that after wrestling all night with the Lord in prayer, they forced Lesly, in spite of his earnest remonstrances, to descend into the plain, in order to slay the *sectarian* host. Cromwell, who had also been seeking the Lord in his way, and had felt great enlargement of heart in prayer, seeing the Scottish camp in motion, was elated with holy transport. "God," cried he, "is delivering them into our hands: they are coming down to us!" He accordingly commanded his army to advance singing psalms, in proof of his perfect assurance of victory, and fell upon the Scots before they were disposed in order of battle, after descending the hill. They were suddenly broken, and totally routed. About three thousand fell in the battle and pursuit, and about twice that number were taken prisoners. Cromwell, improving his advantage, made himself master of Edinburgh and Leith, while the remnant of the Scottish army fled to Stirling.(2) An ague, with which he was seized, and the approach of winter, prevented him from pushing his conquests farther, before the close of the campaign.

The defeat at Dunbar, which broke the power and brought down the spiritual pride of the Covenanters, who reproached their God with the slaughter of his elect, and of deceiving them by false revelations, was by no means disagreeable to the king. He considered the armies that fought, on both sides, as almost equally his enemies; and he hoped that the vanquished, for their own preservation, would now be obliged to allow him some more authority. He was not deceived. The Scottish parliament, which met soon after at Perth, agreed to admit Hamilton, Lauderdale, and all the *Engagers*, to share in the civil and military employments of the kingdom, on their doing public penance. Some *Malignants*, or episcopal royalists, also crept in among them: and the king's intended penance was changed into the ceremony of his coronation, which was performed with great pomp and solemnity at Scone.(3)

But Charles, amid all this appearance of respect, was still in a condition that very ill suited his temper and disposition. He remained in the hands of the most rigid Covenanters, and was in reality little better than a prisoner. Exposed to all the rudeness and pedantry of the Presbyterian clergy, and obliged to listen to prayers and sermons from morn to night, he had no opportunity for the display of his agreeable qualities; and could not help frequently betray-

(1) Burnet, vol. i. Clarendon, vol. vi. Whitlocke, p. 471.

(2) Id. ibid. Sir Edward Walker, *Hist. Disc.* Ludlow's *Mem.* vol. 1.

(3) Burnet. Walker. Clarendon.

ing, amid so many objects of ridicule and disgust, evident symptoms of weariness and contempt. For although artful in the practice of courtly dissimulation, he could never mould his features into that starched grimace which the Covenanters regarded as the infallible sign of conversion. His spiritual guide, therefore, never thought him sufficiently regenerated, but were continually striving to bring him into a more perfect state of grace.(1)

Shocked at all these indignities, and still more tired with the formalities to which he was obliged to submit, Charles attempted to regain his liberty, by joining a body of royalists, who promised to support him. He accordingly made his escape from Argyle and the Covenanters; but being pursued by colonel Montgomery and a troop of horse, he was induced to return, on finding the royalists less powerful than he expected. This elopement, however, had a good effect. The king, was afterward better treated, and intrusted with more authority; the Covenanters being afraid of renewing their rigours, lest he should embrace some desperate measure.(2)

The Scottish army was assembled, under Hamilton and Lesly, as early as the season would permit, and Charles was allowed to join the camp. But, imminent as the danger was, the Scots were still divided by ecclesiastical disputes. The forces of the western counties, disclaiming the authority of the parliament, would not act in conjunction with an army that admitted any *Engagers* or *Malignants* among them. They called themselves the *Protesters*, and the other party were denominated the *Resolutioners*—distinctions which continued to agitate the kingdom with theological hatred and animosity.(3)

Charles, having put himself at the head of his troops, encamped at Torwood, in a very advantageous situation. The town of Stirling lay at his back, and the plentiful county of Fife supplied him with provisions. His front, to which the English army advanced, was defended by strong entrenchments; and his soldiers, as well as his generals, being rendered more deliberately cautious by experience, Cromwell in vain attempted to draw them from their posts by offering them battle. After the two armies had faced each other about six weeks, Cromwell sent a detachment over the Forth, into Fife, in order to cut off the king's provisions; and so intent was he on that object, that, losing sight of all beside, he passed over with his whole army, and effectually accomplished his purpose. The king found it impossible to keep his post any longer.

In this desperate extremity Charles embraced a resolution worthy of a prince contending for empire. He lifted his camp, and boldly marched into England, with an army of fourteen thousand men. Cromwell, whose mind was more vigorous than comprehensive, was equally surprised and alarmed at this movement. But if he had been guilty of an error, in the ardour of distressing his enemy, he took the most effectual means to repair it. He dispatched Lambert with a body of cavalry to hang upon the rear of the royal army; he left Monk to complete the reduction of Scotland; and he himself followed the king with all possible expedition.

Charles had certainly reason to expect, from the general hatred which prevailed against the parliament, that his presence would produce a general insurrection in England. But he found himself disappointed. The English Presbyterians, having no notice of his design, were not prepared to join him; and the cavaliers, or old royalists, to whom his approach was equally unknown, were farther deterred from such a measure, by the necessity of subscribing the Covenant. Both parties were overawed by the militia of the counties, which the parliament had, every where, authority sufficient to raise. National antipathy had also its influence: and the king found, when he arrived at Worcester, that his forces were little more numerous than when he left the borders of Scotland. Cromwell, with an army of thirty thousand men, attacked Worcester on all sides; and Charles, after beholding the ruin

(1) Burnet, vol. i.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

of his cause, and giving many proofs of personal valour, was obliged to have recourse to flight. The duke of Hamilton, who made a desperate resistance, was mortally wounded, and the Scots were almost all either killed or taken. The prisoners, to the number of eight thousand, were sold as slaves to the American planters.(1)

When the king left Worcester, he was attended by Lesly, the Scottish general, and a party of horse; but seeing them overwhelmed with consternation, and fearing they could not reach their own country, he withdrew himself from them in the night, with two or three friends, from whom he also separated himself, after making them cut off his hair, that he might the better effect his escape, in an unknown character. By the direction of the earl of Derby, he went to Boscobel, a lone house on the borders of Staffordshire, inhabited by one Pendrel, an obscure but honest farmer. Here he continued for some days, in the disguise of a peasant, employed in cutting faggots along with the farmer and his three brothers. One day, for the better concealment, he mounted a spreading oak; among the thick branches of which he sheltered himself, while several persons passed below in search of their unhappy sovereign, and expressed, in his hearing, their earnest desire of seizing him, that they might deliver him into the hands of his father's murderers.(2)

An attempt to relate all the romantic adventures of Charles, before he completed his escape, would lead me into details that could only serve to gratify an idle curiosity. But there is one other anecdote that must not be omitted, as it shows, in a strong light, the loyalty and liberal spirit of the English gentry, even in those times of general rebellion and fanaticism.

The king having met with lord Wilmot, who was skulking in the neighbourhood of Boscobel, they agreed to throw themselves upon the fidelity of Mr. Lane, a zealous royalist, who lived at Bentley, not many miles distant. By the contrivance of this gentleman, who treated them with great respect and cordiality, they were enabled to reach the sea-coast; the king riding, on the same horse, before Mr. Lane's daughter to Bristol, in the character of a servant. But, when Charles arrived there, he found no ship would sail from that port, for either France or Spain, for more than a month: he was, therefore, obliged to look elsewhere in quest of a passage. In the mean time he entrusted himself to colonel Wyndham of Dorsetshire, a gentleman of distinguished loyalty. Wyndham, before he received the king, asked leave to impart the secret to his mother. The request was granted; and that venerable matron, on being introduced to her royal guest, expressed the utmost joy, that having lost, without regret, three sons and one grandson in defence of his father, she was still reserved, in her declining years, to be instrumental in his preservation. The colonel himself told Charles, that his father, sir Thomas, in the year 1636, a few days before his death, called to him his five sons, and said, "My children! you have hitherto seen serene and quiet times; but I must warn you now to prepare for clouds and storms. Factions arise on every side, and threaten the tranquillity of your native country. But whatever happen, do you faithfully honour and obey your prince, and adhere to the crown. I charge you never to forsake the crown, though it should hang upon a bush!"—"These last words," added Wyndham, "made such impression on our breasts, that the many afflictions of these sad times could never efface their indelible character."(3)

While the king remained at the house of colonel Wyndham, all his friends in Britain, and over Europe, were held in the most anxious suspense, with respect to his fate. No one could conjecture what was become of him, or whether he was dead or alive; but a report of his death being generally credited, happily relaxed the search of his enemies. Meantime many attempts were made to procure a vessel for his escape, though without success. He was obliged to shift his quarters, to assume new disguises, and entrust himself to

(1) Whitlocke, Clarendon.

(2) This tree was afterward called the *Royal Oak*, and long regarded with great veneration by the people in the neighbourhood.

(3) Clarendon. Bates. Heathe.

other friends, who all gave proofs of incorruptible fidelity and attachment. At last a small vessel was found at Shoreham in Sussex, where he embarked, and arrived safely at Fieschamp, in Normandy, after one and forty days concealment, during which the secret of his life had been entrusted to forty different persons.(1)

The battle of Worcester, which utterly extinguished the hopes of the royalists, afforded Cromwell what he called his *crowning mercy*;(2) an immediate prospect of that sovereignty which had long been the object of his ambition. Extravagantly elated with his good fortune, he would have knighted in the field of victory Lambert and Fleetwood, two of his generals, if he had not been dissuaded by his friends from exercising that act of regal authority.(3) Every place now submitted to the arms of the commonwealth: not only in Great Britain, Ireland, and the contiguous islands, but also on the continent of America, and in the East and West Indies; so that the parliament had soon leisure to look abroad, and to exert its vigour against foreign nations. The Dutch first felt the weight of its vengeance.

The independence of the United Provinces being secured by the treaty of Munster, that republic was now become the greatest commercial state in Europe. The English had long been jealous of the prosperity of the Hollanders; but the common interests of religion, for a time, and afterward the alliance between the house of Stuart and the family of Orange, prevented any rupture between the two nations. This alliance had also led the States to favour the royal cause, during the civil wars in England, and to overlook the murder of Dorislaus, one of the regicides, who was assassinated at the Hague by the followers of Montrose. But after the death of William II. prince of Orange, who was carried off by the small-pox when he was on the point of enslaving the people whom his ancestors had restored to liberty, more respect was shown to the English commonwealth by the governing party in Holland, which was chiefly composed of violent republicans. Through the influence of that party, a perpetual edict was issued against the dignity of stadtholder. Encouraged by this revolution, the English parliament thought the season favourable for cementing a close confederacy with the States; and St. John, who was sent over to the Hague, in the character of plenipotentiary, had entertained the idea of forming such a coalition between the two republics as would have rendered their interests inseparable. But their High Mightinesses, unwilling to enter into such a solemn treaty with a government whose measures were so obnoxious, and whose situation seemed yet precarious, offered only to renew their former alliances with England: and the haughty St. John, disgusted with this disappointment, as well as incensed at some affronts which had been put upon him by the retainers of the Palatine and Orange families, returned to London with a determined resolution of taking advantage of the national jealousy, in order to excite a quarrel between the two commonwealths.(4)

The parliament entered into the resentment of their ambassador; and, through his influence, in conjunction with that of Cromwell, was framed and passed the famous *Act of Navigation*, which provided, among other regulations of less importance, that no goods should be imported into England, from Asia, Africa, or America, but in English ships: nor from any part of Europe, except in such vessels as belong to that country of which the goods are the growth or manufacture. This act, though necessary and truly political as a domestic measure, and general in its restrictions on foreign powers, more especially affected the Dutch, as was foreseen; because their country produces few commodities, and they subsisted and still subsist chiefly by being

(1) Clarendon. Bates. Heathe.

(2) *Part. Hist.* vol. xx. p. 47.

(3) Whitlocke, p. 623.

(4) The duke of York being then at the Hague, St. John had the presumption, in a public walk, to dispute the precedence with him. Fired at this insult, the prince Palatine pulled off the ambassador's hat, and bade him respect the son and brother of his king. St. John put his hand to his sword, and refused to acknowledge either the king or duke of York; but the populace taking part with the prince, the proud republican was obliged to seek refuge in his lodgings. Basnage, p. 216.

the carriers and factors of other nations. A mutual jealousy, accompanied with mutual injuries, accordingly took place between the two republics; and a desperate naval war, ultimately occasioned by a dispute about the honour of the flag, was the consequence.

Van Tromp, an admiral of great renown, had received from the States the command of a fleet of forty sail, in order to protect the Dutch merchantmen against the English privateers. He was forced, as he pretended, by stress of weather, into the road of Dover, where he met with the celebrated Blake, who commanded an English fleet of only fifteen sail. Elated with his superiority, the Dutch commander, instead of obeying the signal to strike his flag, according to ancient custom, in the presence of an English man-of-war, is said to have poured a broadside into the admiral's ship. Blake boldly returned the salute, notwithstanding his slender force; and being afterward joined by a squadron of eight sail, he maintained a desperate battle for five hours, and took one of the enemy's ships and sunk another. Night parted the two fleets.

Several other engagements ensued, without any decided advantage. At length Van Tromp, seconded by the famous De Ruyter, met near the Goodwins with the English fleet commanded by Blake; who, although inferior, as formerly, in force, did not decline the combat. A furious encounter accordingly took place; in which the admirals on both sides, as well as the inferior officers and seamen, exerted uncommon bravery. But the Dutch, as might be expected, were ultimately conquerors. Two English ships were taken, two burnt, and one sunk.

After this victory Tromp in bravado, fixed a broom to the top of his mainmast, as if determined to sweep the sea of all English vessels. But he was not suffered long to enjoy his triumph. Great preparations were made in England, in order to avenge so mortifying an insult, and recover the honour of the flag. A gallant fleet of eighty sail was speedily fitted out. Blake was again invested with the chief command, having under him Dean and Monk, two worthy associates.

While the English admiral lay off Portland, he descried, by break of day, a Dutch fleet of seventy-six ships of war, sailing up the Channel, with three hundred merchantmen under its convoy. This fleet was commanded by Van Tromp and De Ruyter, who intrepidly prepared themselves to combat their old antagonist, and support that glory which they had acquired. The battle that ensued was accordingly the most furious that had yet been fought between the hostile powers. Two days was the contest maintained with the utmost rage and obstinacy: on the third the Dutch gave way, and yielded the sovereignty of the ocean once more to its natural lords. Tromp, however, by a masterly retreat, saved all the merchantmen except thirty: but he lost eleven ships of war, and had two thousand men killed. (1)

After this signal overthrow, the naval power of the Dutch seemed, for a time, to be utterly annihilated, and with it their trade. Their commerce by the Channel was cut off; even that to the Baltic was much reduced; and their fisheries were totally suspended. Almost two thousand of their ships had fallen into the hands of the English seamen. Convinced at last of the necessity of submission, they resolved to gratify the pride of the English parliament by soliciting peace. But their advances were treated with disdain. It was not therefore without pleasure the States received an account of the dissolution of that haughty assembly.

The cause of this dissolution it must now be our business to investigate, and to relate the circumstances with which it was accompanied.

The zealous republicans, who had long entertained a well-founded jealousy of the ambitious views of Cromwell, took every opportunity of extolling the advantages of the fleet, while they endeavoured to discredit the army: and insisting on the intolerable expense to which the nation was subjected, they now urged the necessity of a reduction of the land forces. That able commander and artful politician, who clearly saw, from the whole train of

(1) Burchet's *Naval History*. Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, vol. ii.

their proceedings, they were afraid of his power, and meant to reduce it, boldly resolved to prevent them, by realizing their apprehensions. He immediately summoned a council of officers; and as most of them had owed their advancement to his favour, and relied upon him for their future preferment, he found them entirely devoted to his will. They accordingly agreed to frame a remonstrance to the parliament, complaining of the arrears due to the army, and demanding a new representative body. The commons were offended at this liberty, and came to a resolution not to dissolve the parliament, but to fill up their number by new elections.

Enraged at such obstinacy, Cromwell hastened to the house with three hundred soldiers; some of whom he placed at the door, some in the lobby, and some on the stairs. He first addressed himself to his friend St. John, telling him he had come with a purpose of doing what grieved him to the very soul, and what he had earnestly besought the Lord not to impose upon him; but there was a necessity, he added, for the glory of God and the good of the nation. He sat down for some time, and heard the debates. Afterward starting up suddenly, as if under the influence of inspiration or insanity, he loaded the parliament with the keenest reproaches, for its tyranny, oppression, and robbery of the public. Then stamping with his foot, which was a signal for the soldiers to enter, "For shame!" said he to the members, "get you gone! and give place to honest men; to those who will more faithfully discharge their trust. You are no longer a parliament! I tell you, you are no longer a parliament. The Lord hath done with you: he hath chosen other instruments for carrying on his work." Sir Henry Vane remonstrating against this outrage, Cromwell exclaimed with a loud voice: "O, sir Harry Vane! sir Harry Vane! the Lord deliver me from 'sir Harry Vane!'" words, by which it should seem that he wished some of the soldiers to dispatch him. Taking hold of Martin by the cloke, "Thou art a whore-master!" said he; to another, "Thou art an adulterer!" to a third, "Thou art a drunkard and glutton!" and to a fourth, "Thou art an extortioner!" He commanded a soldier to seize the mace, saying, "What shall we do with *this bauble*?—Here," added he, "take it away!—It is you," subjoined he, addressing himself to the members, "that have forced me to proceed thus. I have sought the Lord, night and day, that he would rather slay me than put me upon this work!" And having previously commanded the soldiers to clear the house, he ordered the door to be locked, put the key in his pocket, and retired to his lodgings in Whitehall. (1)

Thus, my dear Philip, did Oliver Cromwell, in a manner so suitable to his general character, and without bloodshed, annihilate the very shadow of the parliament; in consequence of which daring step he remained possessed of the whole civil and military power of the three kingdoms. And dispassionate reasoners of all parties, who had successively enjoyed the melancholy pleasure of seeing the injuries they had reciprocally suffered revenged on their enemies, were at last made sensible, that licentious liberty, under whatever pretence its violences may be covered, must inevitably end in the arbitrary and despotic government of a single person. Nor were the people, considered as a body, displeased at the violent usurpation of Cromwell, from whom they expected more lenity than from the imperious republicans, who had hitherto held the reins of government.

This extraordinary man, who now lorded it over his fellow-subjects, was born at Huntingdon, in the last year of the sixteenth century, of a good family; though he himself, being the son of a second brother, inherited but a small paternal estate. The line of his education was liberal; but his genius being little fitted for the elegant and tranquil pursuits of literature, he made small proficiency in his studies at the universities. He even threw himself into a dissolute course of life, when sent to study the law in one of the inns of court, and consumed the more early years of his manhood in gaming, drinking, and debauchery. But all of a sudden he was seized with a religious quail; affected a grave and sanctified behaviour, and was soon

(1) Whitlocke, p. 554. Ludlow, vol. ii. Clarendon, vol. vi. Hume, vol. vii.

distinguished among the Puritanical party, by the fervour of his devotional exercises. In order to repair his injured fortune, he betook himself to farming; but he spent so much time with his family in prayers, morning and afternoon, that his new occupation served only to involve him in greater difficulties. His spiritual reputation, however, was so high, that, notwithstanding the low state of his temporal affairs, he found means to be chosen a member of the Long Parliament. The ardour of his zeal frequently prompted him to rise in the house, but he was not heard with attention, his person being ungraceful, his voice untunable, his elocution embarrassed, and his speeches tedious, obscure, confused, and often unintelligible. But, as a profound thinker very justly observes, there are, in a great variety of human geniuses, some who, though they see their objects clearly and distinctly in general, yet when they come to unfold their ideas by discourse or writing, lose that luminous conception which they had before attained.

Never was this philosophical truth more fully exemplified than in the character of Oliver Cromwell, whose actions were as decisive, prompt, and judicious, as his speeches were wavering, prolix, and inconclusive. Nor were his written compositions much superior to his speeches; the great defect of both consisting, not in the want of expression, but in the seeming want of ideas. Yet Cromwell, though upward of forty years of age before he embraced the military profession, soon became an excellent officer, without the help of a master. He first raised a troop, and then a regiment of horse; and it was he who instituted that discipline, and infused that spirit, which rendered the parliamentary forces in the end victorious. He introduced and recommended the practice of enlisting the sons of farmers and freeholders, instead of the debauched and enervated inhabitants of great cities or manufacturing towns. He preached, he prayed, he fought, he punished, he rewarded; and inspired first his own regiment, and afterward the whole army, with the wildest and boldest enthusiasm. The steps by which he rose to high command, and attained to sovereignty, we have already had occasion to trace. Let us now view him in the exercise of his authority.

When Cromwell assumed the reins of government, he had three parties in the nation against him; the royalists, the Presbyterians, and the republicans. But as each of these had a violent antipathy against both the others, none of them could become formidable to the army; and the republicans, whom he had dethroned, and whose resentment he had most occasion to fear, were farther divided among themselves. Beside the Independents, they consisted of two sets of men, who had a mutual contempt for each other; namely, the Millenarians, or *fifth-monarchy men*, who expected suddenly the second coming of Christ; and the Deists, who utterly denied the truth of revelation, and considered the tenets of the various sects as alike founded in folly and error. The Deists were particularly obnoxious to Cromwell, partly from the remains of religious prejudice, but chiefly because he could have no hold of them by enthusiasm. He therefore treated them with great rigour, and usually denominated them the *Heathens*.⁽¹⁾ The heads of this small division were Algernon Sidney, Henry Nevil, Challoner, Martin, Wildman, and Harrington; men whose abilities might have rendered them dangerous, had not the freedom of their opinions excited the opposition of all parties.⁽²⁾

Cromwell paid more attention to the Millenarians, who had a great interest

(1) Burnet, vol. i.

(2) Each of the other sects was desirous of erecting a spiritual as well as a temporal dominion; but the Deists, who acted only on the principles of civil liberty, were for abolishing the very appearance of a national church, and leaving religion free, as they called it, without either encouragement or restraint. (Burnet, vol. i.) Such a project was particularly alarming to the spiritual pride of the Presbyterians, who, since the signing of the covenant, had considered their religion as the hierarchy. And Cromwell not only quieted them on this score, by assuring them that he would still maintain a public ministry with all due encouragement, but even in some measure conciliated their affections by joining them in a commission with some Independents, to be the arbiters of those that were to be admitted to benefices, and also to dispose of all the churches that were in the gift of the crown, of the bishops, and of the cathedral churches. (Id. ibid.) The Episcopalians were merely tolerated. Burnet, *ubi sup.*

in the army, and whose narrow understanding and enthusiastic temper afforded full scope for the exercise of his pious delusions. These men, while they anxiously expected the *second coming* of Christ, believed that the saints, among whom they considered themselves to stand in the first class, were alone entitled to govern in the mean time. Cromwell, in conformity with this way of thinking, told them he had only step in between the *living* and the *dead*, to keep the nation, during that interval, from becoming a prey to the *common enemy*. (1) And in order to show them how willing he was they should share his power, since God in his providence had thrown the whole load of government upon his shoulders, he sent, by the advice of his council of officers, summons to a hundred and twenty-eight persons, chiefly gifted men, of different towns and counties of England; to five of Scotland, and to six of Ireland. On these illiterate enthusiasts, chosen by himself, he pretended to devolve the whole authority of the state, under the denomination of the parliament; and as one of the most active and illuminated among them, a leather-seller in London, bore the name of *Praise-God Barbone*, this contemptible assembly was ludicrously called *Barbone's Parliament*. (2)

Cromwell told these ecclesiastical legislators, on their first meeting, that he never looked to see a day when Christ should be so owned: (3) and they, elated with that high dignity to which they supposed themselves exalted, as well as encouraged by the overflowings of the Holy Spirit, thought it their duty to proceed to a thorough reformation, and to pave the way for the reign of the Redeemer. (4) Meanwhile the Dutch ambassadors endeavoured to enter into a negotiation with them: but although Protestants, and even Presbyterians, they met with a bad reception from senators who had pretensions to such superior sanctity; being regarded as worldly-minded men, intent only on commerce and industry, and whom it was befitting the saints should extirpate, before they undertook the subduing of Antichrist, the *Man of Sin*, and the extending of the Redeemer's kingdom to the uttermost corners of the earth. (5) The ambassadors, who were strangers to such wild doctrines, remained in astonishment at finding themselves regarded as the enemies, not of England, but of Christ!

Even Cromwell himself began to be ashamed of the pageant he had set up as a legislature, and with which he meant only to amuse the populace and the army. But what particularly displeased him was, that the members of this enthusiastic parliament, though they derived their authority solely from him, began to pretend powers from the Lord: (6) and as he had been careful to summon in his writs several persons warm in his interest, he hinted to some of them, that the sitting of such a parliament any longer would be of no service to the nation. They accordingly met sooner than usual, as had been concerted, and along with Rouse, the speaker of the house of commons, repaired to Cromwell and his council of officers, declaring themselves unequal to the task which they had unwarily undertaken, and resigned their delegated power. But general Harrison, and about twenty other fanatics, remained in the house; and that they might prevent the reign of the saints from commencing untimely, they placed one Moyer in the chair, and were preparing to draw up petitions, when they were interrupted by colonel White, a party of soldiers. The colonel asked them, what they did there? "We are seeking the Lord," said they.—"Then you may go elsewhere," replied he; "for, to my certain knowledge, he has not been here these many years." (7)

The council of officers, by virtue of that pretended power which the mock parliament had resigned into their hands, now voted, that it was necessary

(1) Burnet, vol. i.

(2) Whitaker, *Sturgeson*.

(3) Milton, *Paradise Lost*, p. 102.

(4) *Paradise Lost*, p. 102.

(5) *Paradise Lost*, p. 102.

(6) *Paradise Lost*, p. 102.

(7) *Paradise Lost*, p. 102.

to temper the liberty of a republic by the authority of a single person. And being in possession of that argument which silences all others, namely, force, they prepared what was called the *Instrument of Government*, and declared Oliver Cromwell *Protector*, or supreme magistrate of the commonwealth, the name of king being still odious to their ears. He was accordingly conducted to Whitehall with great solemnity, Lambert carrying the sword of state before him: he was honoured with the title of *Highness*; and having taken the oath required of him, he was proclaimed over all the three kingdoms, without the smallest opposition. (1)

The chief articles in the instrument of government were, that the protector should be assisted by a council of state, which should not consist of more than twenty-one, nor of less than thirteen persons; that in his name all justice should be administered, and from him all honours derived; that he should have the right of peace and war; that the power of the sword should be invested in him jointly with the parliament while sitting, and, during the intervals, jointly with the council of state; that he should summon the parliament every three years, and allow it to sit five months without adjournment, prorogation, or dissolution. (2) The council of state, named in the instrument, consisted of fifteen persons, strongly attached to the protector; who, in case of a vacancy, had the power of choosing one of three presented by the remaining members. (3) He had, therefore, little reason to apprehend any opposition from them in the arbitrary exercise of his authority. An implicit submission to some first magistracy, it must be owned, was become absolutely necessary, in order to preserve the people from relapsing into civil slaughter; so that we may partly admit Cromwell's plea of the *public good* as an apology for his usurpation; though we should not give entire credit to his declaration, that he would rather have taken a *shepherd's staff*, than the *protectorship*. (4)

While Cromwell was thus completing his usurpation over his fellow subjects, he did not neglect the honour or the interests of the nation. Never did England appear more formidable than during his administration. A fleet of a hundred sail was fitted out, under the command of Monk and Dean. They met with the Dutch fleet, equally numerous, near the coast of Flanders; and the officers and seamen on both sides, fired with emulation, and animated with the desire of remaining sole lords of the ocean, disputed the victory with the most fierce and obstinate courage. Though Dean was killed in the heat of the action, the Dutch were obliged to retire, with great loss, after a battle of two days; and as Blake had joined his countrymen with eighteen sail, toward the close of the engagement, the English fleet lay off the coast of Holland, and totally interrupted the commerce of the republic.

But the States made one effort more to retrieve the honour of the flag; and never, on any occasion, did their vigour appear more conspicuous. They not only repaired and manned their fleet in a few weeks, but launched and rigged some ships of a larger size than any they had hitherto sent to sea. With this new armament Tromp issued forth, determined again to fight the victors, and to die rather than yield the contest. He soon met with the

(1) Clarendon. Whitlocke.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Whitlocke.

(4) Burnet, vol. i. Cowley's observations on this subject are more sensibly than sound. "The government was broke," says he, "and he broke it: it was dissolved, Who dissolved it? It was extinguished—Who was it but Cromwell? who not only put out the light, but cast away even the very snuff of it? As if a man should murder a whole family, and then possess himself of the whole house, because it is better he, than that only rats should eat their food." *Discourse on the Gov. of M. Crom.* The reflexions of Hobbes, on the necessity of the submission of the people in such emergency, are more to the purpose. "The obligation of subjects to the sovereign is understood to last as long, and no longer, than the power lasteth, by which he is able to protect them; for the right men have by nature to protect themselves, when none else can protect them, can by no covenant be relinquished. The sovereignty is the soul of the commonwealth, which once departed from the body, the members do no more receive their motion from it. The end of obedience is protection; which, whenever a man sees it, nature apperlyth his obedience to that power, and his endeavour to maintain it." *Leviathan*, p. 114. fol. edit.

English fleet, commanded by Monk; both sides rushed into the combat; and the battle raged from morning till night, without any sensible advantage in favour of either party. Next day the action was continued, and the setting sun beheld the contest undecided. The third morning the struggle was renewed; and victory seemed still doubtful, when Tromp, while gallantly animating his men, with his sword drawn, was shot through the heart with a musket ball. That event at once decided the sovereignty of the ocean. The Dutch lost thirty ships; and were glad to purchase a peace, by yielding to the English the honour of the flag, and making such other concessions as were required of them. (1)

This successful conclusion of the Dutch war, which strengthened Cromwell's authority both at home and abroad, encouraged him to summon a free parliament, according to the stipulation in the instrument of government. He took the precaution, however, to exclude all the royalists who had borne arms for the king, and all their sons. Thirty members were returned from Scotland, and as many from Ireland. But the protector was soon made sensible, that even this circumscribed freedom of election was incompatible with his usurped dominion. The new parliament began its deliberations with questioning his right to that authority which he had assumed over the nation. Cromwell, in this mistake, and endeavoured to correct it. Enraged at the refractory conduct of the commons, he sent for them to the Painted Chamber; where, after inveighing against their conduct, and endeavouring to show the absurdity of disputing the legality of that instrument by which they themselves were convoked, he required them to sign a recognition of his authority, and an engagement not to propose or consent to any alteration in the government, as it was settled in a single person and a parliament: and he placed guards at the door of the lower house, who allowed none but subscribers to enter. (2) Most of the members, after some hesitation, submitted to this despotism; but retained, notwithstanding, the same independent spirit which they had discovered at their first meeting. Cromwell, therefore, found it necessary to put an end to their debates. He accordingly dissolved the parliament, before it had sat five months—the time prescribed by that instrument of government which he had lately sworn to observe.

The discontents of the parliament communicated themselves to the nation; sir Henry Vane and the old republicans, who maintained the indissoluble authority of the long parliament, encouraged the murmurs against the protector; and the royalists, observing the general dissatisfaction, without considering the diversity of parties, thought every one had embraced the same views with themselves. They accordingly entered into a conspiracy throughout every part of England; and the most sanguine hopes were entertained of success. But Cromwell, having information of their purpose, was enabled effectually to defeat it. Many of them were immediately thrown into prison, and the rest were generally discouraged from rising. In one place only, the conspiracy broke out into action. Jones, Penruddock, and other gentlemen of the West, proclaimed the king at Salisbury; but they received no accession of force equal to their expectations, and were soon suppressed. The chief conspirators were capitally punished: the lower class were sold for slaves, and transported to Barbadoes. (3)

The early suppression of this conspiracy more firmly established the protector's authority. It at once shewed the turbulent spirit and the impotence of his enemies, and afforded him a plausible pretext for all his tyrannical severities. He assumed no longer to keep any terms with the royalists. With consent of his council, he therefore issued an edict for exacting the tenth penny from the whole party; and in order to raise that imposition, which commonly passed by the name of *decimation*, he constituted twelve major-generals, and divided the whole kingdom of England into so many military jurisdictions. (4) These officers, assisted by commissioners, had

(1) Whitlocke. Clarendon.

(2) Thurloe, vol. ii.

(3) Whitlocke. Clarendon.

(4) *Parl. Hist.* vol. xx.

power to subject whom they pleased to decimation, to levy all the taxes imposed by the protector and his council, and to imprison any person who should be exposed to their jealousy or suspicion. They acted as if absolute masters of the liberty and property of every English subject: and all reasonable men were now made sensible, that the nation was cruelly subjected to a military and despotic government.

That government, however, directed by the vigorous spirit of Cromwell, gave England a degree of consequence among the European powers which it had never enjoyed since the days of Elizabeth. France and Spain at the same time courted the alliance of the protector; and had Cromwell understood and regarded the interests of his country, it has been said, he would have endeavoured to preserve that balance of power, on which the welfare of England so much depends, by supporting the declining condition of Spain against the dangerous ambition and rising greatness of the house of Bourbon.⁽¹⁾ But the protector's politics, though sound, were less extensive. An invasion from France, in favour of the royal family, which he had reason to apprehend, or a rupture with that court, ~~by law might~~ prove ruinous to his authority, in the present dissatisfied state of England. From Spain he had nothing of equal danger to fear; while he was tempted to begin hostilities, by the prospect of making himself master of her most valuable possessions in the West Indies, as well as of her plate fleets, by means of the superiority of his naval force. He therefore entered into a negotiation with Mazarine, who, as a sacrifice to the jealous pride of the usurper, gave the English princes notice to leave France. They retired to Cologne: and a closer alliance was afterwards concluded between the rival powers; in consequence of which, England, as we have already seen, obtained possession of Dunkirk.

Having resolved on a war with Spain, Cromwell fitted out two formidable fleets, while the neighbouring states, ignorant of his intentions, remained in anxious suspense, no one being able to conjecture where the blow would fall. One of these fleets, consisting of thirty ships of the line, he sent into the Mediterranean, under the famous admiral Blake; who, casting anchor before Leghorn, demanded and obtained, from the duke of Tuscany, reparation for some injuries which the English commerce had formerly sustained from that prince. Blake next sailed to Algiers, and compelled the Dey to restrain his piratical subjects from farther depredations on the English. He presented himself also before Tunis; and having there made the same demand, the Dey of that place desired him to look to the castles of Porto Farino and Goletta, and do his utmost. Blake, who needed little to be roused by such a defiance, drew his ships close up to the castles, and tore them in pieces with his artillery; while he sent a detachment of soldiers in long-boats into the harbour, and burned every ship that lay there. The coasts of the Mediterranean, from one extremity to the other, rung with the renown of English valour; and no power, Christian or Mahometan, dared to oppose the victorious Blake.

The other fleet, commanded by admiral Penn, and which had four thousand troops on board, under the direction of General Venables, sailed for the West Indies; where Venables was reinforced with near five thousand militia, from the islands of Barbadoes and St. Christopher. The object of the enterprise was the conquest of Hispaniola, the most valuable island in the American Archipelago. The commanders accordingly resolved to begin with the attack of St. Domingo, the capital, and at that time the only place of strength in the island. On the approach of the English fleet, the intimidated Spaniards abandoned their habitations, and took refuge in the woods; but observing that the troops were imprudently landed at a great distance from the town, and seemed unacquainted with the country, they recovered their spirits; and falling upon the bewildered invaders, when exhausted with hunger, thirst, and a fatiguing march of two days, in that sultry climate, they put the whole English army to flight, killed six hundred men, and

(1) Hume, vol. vii.

chased the rest on board their ships. (1) In order to atone for this failure, Penn and Vandaele bent their course to Jamaica, which was surrendered to them without opposition: yet, on their return to England, the protector, in the first emotions of his disappointment, ordered them both to be sent to the Tower. But Cromwell, although ignorant of the importance of the conquest he had made, took care to support it with men and money; (2) and Jamaica became a valuable accession to the English monarchy.

No sooner was the king of Spain informed of these unprovoked hostilities than he declared war against England, and ordered all the ships and goods, belonging to the English merchants, to be seized throughout his extensive dominions. The Spanish commerce, so profitable to England, was cut off, and an incredible number of vessels fell into the hands of the enemy. Nor were the losses of the Spaniards less considerable. An English squadron being sent to cruise off Cadiz for the plate fleet, took two galleons richly laden, and set on fire two others, which had run on shore. (3) This success proved an incentive to bolder, though a less profitable enterprise. Blake having got intelligence that a Spanish fleet of sixteen sail, much richer than the former, had taken shelter in the Canaries, immediately steered his course thither; and found them in the bay of Santa Cruz, in a very strong posture of defence. The bay was secured by a formidable castle, and seven inferior forts, in different parts of it, all united by a line of communication. Don Diego Diaguez, the Spanish admiral, had moored his smaller vessels near the shore, and stationed the larger galleons farther out, with their broadsides to the sea. Rather animated than intimidated by this hostile appearance, Blake, taking advantage of a favourable wind, sailed full into the bay, and soon found himself in the midst of his enemies. After an obstinate dispute, the Spaniards abandoned their galleons, which were set on fire, and consumed with all their treasure; and the wind fortunately shifting, while the English fleet lay exposed to the fire of the castle and of all the other forts, Blake was enabled to weather the bay, and left the Spaniards in astonishment at his successful temerity. (4)

These vigorous exertions rendered Cromwell's authority equally respected at home and abroad: and to his honour it must be owned, that his domestic administration was as mild and equitable as his situation would permit. He again ventured to summon the parliament; but not trusting, as formerly, to the good-will of the people, he employed all his influence to fill the house with his own creatures, and even placed guards at the door, who permitted none to enter but such as produced a warrant from his council. A majority in favour of the protector being procured by these undue means, a motion was made for investing him with the dignity of king; and notwithstanding the opposition of the republicans, a bill to this purpose was voted, and a committee appointed to reason with him, in order to overcome his pretended scruples. The conference lasted for several days; and although Cromwell's inclination, as well as his judgment, was wholly on the side of the committee, he found himself obliged to refuse so tempting an offer. Not only the ambitious Lambert and other officers of the army, were prepared to mutiny on such a revolution, the protector saw himself ready to be abandoned even by those who were most intimately connected with him by family interest. Fleetwood, who had married his daughter, and Desborow his brother-in-law, actuated merely by principle, declared, if he accepted the crown, that they

(1) Burchet's *Naval History*. Thurolo, vol. iii.

(2) *Id. ibid.*

(3) Thurolo, vol. iv.

(4) Burchet, *ubi sup.* This was the last and greatest action of this gallant naval commander, who died in his way home. He was, by principle, an inflexible republican; and zeal for the interests of his country only made him serve under the usurper. Though past fifty years of age before he entered into military service of any kind, and near sixty before he commanded at sea, he raised the naval glory of England to a greater height than it had ever attained to in any former period. Cromwell, fully sensible of his merit, ordered him a pompous funeral at the public expense; and people of all parties, by their tears, bore testimony to his valour, generosity, and public spirit. *Life of Admiral Blake*, by Dr. Samuel Johnson. *Lives of the Admirals*, vol. ii.

would instantly throw up their commissions, and should never have been in their power to serve him more.(1)

Cromwell having thus rejected the regal dignity, his friends in parliament found themselves obliged to retain the name of a Commonwealth and protector; and as the government was hitherto a manifest usurpation, it was thought proper to sanctify it by a seeming choice of the people and their representatives. A new political system, under the name of *An Humble Petition and Advice*, was accordingly framed by the parliament, and presented to the protector. It differed very little from the *Instrument of Government*; but that being the work of the general officers only, was now represented as a rotten plank, upon which no man could trust himself with safety. Cromwell, therefore, accepted the *humble Petition and Advice*, as the voluntary deed of the whole people of the three united nations; and was anew inaugurated in Westminster-hall, with great pomp and ceremony, as if his power had just taken its rise from this popular instrument.(2)

Emboldened by the appearance of legal authority, the protector deprived Lambert and other factious officers of their commissions. Richard, his eldest son, a man of the most inoffensive, unambitious character, who had hitherto lived contentedly in the country, on a small estate, which he inherited in right of his wife, was now brought to court, introduced to public business, and generally regarded as heir to the protectorship. But the government was yet by no means settled. Cromwell, in consequence of that authority with which he was vested by the humble Petition and Advice, having summoned a house of peers, or persons who were to act in that capacity, soon found that he had lost his authority among the national representatives, by exalting so many of his friends and adherents to the higher assembly. A decided majority, in the house of commons, refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of that other house, which he had established, and even questioned the legality of the authority by which it was constituted; as the humble Petition and Advice had been voted by a parliament, which lay under constraint, and was deprived by military force of a considerable number of its members. Dreading a combination between the commons and the malecontents in the army, the protector, with many expressions of anger and disappointment, dissolved the parliament.(3) When entreated by Fleetwood, and others of his friends, not to precipitate himself into so rash a measure, he swore by the living God that they should not at a moment longer, be the consequences what they might.

This violent breach with the parliament left Cromwell no hopes of ever being able to establish, with general consent, a legal settlement, or to temper the military with any mixture of civil authority: and to increase his uneasiness, a conspiracy was formed against him by the Millenarians in the army, under the conduct of Harrison and other dissenting officers of that party. The royalists too, in conjunction with the heads of the Presbyterians, were encouraged to attempt an insurrection. Both these conspiracies, by his vigilance and activity, the protector was enabled to quash; but the public discontents were so great, that he was under continual apprehensions of assassination. He never moved a step without strong guards: he wore armour under his clothes, and farther secured himself by offensive weapons. He returned from no place by the direct road, or by the same way which he went: he performed every journey with hurry and precipitation: he seldom lay above three nights together in the same chamber, and he never let it be known before-hand in which he intended to pass the night; nor did he trust himself in any that was not provided with a back-door, where sentinels were carefully placed.(4)

Equally uneasy in society and solitude, the protector's body began to be affected by the perturbation of his mind, and his health seemed visibly to decline. He was seized with a slow fever, which changed into a tertian ague,

(1) Thores, vol. vi. Ludlow, vol. ii. Burnet, vol. i.

(2) Whitlocke. Clarendon.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ludlow. Whitlocke. Bates.

attended with dangerous symptoms; and he at length saw the necessity of turning his eye toward that future state of existence, the idea of which had at one time been intimately present to him, though lately somewhat obscured by the projects of ambition, the agitation of public affairs, and the pomp of worldly greatness. Conscious of this, he anxiously asked Goodwin, one of his favourite chaplains, if it was certain that the elect could never suffer a final reprobation. "On that you may with confidence rely," said Goodwin. "Then I am safe," replied Cromwell; "for I am sure that I once was in a 'state of grace!'" Elated by new visitations and assurances, he began to believe his life out of all danger, notwithstanding the opinion of the most experienced physicians to the contrary. "I tell you," cried he to them, with great emotion,—"I tell you I shall not die of this distemper! Favourable answers have been returned from Heaven, not only to my own supplications, but also to those of the godly, who carry on a more intimate correspondence with the Lord." (1)

Notwithstanding this spiritual consolation, which proves that Cromwell, to the last, was no less an enthusiast than a hypocrite, his disorder put a period to his life and his fanatical illusions, while his inspired chaplains were employed in returning thanks to Providence for the undoubted pledges which they received of his recovery! (2)—and on the third of September, the day that had always been esteemed so fortunate to him, being the anniversary of the battles of Dunbar and Worcester. The most striking features of his character I have already had occasion to delineate, in tracing the progress of his ambition. It can, therefore, only be necessary here to combine the separate sketches, and conclude with some general remarks.

Oliver Cromwell, who died in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and who had risen from a private station to the absolute sovereignty of three ancient kingdoms, was of a robust but ungraceful make, and of a manly but clownish and disagreeable aspect. The vigour of his genius and the boldness of his spirit, rather than the extent of his understanding or the lustre of his accomplishments, first procured him distinction among his countrymen; and afterward made him the terror and admiration of Europe. His abilities, however, had been much over-rated. Fortune had a considerable share in his most successful violence. The *Self-denying Ordinance*, and the conscientious weakness of Fairfax, led him, by easy steps, to the supreme command; and the enthusiastic folly of the Covenanters served to confirm his usurped authority. But that authority could neither be acquired nor preserved without talents; and Cromwell was furnished with those that were admirably suited to the times in which he lived, and to the part he was destined to act. He possessed, in an eminent degree, the power of discerning the characters of men, and the rare felicity of employing their abilities to advantage; of discovering the motives of others, and of concealing his own; of blending the wildest fanaticism with the most profound policy; of reconciling a seeming incoherence of ideas with the most prompt and decisive measures, and of commanding the highest respect amid the coarsest familiarity. (3) By these talents, together with a coincidence of interests, he was able to attach and to manage the military fanatics; and by their assistance, to subdue the parliament, and to tyrannise over the three kingdoms. But in all this there was nothing extraordinary; for an army is so forcible, and at the same time

(1) Bates. See also Thuroloze, vol. vii.

(2) Id. *ibid.* Goodwin, who, but a few minutes before the protector expired, says Burnet had pretended to assure the people, in a prayer, that he was not to die, had afterwards the impudence to say to God, "Thou hast deceived us! and we are deceived!" *Hist. of his Own Times*, vol. i.

(3) Among his ancient friends, we are told, he would frequently relax himself by trifling amusements—by jesting, or making burlesque verses: and that he sometimes pushed matters to the length of rustic buffoonery and horse-play; such as putting burning coals into the boots and hose of the officers who attended him, blacking their faces, or throwing cushions at them, which they did not fail to return. (Whitlocke. Ludlow. Bates.) We are also informed by the same authors, that when he had any particular point to gain with the army, it was usual for him to take some of the most popular sergeants and corporals to bed with him, and to ply them there with prayers and religious discourses.

so rude a weapon, that any hand which wields it may, without such dexterity, perform any operation, and attain any ascendant in human society. (1)

The moral character of Cromwell is by no means so exceptional as it is generally represented. On the contrary, it is truly surprising, how he could temper such violent ambition, and such enraged fanaticism, with so much regard to justice and humanity. Even the murder of the king, his most atrocious measure, was to him covered under a cloud of republican and fanatical illusions; and it is possible that, like many others concerned in it, he considered it as the most meritorious action of his life. For it is the peculiar characteristic of fanaticism to give a sanction to any measure, however cruel and unjust, that tends to promote its own interests, which are supposed to be the same with those of the Deity; and to which, consequently, all moral obligations ought to give place.

LETTER X

The Commonwealth of England, from the Death of the Protector to the Restoration of the Monarchy.

It was generally believed, that Cromwell's arts and policy were exhausted with his life; that having so often, by fraud and false pretences, deceived every party, and almost every individual, he could not much longer have maintained his authority. And when the potent hand, which had hitherto conducted the government of the commonwealth, was removed, every one expected that the unwieldy and ill-constructed machine would fall to pieces. All Europe, therefore, beheld with astonishment his son Richard, an inexperienced and unambitious man, quietly succeed to the protectorship. The council recognised his authority: his brother Henry, who governed Ireland with popularity, insured him the obedience of that kingdom; and Monk, who still possessed the chief command in Scotland, and who was much attached to the family of Cromwell, there proclaimed the new protector without opposition. The fleet, the army, acknowledged his title: he received congratulatory addresses from the counties and most considerable corporations, in terms of the most dutiful allegiance, and foreign ministers were forward in paying him the usual compliments; so that Richard, whose moderate temper would have led him to decline any contest for empire, was tempted to accept of a sovereignty which seemed tendered to him by universal consent.

(1) Mr. Cowley expresses himself admirably on this subject. "If craft be wisdom, and dissimulation wit," says he, "I must not deny Cromwell to have been singular in both: but so gross was the manner in which he made use of them, that, as wise men ought not to have believed him at first, so no man was fool enough to believe him at last; neither did any man seem to do it, but those who thought they gained as much by their dissembling as he did by his. His very actions of godliness grew at last so ridiculous, as if a player, by putting on a gown, should think that he excellently represented a woman, though his beard at the same time were seen by all the spectators. If you ask me why they did not hiss and explode him off the stage, I cannot answer, that they durst not do so; because the actors and the door-keepers were too strong for the company." (*Discourse concerning the Government of Oliver Cromwell.*) The military establishment, during Cromwell's administration, seldom consisted of less than forty thousand men. The foot soldiers had commonly a shilling, and the horsemen two shillings and six-pence a day. (Thurloe, vol. i. p. 386. vol. ii. p. 414.) This desirable maintenance, at a time when living was much cheaper than at present, induced the sons of farmers and small freeholders to enlist in the army, and proved a better security to the protector's authority than all his canting, praying, and insidious policy. Men who followed so gainful a profession were naturally attached to the person who encouraged it, and averse against the re-establishment of civil government, which would render it unnecessary.

Cromwell is said to have expended sixty thousand pounds annually, in procuring private intelligence: and it was long supposed that he was intimately acquainted with the secret councils of all the courts of Europe; but since the publication of Thurloe's *State Papers*, it appears, that this money was chiefly employed in procuring information of the intrigues of the royalists, and that the protector had little intelligence of foreign councils, except those of Holland, which are not expected to be concealed.

But this consent, as Richard had soon after occasion to experience, was only a temporary acquiescence, until each party could concert measures, and act effectually for its own interest. On the meeting of the parliament, which it was found necessary to summon, in order to furnish supplies, the new protector found himself involved in inextricable difficulties. The most considerable officers of the army, and even Fleetwood his brother-in-law, and Desborow his uncle, who were extremely attached to republican principles, if not to the fifth monarchy or dominion of the saints, began to enter into cabals against him. Overton, Ludlow, Rich, and other officers whom Oliver had discarded, again made their appearance, and also declaimed against the dignity of protector; but, above the rest, Lambert, who was now roused from his retreat, inflamed by his intrigues all those dangerous humours, and threatened the nation with some great convulsion.(1) As the discontented officers usually met at Fleetwood's apartments, the party was denominated, from the place where he lived, *The Cabal of Wallingford-house*.

Richard, who possessed neither vigour nor superior discernment, was prevailed upon, amid these commotions, to give his consent inadvertently to the calling of a general council of officers, who might make him proposals, as was pretended, for the good of the army. But they were no sooner assembled than they voted a remonstrance, in which they lamented, that *the good old cause*, as they termed it, was utterly neglected; and proposed as a remedy, that the whole military power should be vested in some person in whom they could all confide. The protector was justly alarmed at these military cabals, and the commons had no less reason to be so. They accordingly voted, that there should be no future meeting, or general council of officers, except with the protector's consent, or by his orders. This vote brought matters to extremity. The officers hastened to Richard, and rudely demanded the dissolution of the parliament. Unable to resist, and wanting resolution to deny, the protector complied with their request. With the parliament his authority was supposed to expire, and he soon after signed his resignation in form. His brother Henry, though endowed with more abilities, also quietly resigned the government of Ireland.(2) Thus, my dear Philip, fell from an enormous height, but, by rare fortune, without bloodshed, the family of the Cromwells, to that humble station from which they had risen. Richard withdrew to his estate in the country; and as he had done hurt to no man, so no man ever attempted to hurt him:(3) a striking instance, as Burnet remarks, of the instability of human greatness, and of the security of innocence!

The council of officers being now possessed of supreme authority, began to deliberate what form of government they should establish. Many of them seemed inclined to exercise the power of the sword in the most open manner; but as it was apprehended the people would with difficulty be induced to pay taxes levied by arbitrary will and pleasure, it was thought safer to preserve some shadow of civil authority. They accordingly agreed to revive the *Rump*, or that remnant of the Long Parliament which had been expelled by Cromwell; in hopes that these members, having already felt their own weakness, would thenceforth be contented to act in subordination to the military commanders.

But in this expectation they were deceived. Though the parliament, ex-

(1) Whitlocke. Ludlow.

(2) *Id. ibid.*

(3) Even after the restoration he remained unmolested. He thought proper, however, to travel for some years; and had frequently the mortification, while in disguise, to hear himself treated as a blockhead, for reaping no greater benefit from his father's crimes. But Richard, who was of a gentle, humane, and generous disposition, wisely preferred the peace of virtue to the glare of guilty grandeur. When some of his partisans offered to put an end to the intrigues of the officers, by the death of Lambert, he rejected the proposal with horror. "I will never," said he, "purchase power or dominion by such sanguinary measures!" He lived, in contentment and tranquillity, to an extreme old age, and died toward the latter part of queen Anne's reign. He appears to have had nothing of the enthusiast about him: for we are told that, when murmurings were made against certain promotions in the army, he smartly replied, "What! would you have me prefer none but the godly? Now here is Dick Ingoldsby, who can neither pray nor preach, yet will I trust him before ye all!" Ludlow's *Mem.*

clusive of the officers of the army, consisted only of about twenty persons (for the Presbyterians, who had formerly been excluded, still denied their seats,) yet these being all men of violent ambition, and some of them of experience and abilities, resolved, since they enjoyed the use of supreme authority, not to act a subordinate part to those who acknowledged themselves their servants. They therefore elected a council, in which they took care that the members of the council of Wallingford-house should not be the majority. They appointed Fleetwood lieutenant-general; but inserted an express article in his commission, that it should continue only during the pleasure of the house. They chose seven persons, who were to fill up such commands as became vacant; and they voted, that all commissions should be received from the speaker, and signed by him in the name of the house.(1)

These precautions, the purpose of which was visible, gave great disgust to the principal military officers; and their discontent would, in all probability, have immediately broke out in some resolution fatal to the parliament, had it not been checked by apprehensions of danger from the common enemy. The bulk of the nation now consisted of Royalists and Presbyterians. To both these parties the dominion of the pretended parliament, and of the army, was become equally obnoxious; a secret reconciliation, therefore, took place between them; and it was agreed, That, burying former animosities in oblivion, every possible effort should be made for the overthrow of the Rump, and the restoration of the royal family. A resolution was accordingly taken, in many counties, to rise in arms; and the king, attended by the duke of York, had secretly arrived at Calais, with a resolution of putting himself at the head of his loyal subjects.

But this confederacy was disconcerted by the treachery of sir Richard Willis; who being much trusted by sir Edward Hyde, the king's chief counsellor, and by the principal Royalists, was let into all the designs of the party. He had been corrupted by Cromwell, whom he enabled to disconcert every enterprise against his usurped authority, by confining, beforehand, the persons who were to be the actors in it: and he continued the same traitorous correspondence with the parliament, without suspicion or discovery.(2) The protector, and Thurlow his secretary, now secretary to the parliament, were alone acquainted with this treachery;(3) and by the penetration and craft of Moreland, Thurlow's under-secretary, the whole was at last discovered in sufficient time to put the king on his guard, though not to prevent the failure of the concerted insurrection. Many of the conspirators, in the different counties, were thrown into prison; and the only considerable party that had taken arms (under sir George Booth, by reason of his not being seasonably informed of the treachery of Willis,) and which had seized Chester, was dispersed by a body of troops under Lambert.(4)

Lambert's success hastened the ruin of the parliament. At the request of his officers, whom he had debauched by liberalities, he transmitted a petition to the commons, demanding that Fleetwood should be appointed commander-in-chief, himself lieutenant-general, Desborow major-general of the horse, and Monk of the foot. The parliament, alarmed at the danger, voted that they would have no more general-officers; vacated Fleetwood's commission, and vested the command of the army in seven persons, of whom he was one. Sir Arthur Hazelrig even proposed the impeachment of Lambert. But that artful and able general, despising such impotent resolutions, advanced with his hardy veterans to London; and taking possession, early in the morning, of all the streets that led to Westminster-hall, intercepted the speaker, and excluded the other members from the house.(5)

(1) Whitlocke. Ludlow. Clarendon.

(2) Burnet, vol. i.

(3) *Id. ibid.* This was one of the master-strokes of Cromwell's policy. By letting the king's party in a net, and pleased that the superior lenity of his administration should be remarked, he let them dance in it at pleasure; and when he confined any of them, as he afterward restored them to liberty, his precaution passed only for the result of general jealousy and suspicion. For he never brought any of them to trial, except for conspiracies that admitted of the fullest proof.

(4) Burnet, *ubi sup.*

(5) Whitlocke. Ludlow. Clarendon.

They themselves thus once more possessed of the supreme authority, the officers of which they intended for ever to retain, though they might bestow on others the shadow, the officers elected a committee of twenty-three persons, of whom seven were of their own body. These they pretended to invest with sovereign power, under the name of a *Committee of Safety*. They frequently spoke of summoning a parliament chosen by the people, though nothing could be farther from their intentions; but they really took some steps toward assembling a military parliament, composed of officers elected from every regiment in the army. (1) The most melancholy apprehensions prevailed among the nobility and gentry, throughout the three kingdoms, of a general massacre and extermination; and among the body of the people, of a perpetual and cruel servitude under those sanctified robbers, who threatened the extirpation of all private morality, as they had already expelled all public law and justice from the British dominions. (2)

While England and her sister-kingdoms, Scotland and Ireland, were thus agitated with fears and intestine commotions, Charles II. their lawful sovereign, was wandering on the continent, a neglected fugitive. After leaving Paris, he went to Spa, and thence to Cologne, where he lived two years, on a small pension paid him by the court of France, and some contributions sent him by his friends in England. He next removed to Brussels, where he enjoyed certain emoluments from the Spanish government. Sir Edward Hyde, who had shared all his misfortunes as well as those of his father, and the marquis of Ormond, were his chief friends and confidants. At last, reduced to despair, by the failure of every attempt for his restoration, he resolved to try the weak resource of foreign aid, and went to the Pyrénées, when the two prime ministers of France and Spain were in the midst of their negotiations. Don Lewis de Haro received him with warm expressions of kindness, and indicated a desire of assisting him, if it had been consistent with the low condition of the Spanish monarchy; but the cautious Mazarine, pleading the alliance of France with the Commonwealth of England, refused so much as to see him. (3)

At this very time, however, when Charles seemed abandoned by all the world, fortune was paving the way for him, by a surprising revolution, to mount the throne of his ancestors in peace and triumph. It was to general Monk, commander-in-chief in Scotland, that the king was to owe his restoration, and the three kingdoms the determination of their bloody dissensions. Of this man it will be proper to give some account.

George Monk, descended from an ancient and honourable family in Devonshire, but somewhat fallen to decay, was properly a soldier of fortune. He had acquired military experience in Flanders, that great school of war to all the European nations; and though alike free from superstition and enthusiasm, and remarkably cool in regard to party, he had distinguished himself in the royal cause, during the civil wars of England, as colonel in the service of Charles I. But being taken prisoner, and committed to the Tower, where he endured, for above two years, all the rigours of poverty and imprisonment, he was at last induced by Cromwell to enter into the service of the parliament, and sent, according to his agreement, to act against the Irish rebels; a command which, he flattered himself, was reconcilable to the strictest principles of honour. Having once, however, engaged with the parliament, he was obliged to obey orders, and found himself necessitated to act both against the marquis of Ormond in Ireland and against Charles II. in Scotland. On the reduction of the latter kingdom, Monk, as we have already had occasion to observe, was vested with the supreme command; and, by the equality and justice of his administration, he acquired the goodwill of the Scots, at the same time that he kept their restless spirit in awe, and secured the attachment of his army. (4)

(1) Ludlow's *Memoirs*.

(2) Hume, vol. vii.

(3) Clarendon.

(4) Gumble's *Life of Monk*. Ludlow's *Memoirs*. Monk is said to have advised Cromwell to attack the Scots at Dunblane even before they had left their mountainous situa-

The connexions which Monk had formed with Oliver kept him faithful to Richard Cromwell; and not being prepared for opposition, when the Long Parliament was restored, he acknowledged its authority, and was continued in his command. But no sooner was the parliament expelled by the army, than he protested against the violence: and resolved, as he pretended, to vindicate the invaded privileges of that assembly, though in reality disposed to effect the restoration of his sovereign, he collected his scattered forces, and declared his intention of marching into England. The Scots furnished him with a small, but seasonable supply of money, and he advanced toward the borders of the two kingdoms with a body of six thousand men. Lambert, he soon learned, was coming northward with a superior army; and, in order to gain time, he proposed an accommodation. The Committee of Safety fell into the snare. A treaty was signed by Monk's commissioners; but he refused to ratify it, under pretence that they had exceeded their powers, and drew the Committee into a new negotiation.

In the mean time Hazelrig and Morley took possession of Portsmouth, and declared for the parliament. The parliament was restored: and, without taking any notice of Lambert, the commons sent orders to the forces under his command immediately to repair to certain garrisons which were appointed them as quarters. In consequence of these orders Lambert was deserted by the greater part of his troops, was taken prisoner, and sent to the Tower. The other officers, who had formerly been cashiered by the parliament, but who had resumed their commands, were confined to their houses; and sir Henry Vane, and some other members, who had concurred with the Committee of Safety, were ordered into a like confinement. Monk, though informed of the restoration of the parliament, continued to advance with his army; and, at last, took up his quarters in Westminster. When introduced to the house, he declared, That while on his march he observed an anxious expectation of a settlement among all ranks of men; that they had no hope of such a blessing but from the dissolution of the present parliament, and the summoning of a new one, free and full; which, meeting without oaths or engagements, might finally give contentment to the nation.

And it would be sufficient, he added, for public security, as well as for liberty, if the fanatical party and the royalists were excluded. (1)

This speech, though little agreeable to the assembly to which it was addressed, diffused universal joy among the people. The hope of peace and concord broke, like the morning sun, from the darkness in which the nation was involved, and the memory of past calamities disappeared. The royalists and the Presbyterians, forgetting former animosities, seemed to have but one wish, and equally to lament the dire effects of their calamitous divisions. The republican parliament, though reduced to despair, made a last effort for the recovery of its dominions. A committee was sent with offers to the general. Proposals were even made by some, though enemies to a supreme magistrate, for investing him with the dignity of protector; so great were their apprehensions of the royal resentment, or the fury of the people! He refused to hear them except in the presence of the secluded members; and having, in the mean time, opened a correspondence with the city of London, and placed its militia in sure hands, he persued every measure proper for the settlement of the nation, though he still pretended to maintain republican principles.

The secluded members, encouraged by the general's declaration, went to the house of commons, and, entering without obstruction, immediately found themselves to be the majority. They began with repealing the ordinances by which they had been excluded: they renewed the general's commission, and enlarged his powers: they established a Council of State, consisting chiefly of those men who, during the civil war, had made a figure among the Presbyterians; and having passed these and other votes for the

tion. "They," observed he, in support of his opinion, "have numbers and the bill;—we discipline and despair." (Id. *ibid.*) A sentiment truly military, and utterly devoid of that fanaticism which governed Cromwell on the occasion.

(1) *Gamble's Life of Monk.*

present impotence of the kingdom, they dissolved themselves, and issued writs for the immediate assembling of a new parliament.(1)

The Council of State conferred the command of the fleet on admiral Montagu, whose attachment to the royal family was well known; and thus secured the naval, as well as military force, in hands favourable to the projected revolution. But Monk, notwithstanding all these steps toward the re-establishment of monarchy, still maintained the appearance of zeal for a commonwealth; and had never declared, otherwise than by his actions, that he had adopted the king's interest. At last a critical circumstance drew a confession from him. Sir John Granville, who had a commission from Charles, applied for access to the general, and absolutely refused to communicate his business to any other person. Monk, pleased with this closeness, so conformable to his own temper, admitted Granville into his presence, and opened to him his whole intentions. He refused, however, to commit any thing to writing; but delivered a verbal message, assuring the king of his services, giving advice for his conduct, and exhorting him instantly to leave the Spanish territories, lest he should be detained as a pledge for the restitution of Dunkirk and Jamaica.(2)

The elections for the new parliament were every where carried in favour of the friends of monarchy; for although the parliament had voted, that no one should be elected who had himself, or whose father had borne arms for the late king, little regard was paid to this ordinance. The passion for liberty, which had been carried to such violent extremes, and produced such bloody commotions, began to give place to a spirit of royalty and obedience. The earl of Manchester, lord Fairfax, lord Roberts, Denzil Hollis, sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, and other leaders of the Presbyterians, were resolved to atone for their past transgressions by their present zeal for the royal cause.(3) Nor were the affairs of Ireland in a condition less favourable to the restoration of monarchy. Lord Brughill, president of Munster, and sir Charles Coote, president of Connaught, had even gone so far as to enter into a correspondence with the king; and, in conjunction with sir Theophilus Jones, and other officers, they took possession of the government, and excluded general Ludlow, who was zealous for the parliament, but whom they represented as in league with the Committee of Safety.(4)

All those promising views, however, had almost been blasted by certain unfortunate circumstances. On the admission of the secluded members into parliament, the heads of the republican party were seized with the deepest despair, and endeavoured to infuse the same sentiments into the army. The king's death, the execution of so many of the nobility and gentry, the sequestration and imprisonment of the rest, were in their eyes crimes so black, that they must be prosecuted with the most implacable resentment. When these suggestions had begun to operate upon the troops, Lambert suddenly made his escape from the Tower. Monk and the Council of State, who were well acquainted with his vigour and activity, as well as with his popularity in the army, were thrown into the utmost consternation at this event. But happily colonel Ingoldsby, who was immediately dispatched after him, overtook him at Daventry, before he had assembled any considerable force, and brought him back to his place of confinement. In a few days he would have been formidable.

When the parliament first met, the leading members exerted themselves chiefly in the bitter invectives against the memory of Cromwell, and in execrations against the inhuman murder of the late king; no one yet daring to make any mention of the second Charles. At length the general, having sufficiently sounded the inclinations of the commons, gave directions to Annesly, president of the council, to inform them, That sir John Granville, one of the king's servants, was now at the door with a letter from his majesty to the parliament. The loudest acclamations resounded through the

(1) Whitlocks. Clarendon.

(2) Landadown. Clarendon.

(3) Clarendon. Whitlocks.

(4) *Id. ibid*

house on this intelligence. Granville was called in ; and the letter, accompanied with a declaration, was greedily read. The declaration was well calculated to promote the satisfaction inspired by the prospect of a settlement. It offered a general amnesty, leaving particular exceptions to be made by parliament : it promised liberty of conscience : it assured the soldiers of their arrears, and the same pay they then enjoyed : and it submitted to parliamentary arbitration, an inquiry into all grants, purchase, and alienations.(1)

The peers perceiving the spirit with which the nation, as well as the house of commons, was animated, hastened to reinstate themselves in their ancient rights, and take their share in the settlement of the government. They found the doors of their house open, and were all admitted without exception. The two houses attended while the king was proclaimed in Palace-yard, at Whitehall, and at Temple-bar ; and a committee of lords and commons were dispatched to invite his majesty to return, and take possession of the kingdom. The respect of foreign powers soon followed the allegiance of his own subjects ; and the formerly neglected Charles was, at the same time, invited by France, Spain, and the United Provinces, to embark at one of their sea-ports. He chose to accept the invitation of the latter ; and had the satisfaction, as he passed from Breda to the Hague, to be received with the loudest acclamations. The States-general, in a body, made their compliments to him with the greatest solemnity ; and all ambassadors and foreign ministers expressed the joy of their masters at his change of fortune.(2)

The English fleet came in sight of Scheveling ; and Montague, who had not waited the orders of the parliament, persuaded the officers to tender their duty to their sovereign. The king went on board, and the duke of York took the command of the fleet, as high admiral.(3) When Charles disembarked at Dover, he was received by general Monk, whom he cordially embraced, and honoured with the appellation of Father. He entered London on the twenty-ninth of May, which happened to be his birth-day, amid the acclamations of an innumerable multitude of people, whose fond imaginations formed the happiest presages from the concurrence of two such joyful occasions ; and the nation in general expressed the most sincere satisfaction at the restoration of their ancient constitution and their native prince, without the effusion of blood.(4)

We must now, my dear Philip, take a retrospective view of the progress of navigation, commerce, and colonization, before we carry farther the general transactions of Europe. Without such a survey, we should never be able to judge distinctly of the interests, claims, quarrels, and treaties of the several European nations.

LETTER XI.

The Progress of Navigation, Commerce, and Colonization, from the Beginning of the Sixteenth to the Middle of the Seventeenth Century.

THE discoveries and conquests of the Portuguese in the East Indies, and of the Spaniards in America, soon excited the ardour, the avarice, and the ambition of other European nations. The English and Dutch were particularly tempted, by their maritime situation and commercial spirit, as well as by their great progress in navigation, to use every effort to share in the riches of the east and west ; and the Reformation, by abolishing the papal jurisdiction, left them free from religious restraints. Nor did the Dutch long want other motives, which necessity made them seek, for entering into

(1) Clarendon

(2) Ibid.

(3) Whitlocke. Clarendon.

(4) Id. *ibid.*

a competition with the destroyers of the New World and the conquerors of India, in those distant seats of their wealth and power. Before I relate the bold enterprises of these republicans, however, it will be proper to trace the farther progress of the Portuguese and Spaniards in navigation, commerce, and colonization. (1)

No sooner had Cortez completed the conquest of the Mexican empire, than he ordered ship-builders to repair to Zacatula, a port on the South Sea, in order to equip a fleet destined for the Molucca islands. From their trade with those islands the Portuguese drew immense wealth; all which he hoped to secure for the crown of Castile, by a shorter navigation. (2) But he was ignorant, that, during the progress of his victorious arms in the New World, the very plan he was attempting to execute had been prosecuted with success by a navigator in the service of his country.

Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese gentleman, who had acted several years in the East Indies with distinguished valour, as an officer under the famous Albuquerque, disgusted with his general, and slighted by his sovereign, renounced his allegiance to an ungrateful master, and fled to the court of Spain, in hopes that his merit would there be more justly estimated. He endeavoured to recommend himself by reviving Columbus's original project of discovering a passage to India by a westerly course, and without encroaching on that portion of the globe allotted to the Portuguese by the pope's line of demarcation. Cardinal Ximenes, who at that time directed the Spanish councils, listened with a favourable ear to Magellan's proposal, and recommended it to his master Charles V. who, entering into the measure with ardour, honoured Magellan with the habit of St. Jago and the title of Captain-general, and furnished him with five ships, victualled for two years, in order to enable him to accomplish his undertaking.

With this squadron Magellan sailed from Seville on the 10th of August, 1519; and after touching at the Canaries, stood directly south, toward the equinoctial, along the coast of America. But he was so long retarded by tedious calms, and spent so much time in searching every bay and inlet, for that communication with the South Sea which he wished to discover, that he did not reach the river de la Plata till the 12th of January 1520. Allured to enter by the spacious opening through which that vast body of water pours itself into the Atlantic, he sailed up it for some days; but concluding at last, from the shallowness of the stream, and the freshness of the water, that the wished-for straight was not situated there, he returned and continued his course toward the south. On the 31st of March he arrived at Port St. Julian, about forty-eight degrees south of the line, where he resolved to winter, the severe season then coming on in those latitudes. Here he lost one of his ships; and the Spaniards suffered so much from the excessive rigour of the climate, that they insisted on his relinquishing the visionary project, and returning to Europe. But Magellan, by ordering the principal mutineer to be assassinated, and another to be publicly executed, overawed the remainder of his followers, and continued his voyage still toward the south. In holding this course, he at length discovered, near the fifty-third degree of latitude, the mouth of a strait, into which he entered, notwithstanding the murmurs of his officers. After sailing twenty days in that winding dangerous passage, which still bears his name; and where one of his ships deserted him, the great Southern Ocean opened to his view, and inspired him with new hopes, while his adventurous soul effused itself to Heaven in a transport of joy for the success which had already attended his endeavours. (3)

Magellan, however, was still at a great distance from the object of his wishes; and greater far than he imagined. Three months and twenty-days did he sail in a uniform direction toward the north-west, without discovering land; during which voyage, the longest that had ever been made in the

(1) For an account of their first discoveries and conquests, see Part I. Let. LVII.

(2) Herrera, dec. III. lib. ii. c. x.

(3) Herrera, dec. II. lib. ii. c. 3. lib. vii. c. 2.

unbounded ocean, his people suffered incredible distress from scarcity of provisions, putrid water, and all their attendant maladies. One circumstance, and one only, afforded them some consolation: they enjoyed an uninterrupted course of fair weather, with such mild winds as induced Magellan to bestow on that ocean the epithet of *pacific*. At length they fell in with a cluster of small islands, which afforded them refreshments in such abundance that their health was soon restored. From these islands, which he called *Ladrones*, he continued his voyage, and soon made a discovery of the *Manillas*; since denominated the *Philippine Islands*, from Philip II. of Spain, who first planted a colony in them. In Zebu, one of the *Philippines*, Magellan got into an unfortunate quarrel with the natives, who attacked him with a numerous body of well-armed troops: and while he fought gallantly at the head of his men, he was slain, together with several of his officers, by those fierce barbarians. (1)

On the death of this great navigator, the expedition was prosecuted under different commanders. They encountered many difficulties in ranging through the smaller islands scattered in the eastern part of the Indian Ocean, touched at the great island of Borneo, and at last landed at Tidore, one of the *Moluccas*, to the astonishment of the Portuguese; who, ignorant of the figure of the earth, could not comprehend how the Spaniards, by holding a westerly course, had reached that sequestered seat of their most valuable commerce, which they themselves had discovered by sailing in an opposite direction!—At this, and the adjacent islands, the Spaniards found a people acquainted with the benefits of extensive trade, and willing to open an intercourse with a new nation. They took in a cargo of spices, the distinguished produce of those islands; and with that, together with specimens of the commodities yielded by the other rich countries which they had visited, the *Victory*, which of the two remaining ships was most fit for a long voyage, set sail for Europe under the command of Juan Sebastian del Cano. He followed the course of the Portuguese by the Cape of Good Hope; and, after a variety of disasters, arrived safe at St. Lucar. (2)

The Spanish merchants eagerly engaged in that alluring commerce, which was thus unexpectedly opened to them; while their men of science were employed in demonstrating, that the Spice-islands were so situated as to belong to the crown of Castile, in consequence of the partition made by pope Alexander VI. But the Portuguese, alarmed at the intrusion of such formidable rivals, remonstrated and negotiated in Europe, at the same time that they obstructed in Asia the trade of the Spaniards; and Charles V. always needy, notwithstanding his great resources, and unwilling to add a rupture with Portugal to the numerous wars in which he was then engaged, made over to that crown his claim to the *Moluccas* for a sum of money. (3)

In consequence of this agreement, the Portuguese continued undisturbed, and without a rival, masters of the trade of India; and the *Manillas* lay neglected, till Philip II. succeeded to the crown of Spain. Soon after his accession, Philip formed the scheme of planting a colony in those islands, to which he gave the name of the *Philippines*. This he accomplished by means of an armament fitted out for New Spain. *Manilla*, in the island of *Luzon*, was the station chosen for the capital of the new establishment; and, in order to induce the Spaniards to settle there, the rising colony was authorized to send India goods to America, in exchange for the precious metals. (4) From *Manilla* an active commercial intercourse began with the Chinese, and a considerable number of that industrious people, allured by the prospect of gain, settled in the *Philippines* under the Spanish protection. By their means the colony was so amply supplied with all the valuable productions and manufactures of the East, as soon enabled it to open an advantageous trade with America, by a course of navigation the longest

(1) Herrera, dec. II. lib. ix. c. 3.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) Herrera, dec. III. lib. iv. c. 5.

(4) When Philip granted this indulgence, unless he meant afterward to withdraw it, he was certainly little acquainted with the commercial interests of Old Spain.

from land to land on our globe.(1) This trade was originally carried on with Callao, the port of Lima, and the most commodious harbour on the coast of Peru; but experience having discovered many difficulties in that mode of communication, and the superior facility of an intercourse with New Spain, the Staple of the commerce between America and Asia was removed from Callao to Acapulco.(2)

The Spanish colony in the Philippines, having no immediate connexions with Europe, gave no uneasiness to the Portuguese, and received no annoyance from them. In the mean time the Portuguese not only continued to monopolize the whole commerce of the East, but were masters of the coast of Guinea as well as that of Arabia, Persia, and the two peninsulas of India. They possessed the Moluccas, Ceylon, and the Isles of Sunda, with the trade of China and Japan; and they had made their colony of Brazil, which occupies that immense territory that lies between the Maragnon and the Rio de la Plata, one of the most valuable districts in America. But, like every people who have suddenly acquired great riches, the Portuguese began to feel the enfeebling effects of luxury and effeminacy. That hardy valour, which had subdued so many nations, existed no longer among them: they were with difficulty brought to fight, except where there was a prospect of plunder. Corruption prevailed in all the departments of government, and the spirit of rapine among all ranks of men. At the same time that they gave themselves up to all those excesses which make usurpers hated, they wanted courage to make themselves feared. Equally detested in every quarter, they at length saw themselves ready to be expelled from India by a confederacy of the princes of the country; and, although they were able, by a desperate effort, to break this storm, their destruction was at hand.(3)

When Portugal fell under the dominion of Spain, in consequence of the fatal catastrophe of Don Sebastian and his gallant nobility on the coast of Africa, Philip II. became possessed of greater resources than any monarch in ancient or modern times. But instead of employing his enormous wealth in procuring the security, the happiness, and the prosperity of his widely extended empire, he profusely dissipated it, in endeavouring to render himself as despotic in Europe as he was already in America, and in no inconsiderable portion of Asia and Africa. While Philip was employed in this ambitious project, his possessions in India were neglected; and as the Portuguese hated the dominion of the Spaniards, they paid little attention to the security of their settlements. No one pursued any other object but his own immediate interest: there was no union, no zeal for the public good.(4)

Things could not continue long in such a situation; and a new regulation, in regard to trade, completed the ruin of the Portuguese settlements in India. Philip II. whose bigotry and despotism had induced him to attempt to deprive the inhabitants of the Low Countries of their civil and religious liberties, in order more effectually to accomplish his aim, prohibited his new subjects from holding any correspondence with the revolted provinces.

This was a severe blow to the trade of the Hollanders, which consisted chiefly, as at present, in supplying the wants of one nation with the produce of another. Their merchants, ambitious of augmenting their commerce, had got the trade of Lisbon into their hands. There they purchased India goods, which they sold again to all the different states of Europe. They were therefore struck with consternation at a prohibition, which excluded them

(1) Torquemada, lib. v. c. 14. Robertson, *Hist. Span. Amer.* book viii.

(2) Many remonstrances have been presented against this trade, as detrimental to Old Spain, by diverting into another channel a large portion of that treasure which ought to flow into the parent kingdom; as tending to give rise to a spirit of independency in the colonies, and to encourage innumerable frauds, against which it is impossible to guard, in transactions so far removed from the inspection of government. But as it requires no slight effort of political wisdom and vigour to abolish any practice which numbers are interested in supporting, and to which time has added the sanction of its authority, the commerce between Acapulco and Manilla is still carried on to a considerable extent, and allowed under certain restrictions.

(3) Faria y Sousa, lib. v. cap. i. Guyon, *Hist. des Ind. Orient.* tom. iii.

(4) *Id. ibid.*

from so essential a branch of their trade; and Philip did not foresee, that a restriction, by which he hoped to weaken the Dutch, would, in the end, render them more formidable. Had they been permitted to continue their intercourse with Portugal, there is reason to believe they could have contented themselves with the commerce they carried on in the European seas; but finding it impossible to preserve their trade without the commodities of the East, they resolved to seek them at the original market, as they were deprived of every other.(1)

In consequence of this resolution, the ~~Hollanders~~ fitted out some ships for India; and, after an unsuccessful attempt to find a passage thither through the North Sea, they proceeded by the Cape of Good Hope, under the direction of Cornelius Houtman, a Dutch merchant, who had resided some time at Lisbon, and made himself perfectly acquainted with every thing relative to the object of his voyage. His success, though by no means extraordinary, encouraged the merchants of Amsterdam to form the project of establishing a settlement in the island of Java. Admiral Van Neck, who was sent on that important expedition with eight ships, found the inhabitants of Java prejudiced against his countrymen. They permitted him, however, to trade; and having sent home four vessels laden with spices, and other India commodities, he sailed to the Moluccas, where he met with a more favourable reception. The natives, he learned, had forced the Portuguese to abandon some places, and only waited an opportunity of expelling them from the rest. He entered into a treaty with some of the sovereigns; he established factories in several of the islands, and he returned to Europe with his remaining ships richly laden.(2)

The success of this voyage spread the most extravagant joy over the United Provinces. New associations were daily formed for carrying on the trade to India, and new fleets fitted out from every port of the republic. But the ardour of forming these associations, though terrible to the Portuguese, who never knew when they were in safety, or where they could with certainty annoy the enemy, had almost proved the ruin of the Dutch trade to the East. The rage of purchasing raised the value of commodities in Asia, and the necessity of selling made them bear a low price in Europe. The adventurers were in danger of falling a sacrifice to their own efforts, and to their laudable jealousy and emulation, when the wisdom of government saved them from ruin, by uniting the different societies into one great body, under the name of the *East-India Company*.(3)

This company, which was invested with authority to make peace or war with the Indian princes, to erect forts, choose governors, maintain garrisons, and nominate officers for the conduct of the police and the administration of justice, set out with great advantages. The incredible number of vessels fitted out by the private associations had contributed to make all the branches of eastern commerce perfectly understood, to form many able officers and seamen, and to encourage the most reputable citizens to become members of the new company. Fourteen ships were accordingly fitted out for India, under the command of admiral Warwick, whom the Dutch look upon as the founder of their lucrative commerce and powerful establishments in the East. He erected a factory in the island of Java, and secured it by fortifications: he founded another in the territories of the king of Jahor, and formed alliances with several princes in Bengal. He had frequent engagements with the Portuguese, in which he was generally successful.(4) A furious war ensued between the two nations.

During the course of this war, which lasted for many years, the Dutch were continually sending to India fresh supplies of men and ships, while the Portuguese received no succours from Europe. Spain, it should seem, wished

(1) *ADVERTISEMENT, à la tête de Recueil des Voyages, qui ont servi à l'Etablissement, et aux Progrès de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales.*

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) *Voyages de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales. Salengre, Essai d'une Hist. de Prov. Unies.*

(4) *Id. ibid.*

to humble her new subjects, whom she did not think sufficiently submissive, and to perpetuate her authority over them by the ruin of their wealth and power : she neither repaired their fortifications nor renewed their garrisons. Yet the scale remained even for a while, and the success was various on both sides ; but the persevering Hollanders, by their unwearied efforts, at length deprived the Portuguese of Ceylon, the Moluccas, and all their valuable possessions in the East, except Goa, at the same time that they acquired the almost exclusive trade of China and Japan.(1) The island of Java, however, where they had erected their first fortifications, and early built the splendid city of Batavia, continued to be, as it is at present, the seat of their principal settlement, and the centre of their power in India.

But these new republicans, flushed with success, were not satisfied with their acquisitions in the East. They turned their eyes also toward the West : they established a colony, to which they gave the name of Nova Belgia, on Hudson's River, in North America : they annoyed the trade, and plundered the settlements of the Spaniards, in every part of the New World ; and they made themselves masters of the important colony of Brazil in South America. But this was not a permanent conquest. When the Portuguese had shaken off the Spanish yoke in Europe, they bore with impatience in America that of the Dutch : they rose against their oppressors ; and, after a variety of struggles, obliged them finally to evacuate Brazil, in 1654.(2) Since that era the Portuguese have continued in possession of this rich territory, the principal support of their declining monarchy, and the most valuable European settlement in America.

The English East-India Company was established as early as the year 1600, and with a fair prospect of success. A fleet of five stout ships was fitted out the year following, under the command of captain James Lancaster ; who was favourably received by the king of Achen, and other Indian princes, with whom he formed a commercial treaty, and arrived in the Downs, after a prosperous voyage of near two years. Other voyages were performed with equal advantage. But notwithstanding these temporary encouragements, the English East-India Company had to struggle with many difficulties, and laboured under essential inconveniences. Their rivals, the Portuguese and Dutch, had harbours of which they were absolute masters ; places of strength, which they had built, and secured by garrisons and regular fortifications ; whole provinces, of which they had acquired possession either by force or fraud, and over which they exerted an arbitrary sway. Their trade was therefore protected, not only against the violence or caprice of the natives of India, but also against the attempts of new competitors. They had every opportunity of getting a good sale for the commodities they carried out from Europe, and of purchasing those they brought home at a moderate price ; whereas the English, who at first acted merely as fair traders, having none of these advantages, were at once exposed to the uncertainty of general markets, which were frequently anticipated or over-stocked, to the variable humour of the natives, and to the imperious will of their European rivals, who had the power of excluding them from the principal ports of the East.(3)

In order to remedy these inconveniences, the English company saw the necessity of departing from their original principles, and of opposing force by force. But as such an effort was beyond the resources of an infant society, they hoped to receive assistance from government. In this reasonable expectation, however, they were disappointed by the weak and timid policy of James I. who only enlarged their charter ; yet, by their activity, perseverance, and the judicious choice of their officers and other servants, they not only maintained their trade, but erected forts and established factories in the islands of Java, Puleron, Amboyna, and Banda.(4)

The Dutch were alarmed at these establishments. Having driven the

(1) Saleuvre, ubi sup.

(2) *Hist. Gen. des Voyages*, tom. xiv.

(3) *Hist. Gen. des Voyages*, tom. ii. Raynal, tom. i.

(4) *Harleian Collect. of Voyages*, vol. viii.

Portuguese from the Spice-islands, they never meant to suffer any European nation to settle there; much less a people, whose maritime force, government, and character, would make them dangerous rivals. They accordingly endeavoured to dispossess the English by every possible means. They began with attempting, by calumnious accusations, to render them odious to the natives of the countries where they had settled. But finding these shameful expedients ineffectual, they had recourse to force; and the Indian Ocean became a scene of the most bloody engagements between the maritime forces of the two companies. (1)

At length an attempt was made to put a period to those hostilities by one of the most extraordinary treaties recorded in the annals of mankind; and which does little honour to the political sagacity either of the English or Dutch, if the latter, as is alleged, did not mean it as a veil to their future violences. It was agreed, that the Moluccas, Amboyna, and Banda, should belong in common to the companies of the two nations; that the English should have one-third, and the Dutch two-thirds of the produce, at a fixed price; that each, in proportion to their interest, should contribute to the defence of those islands; that this treaty should remain in force twenty years, during which the entire trade of India should remain equally free to both nations, neither of them endeavouring to injure the other by separate fortifications, or clandestine treaties with the natives; and that all disputes, which could not be accommodated by the councils of the companies, should be finally settled and determined by the king of Great Britain and the States General of the United Provinces. (2)

The fate of this treaty was such as might have been expected from one party or the other. The avarice of the Dutch prompted them to take advantage of the confidential security of the English, and to plunder the factories of Lantore and Poleron, after exercising the most atrocious cruelties on the servants of the company. The supineness of the English government encouraged them to act the same tragedy, accompanied with still more horrid circumstances of barbarity, at Amboyna: (3) where confessions of a pretended conspiracy were extorted, by tortures at which humanity shudders, and which ought never to be forgot or forgiven by Englishmen.

In consequence of these unexpected violences, for which the feeble and corrupt administration of James I. obtained no reparation, the English East-India Company were obliged to abandon the Spice-islands to the rapacity of the Dutch; and though they were less unfortunate on the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar, the civil wars in which England was involved toward the latter part of the reign of Charles I. and which took off all attention from distant objects, reduced their affairs to a very low condition. Their trade revived during the commonwealth; and Cromwell, on the conclusion of the war with Holland, obtained several stipulations in their favour; but which, from the confusions that ensued, were never executed. On the accession of Charles II. they hoped to recover their consequence in India. But that needy and profligate prince, who is said to have betrayed their interests to the Dutch for a bribe, cruelly extorted loans from them, at the same time that he hurt their trade, by selling licences to interlopers; and by these means reduced them to the brink of ruin.

The English were more successful in establishing themselves, during this period, in North America and the West Indies. As early as the year 1496, John Cabot, a Venetian mariner, in the service of Henry VII. had discovered the Island of Newfoundland, and sailed along the northern shore of the American continent, from the Gulf of St. Laurence to Cape Florida. But no advantage was taken of these discoveries before the middle of the reign of Elizabeth; when the bigotry and ambition of Philip II. roused the indignation of all the protestant powers, but more especially of England, and incited many bold adventurers to commit hostilities against his subjects in

(1) *Harleian Collect. of Voyages*, vol. viii.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) *Ibid.*

the New World. The most distinguished of those was sir Francis Drake ; who, having acquired considerable wealth by his depredations against the Spaniards in the Isthmus of Darien, passed with four ships into the South Sea, by the Straits of Magellan, took many rich prizes, and returned to England, in 1579, by the Cape of Good Hope.(1) His success awakened the avidity of new adventurers ; and the knowledge which was, by these means, acquired of the different parts of the American continent, suggested to the celebrated sir Walter Raleigh the idea of a settlement within the limits of those coasts formerly visited by John Cabot.

A company was accordingly formed for that purpose, in consequence of Raleigh's magnificent promises ; a patent was obtained from the queen, conformable to their views, and two ships were sent out, commanded by Philip Amidas and Arthur Barlow, in 1584. They came to anchor in the Bay of Roanoke, in the country now known by the name of North Carolina, of which they took formal possession for the crown of England. On their return they gave so favourable an account of the climate, soil, and temper of the inhabitants, that a colony was established the following year : (2) and Elizabeth, in order to encourage the undertaking, honoured the colony with the name of VIRGINIA, in allusion to her favourite, but much disputed virtue.

This settlement, however, never arrived at any degree of prosperity, and was finally abandoned in 1588. From that time to the year 1606, when two new companies were formed, and a charter granted to each of them by James I. no attempt appears to have been made by the English to settle on the coast of North America. One of the new companies consisted of adventurers residing in the city of London, who were desirous of settling towards the south, or in what is at present called Virginia ; and the other, of adventurers belonging to Plymouth, Bristol, and Exeter, who chose the country more to the North, or what is now called New England. The London Company immediately fitted out three vessels, under the command of Christopher Newport, an able and experienced mariner, with a hundred and ten adventurers on board, and all manner of implements for building and agriculture, as well as the necessary arms for their defence. After a tedious voyage, and many discontents among the future colonists, their little squadron reached the bay of Chesapeake. One of the adventurers, in the name of the whole, was appointed to treat with the natives, from whom he obtained leave to plant a colony on a convenient spot, about fifty miles from the mouth of the river Powhatan, by the English called James River. Here they erected a slight fort, barricadoed with trunks of trees, and surrounded by a number of little huts, to which they gave the name of James Town, in honour of the king.(3) Such was the slender beginning of the colony of Virginia ; which, though it had to struggle at first with many difficulties, became, even before the Restoration, of very great national consequence.

The rapid prosperity of Virginia was chiefly owing to the culture of tobacco, its staple commodity, and to the number of royalists that took refuge there, in order to escape the tyranny of the parliament. A like cause gave population and prosperity to the neighbouring province of Maryland, whose staple also is tobacco. This territory being granted by Charles I. to Cecilius lord Baltimore, a Roman-Catholic nobleman (whose father, sir George Calvert, had sought an asylum in Newfoundland, in order to enjoy the free exercise of his religion,) he formed the scheme of a settlement, where he might not only enjoy liberty of conscience himself, but also be enabled to grant it to such of his friends as should prefer an easy banishment with freedom to the conveniences of England, embittered as they then were by the sharpness of the laws against sectaries, and the popular odium that hung over papists. The project succeeded : the Roman-Catholics flocked to the new settlement in great numbers, especially on the decline of the royal cause ; and Maryland soon became a flourishing colony.(4)

(1) Hackluyt's *Collect.* vol. iii.

(2) Smith's *Hist. of Virginia.*

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) Douglas's *Summary*, Part II. sect. xv.

New England owed its rise to similar circumstances. A small body of the most enthusiastic Puritans, afterwards known by the name of Independents, in order to avoid the severity of the English laws against non-conformity, had taken refuge in Holland, soon after the accession of James I. But although Holland is a country of the greatest religious freedom, they did not find themselves better satisfied there than in England. They were tolerated indeed, but watched; their zeal began to have dangerous languors for want of opposition, and, being without power or consequence, they grew tired of the indolent security of their sanctuary. They were desirous of removing to a country where they should see no superior. With this view, they applied to the Plymouth Company, for a patent of part of the territory included in their grant. Pleased with this application, the company readily complied; and these pious adventurers having made the necessary preparations for their voyage, embarked in one ship, in 1620, to the number of a hundred and twenty persons, and landed at a place near Cape Cod, where they founded a settlement, to which they gave the name of New Plymouth. (1) Other adventurers, of the same complexion, successively followed those; (2) and New England, within fifty years, became a great and populous colony, consisting of several independent governments, which were little inclined to acknowledge the authority of the mother country.

Besides these large colonies in North America, the English had established a colony at Surinam, on the coast of Guiana, in South America, and taken possession of several of the West-India islands, early in the seventeenth century. Barbadoes and St. Christopher's were the first colonies before the conquest of Jamaica; and the rapid cultivation of that large and fertile island, which had been much neglected by the Spaniards, together with the improvement of her other plantations in the West-Indies, soon gave England the command of the sugar-trade of Europe. (3)

For the benefits of this, however, and of her whole colonial trade, England is ultimately indebted to the sagacity of the heads of the Commonwealth-parliament. They perceived that those subjects, who from various motives, had taken refuge in America, would be lost to the parent-state, if the ships of foreign powers were not excluded from the ports of the plantations. The discussion of that important point, with other political considerations, brought on the famous Navigation Act, which prohibits all foreign ships, unless under some particular exceptions, from entering the harbours of the English colonies, and obliges their principal produce to be exported directly to countries under the dominion of England.

Before this regulation, which was with difficulty submitted to by some of the colonies, and always evaded by the fanatical and factious inhabitants of

(1) Douglas. Hutchinson. Winslow, ap. Purchas.

(2) Among the number of persons so disposed, we are told, appeared John Hampden and Oliver Cromwell, who were only prevented from executing their purpose of going into voluntary exile, by a royal proclamation, issued after they were on shipboard, in 1628, prohibiting future emigrations, until a licence should be obtained from the privy council. (*Neale's History of the Puritans*, vol. ii.) The abolition of the puritanical writers on this subject is excessive. They ascribe all the subsequent misfortunes of Charles I. in connection with the scheme of Providence, to that tyrannical edict, as they are pleased to call it. (Neale, ubi sup. Harris's *Life of Oliver Cromwell*, &c.) Nor can the speculative politician help indulging a conjecture on the possible consequences of the emigration of two such extraordinary men, with that of others who would have followed them, at such a crisis. Charles I. roused to arms, but not crushed by the parliament, might have established absolute sovereignty in England; while Hampden founded a commonwealth, or Cromwell erected a military despotism, in America. Possessed of a boundless country, (for wherever they had gone they must have become leaders,) they could never have submitted to the control of any power on this side of the Atlantic. The work of ages would have been accomplished in a few years. Sooner than have borne such control, Hampden would have taken refuge in the woods; have associated with the wild natives, and enrolled them among the number of his citizens. Cromwell, in such emergency, would also have led his fanatical herd into the bosom of the forest: have hunted with the savages; have preached to them; have converted them; and when he had made them Christians, they would have found they were slaves!—Though destitute of the talents of a Hampden or a Cromwell, the emigrants to the northern plantations had strongly imbibed the sentiments of political as well as religious independency, which they have ever since continued to cherish.

(3) *Account of the European Settlements in America*, vol. ii.

New England, the colonists used to send their produce whithersoever they thought it could be disposed of to most advantage, and indiscriminately admitted into their harbours ships of all nations. In consequence of that unlimited freedom, the greater part of their trade fell into the hands of the Dutch, who, by reason of the low interest of money in Holland, and the reasonableness of their port duties, could afford to buy at the dearest, and sell at the cheapest rate; and who seized upon the profits of a variety of productions, which they had neither planted nor gathered. (1) The Navigation Act remedied this evil; and the English parliament, though aware of the inconveniences of such a regulation to the colonies, were not alarmed at its probable effects. They considered the empire only as a tree, whose sap must be returned to the trunk, when it flows too freely to some of the branches.

To all those settlements England thenceforth exported, without a rival, her various manufactures. From her islands in the West Indies they passed to the Spanish main, whence large sums were returned in exchange; and as it was long before her North American colonies began to think of manufacturing for themselves, the export thither was very great. Nor was her trade confined merely to America and the East and West Indies. Early in the sixteenth century she had opened a beneficial trade to Russia, by discovering a passage round the North Cape; and the ingenuity of her manufacturers, who now excelled the Flemings, to whom the greater part of her wool used formerly to be sold, insured her a market for her cloths in all the ports of the Mediterranean and the Baltic.

France, though at present so distinguished for her commerce and naval power, was late in establishing any permanent colony. She had yet no settlement in the East Indies; the colony of Canada was only in its infancy; her settlements in the West Indies were not formed; and the plantations in Martinico and Guadaloupe were very inconsiderable. Nor had her silk manufacture yet attained that high degree of perfection which afterward rendered it so great a source of wealth. (2)

Spain continued to receive annually immense sums from the mines of Mexico and Peru. Contiguous settlements and new governments were daily formed, and the demand for European goods was excessive. But as the decline of their manufactures obliged the Spaniards to depend upon foreigners for the supply of that demand, their wealth became the common property of Europe. The industrious manufacturer of every country had his share; and the conquerors of the New World found themselves dwindle into the factors of England and Holland.

Such, my dear Philip, was the commercial state of Europe, when Lewis XIV. assumed the reins of government, and Charles II. was restored to the throne of his ancestors. War continued to rage between the Spaniards and Portuguese; but, after an ambitious struggle of twenty-eight years, Spain was obliged to acknowledge, in 1668, the right of the family of Braganza to the crown of Portugal. The rest of Europe was in peace.

LETTER XII.

A general View of the Affairs of Europe, with a particular Account of those of England, from the Restoration of Charles II. in 1660, to the Triple Alliance, in 1668.

No prince ever had it more in his power to have rendered himself the favourite of his people, and his people great, flourishing, and happy, than Charles II. of England. They had generously restored him to the regal dignity, without imposing any new limitations on his prerogative. But their

(1) *Accounts of the European Settlements in America*, vol. ii.

(2) Raynal, *Hist. Philos. &c.*

Vol. II.

late violence, and the torrent of blood which had been shed, too strongly demonstrated the dread of popery, and their hatred of arbitrary sway, to permit the supposition that they would ever tamely suffer any trespass on their civil or religious liberties. If destitute of the sense of justice or of gratitude, the imprudence of his grandfather, the fatal catastrophe of his father, and ten years of exclusion, exile, and adversity, were surely sufficient to have taught him moderation; while the affectionate expressions of loyalty and attachment, which every where saluted his ears, demanded his most warm acknowledgments.

With loyalty, mirth and gaiety returned. That gloom which had so long overspread the island, gradually disappeared with those fanatical opinions that produced it. And if the king had made a proper use of his political situation, and of those natural and acquired talents which he so abundantly possessed, he might have held, with a high hand, the balance of Europe, and at the same time have restored the English nation (to use the memorable words of my lord Clarendon) to its *primitive temper and integrity*; to "its old good manners, its old good humour, and its old good nature." But an infatuated desire of governing without control, and also of changing the religion of the two British kingdoms, accompanied with a wasteful prodigality, which nothing could supply, lost him by degrees the hearts of his subjects, as we shall have occasion to see, and instead of the arbiter of Europe, made him a pensioner of France.

Charles was thirty years of age when he ascended the throne of his ancestors: and, considering his adverse fortune, and the opportunities he had enjoyed of mingling with the world, might have been supposed to be past the levities of youth and the intemperance of appetite. But being endowed with a strong constitution and a great flow of spirits, with a manly figure and an engaging manner, animal love was still his predominant passion, and amusement his chief occupation. He was not, however, incapable of application to business, nor unacquainted with affairs either foreign or domestic; but having been accustomed, during his exile, to live among his courtiers as a companion rather than a monarch, he loved to indulge, even after his restoration, in the pleasures of dissipated society as well as of unrestrained gallantry, and hated every thing that interfered with those favourite avocations. His example was contagious; a gross sensuality infected the court; and prodigality, debauchery, and irreligion, became the characteristics of the younger and more fashionable part of the nation. (1)

The king himself, who appears to have been little under the influence of either moral or religious principles, conscious of his own irregularities, could easily forgive the deviations of others, and admit an excuse for any system of opinions. Hence he gained the prodigate by indulgence, at the same time that he chose to flatter, by attentions, the pride of religion and virtue. This accommodating character, which through his whole reign was Charles's chief support, at first raised the highest idea of his judgment and impartiality. Without regard to former distinctions, he admitted into his council the most eminent men of all parties; the Presbyterians equally with the Royalists shared this honour. Nor was he less impartial in the distribution of honours. Admiral Montague was not only created earl of Sandwich, and Monk duke of Albemarle, promotions that might have been expected; but Annesley was created earl of Anglessey; Ashley Cooper, lord Ashley; and Denzil Hollis, lord Hollis.

Whatever might be the king's motive for such a conduct, whether a desire of lasting popularity, or merely of serving a temporary purpose, it must be allowed to have been truly political, as it contributed not only to banish the remembrance of past animosities, but to attach the leaders of the Presbyterians, who, beside having a principal share in the Restoration, were formidable by their numbers as well as by their property, and declared enemies to the Independents, and other republican sectaries. But the choice which Charles made of his ministers and principal servants more especially prog-

(1) Burnet, vol. i. book ii.

nosticated future happiness and tranquillity, and gave sincere pleasure to all the true friends of the constitution. Sir Edward Hyde, created earl of Clarendon, was made lord chancellor. He had been bred to the law, possessed great talents, was indefatigable in business, and very fit for the place of prime minister. The marquis, created duke of Ormond, less remarkable for his talents than his courtly accomplishments, his honour, and his fidelity, was constituted steward of the household; the earl of Southampton, a man of abilities and integrity, was appointed lord treasurer, and Sir Edward Nicholas and Mr. Morrice secretaries of state. The secretaries were both men of learning and virtue, but little acquainted with foreign affairs. (1)

These ministers entered into a free and open correspondence with the leading members of both houses; in consequence of which the *Convention* (as the assembly that accomplished the Restoration had been hitherto called, by being summoned without the king's authority) received the name of a parliament. All juridical degrees, passed during the commonwealth or protectorship, were affirmed; and an act of indemnity was passed conformable to the king's declaration from Breda. In that declaration Charles had wisely referred all exceptions to the parliament, which excluded such as had any immediate hand in the late king's death. Only six of the regicides, however, with four others, who had been abettors of their treason, were executed. The rest made their escape, were pardoned, or confined in different prisons. They all behaved with great firmness, and seemed to consider themselves as martyrs to their civil and religious principles. (2)

Lambert and Vane, though not immediately concerned in the late king's death, were also attainted. Lambert was pardoned, in consequence of his submission; but Vane, on account of his presumptuous behaviour during his trial, was executed. (3) The same lenity was extended to Scotland; where only the marquis of Argyre, and one Guthery, a seditious preacher, were executed. Argyre's case was thought peculiarly hard; but as Guthery had personally insulted the king, as well as pursued a conduct subversive of all legal authority, his fate was lamented only by the wildest fanatics. (4)

Notwithstanding these expiatory sacrifices, Charles's government was, for a time, remarkably mild and equitable. The first measure that excited any alarm was the act of conformity.

Had the convention-parliament, from a jealousy of royal power, exacted any conditions from the king, on his restoration, the establishment of the Presbyterian discipline would certainly have been one of them; not only because more favourable to civil liberty than episcopacy, in the opinion of the people, but more conformable to the theological ideas of the greater number of the members. No such stipulation, however, having been required, the church of England had good reason to expect that the hierarchy would recover its ancient rights, and again appear with undiminished splendour, as well as the monarchy. Charles, to whom the business of religion was wholly left, though inclined to revive episcopacy, was at a loss how to proceed. The Presbyterians, from their recent services, had claims upon his gratitude, and the episcopal clergy from their loyalty and former sufferings, in consequence of their attachment to the royal cause. As he wished to gain all parties by disobligeing none, he conducted himself with great moderation. At the same time that he restored the ejected clergy, and ordered the Liturgy to be received into the churches, he issued a declaration, in which he promised, That the bishops should all be regular and constant preachers; that they should not confer ordination, or exercise any jurisdiction, without the advice and assistance of Presbyters, chosen by the diocese; that such alterations should be made in the Liturgy as would render it totally unexceptionable; and that, in the mean time, the episcopal mode of worship should not be imposed on those who were unwilling to receive it. (5)

(1) Burnet, vol. i. book ii.

(2) *State Trials*, vol. ii.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) Burnet, *ubi sup.*

(5) *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxiii.

Such was the state of the church at the dissolution of the convention-parliament; which, while it guarded the legal rights of the crown, lately so violently invaded, never lost sight of the liberty of the subject, but maintained the happy medium between high prerogative and licentious freedom. The new parliament was of a very different complexion. The royalists, seconded by the influence of the crown, had prevailed in most elections. Not above seventy members of the Presbyterian party obtained seats in the house of commons; and these not being able either to oppose or retard the measures of the court, monarchy and episcopacy were now as much exalted as they had formerly been depressed.

An act was immediately passed for the security of the king's person and government, containing many severe clauses; and as the bishops, though restored to their spiritual authority, were still excluded from parliament, in consequence of a law passed by Charles I. immediately before the civil wars, that act was now repealed, and they were permitted to resume their seats in the house of lords. But what most remarkably manifested the zeal of the parliament for the church and monarchy was the Act of Uniformity, and the repeal of the Triennial Act. Instead of the exact stipulations of the latter, a general clause provided, that parliaments should not be interrupted above three years at most. By the Act of Uniformity it was required, that every clergyman, capable of holding a benefice, should possess episcopal ordination; should declare his assent to every thing contained in the Book of Common Prayer; should take the oath of canonical obedience, abjure the Solemn League and Covenant, and renounce the principle of taking arms against the king, on any pretence whatsoever.(1)

Thus was the church reinstated in her former power and splendour; and as the old persecuting laws subsisted in their full rigour, and even new clauses of a like nature were now enacted, all the king's promises of toleration and indulgence to tender consciences, in his declaration from Breda, were thereby eluded and broken. The more zealous of the Presbyterian clergymen, however, resolved to refuse the subscription, be the consequences what they might; though there is no doubt but they flattered themselves, that the bishops would not dare to expel so great a number of the most popular preachers in the kingdom. But in this hope they were deceived. The church, anticipating the pleasure of retaliation, had made the terms of subscription rigid, on purpose to disgust all the scrupulous Presbyterians, and deprive them of their livings;(2) and the court beheld, with equal satisfaction and astonishment, two thousand of the clergy, in one day, relinquish their cures, and sacrifice their interest to their religious opinions.

This measure, which united the Protestant dissenters in a common hatred of the church, and roused in the church a spirit of intolerance and persecution, was peculiarly impolitic and imprudent, as well as violent and unjust; more especially as the opportunity seemed fair for taking advantage of the resentments of the Presbyterians against the republican sects, and to draw them, without persecuting the others, by the cords of love into the pale of the church, instead of driving them back by severe usage into their ancient confederacies. A small relaxation in the terms of communion would certainly have been sufficient for that purpose. But the royal family and the Catholics, whose influence was great at court, had other views, with which the nation was then unacquainted, and which it must now be our business to unfold.

Charles, during his exile, had not only imbibed strong prejudices in favour of the Catholic religion, but had even been secretly reconciled in form to the church of Rome.(3) His brother, the duke of York, however, was a more sincere convert. James had zealously adopted all the absurd and pernicious principles of popery; and as he had acquired a great ascendancy over the king, by his talent for business, the severities in the Act of Uniformity had

(1) *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxiii.

(2) Burnet, vol. i. book ii.

(3) Burnet, book i.

been chiefly suggested by him and the earl of Bristol, also a zealous Catholic and a favourite at court. Sensible that undisguised popery could claim no legal indulgence, they inflamed the church-party against the Presbyterians: they encouraged the Presbyterians to stand out; and when, in consequence of these artifices, they saw so numerous and popular a body of the clergy ejected, they formed the plan of a general toleration, in hopes that the hated sect of the Catholics might pass unobserved in the crowd, and enjoy the same liberty with the rest.

The king, who had this measure more at heart than could have been expected from his seeming indifference to all religions, accordingly issued a declaration, under pretence of mitigating the rigours contained in the Act of Uniformity. After mentioning the promises of liberty of conscience contained in his declaration from Breda, he added, That although, in the first place, he had been zealous to settle the uniformity of the church of England, which he should ever maintain; yet in regard to the penalties upon those who do not conform thereunto, through scruple of conscience, but modestly and without scandal perform their devotions in their own way, he should make it his special care, so far as in him lay, without invading the freedom of parliament, to incline the members to concur with him in framing such an act for that purpose, as might enable him to exercise with more universal satisfaction that dispensing power, which he conceived to be inherent in him.(1) The parliament, however, alarmed at the idea of a *dispensing power* in the crown, and having a glimpse of the object for which it was to be exercised, came to a resolution, That the indulgence proposed would prove most pernicious both to church and state; would open a door to schism, encourage faction, disturb the public peace, and discredit the wisdom of the legislature.(2) And the court, having already gained so many points, judged it necessary to lay aside for a time the project of toleration. In the mean time the ejected clergymen were prosecuted with unrelenting rigour; severe laws being enacted, not only against conventicles, but against any non-conforming teacher coming within five miles of a corporation.

The Presbyterians in Scotland did not experience more favour than those in England. As Charles had made them no promises before his restoration, he resolved to pursue the absurd policy of his father and grandfather, of establishing episcopacy in that kingdom. In this resolution he was confirmed by his antipathy against the Scottish ecclesiastics, on account of the insults which he had received while amongst them. He therefore replied to the earl of Lauderdale, with more pertness than judgment, when pressed to establish presbytery, that, "it was not a religion for a gentleman!" and he could not agree to its farther continuance in Scotland.(3) Such a reason might have suited a fop in his dressing-room, or a jolly companion over his bottle, but was very unworthy of the head of a great monarchy. The consequences were such as might have been foreseen. A vast majority of the Scottish nation looked up with horror to the king and his ministers, and exposed themselves to the most severe persecutions rather than relinquish their form of worship.(4)

Certain political measures conspired with those of religion to diminish that popularity which the king had enjoyed at his restoration. His marriage with Catharine of Portugal, to which he was chiefly prompted by the largeness of her portion,(5) was by no means agreeable to his subjects, who were desirous, above all things, of his marrying a Protestant princess. The sale of Dunkirk to France, in order to supply his prodigality, occasioned universal disgust;(6) and the Dutch war, in which he is said to have en-

(1) *Kennet's Register*, p. 850.

(2) *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxiii.

(3) Burnet, vol. i. book ii.

(4) *Ibid.*

(5) She received with her five hundred thousand pounds sterling, the settlement of Bombay in the East Indies, and the fortress of Tangier on the coast of Africa.

(6) The sale of Dunkirk, though stigmatized as one of the worst measures of Charles's reign, was more blamable as a mark of meanness in the king than on account of

graced with a view of diverting part of the parliamentary aids to the supply of his own profusions, contributed still farther to increase the public dissatisfaction.* The particulars of that war it must now be our business to relate.

The reasons assigned for commencing hostilities against the United Provinces were, the depredations committed by the subjects of that republic upon the English traders in different parts of the world. But, unfortunately for Charles, these depredations, though sufficient to call up the keenest resentment, had all preceded the year 1662, when a treaty of league and alliance had been renewed between England and the States. This circumstance, however, was overlooked in the general jealousy of the Hollanders; who, by their persevering industry, as well as by other means, had of late greatly hurt the foreign trade of the English merchants. The king was resolved on a war, from which, in consequence of his superior naval force, he hoped to derive vast advantages: and being warmly seconded in his views by the city and parliament, sir Robert Holmes was secretly dispatched with a squadron to the coast of Africa; where he not only expelled the Dutch from Cape Corse, to which the English had some pretensions, but seized their settlements of Cape Verde and the isle of Goree, together with several trading vessels. Another squadron sailed soon after to North America, with three hundred men on board, under the command of sir Richard Nicholas, who took possession of the Dutch settlement of Nova Belgia, afterward called New York, in honour of the duke, who had obtained a grant of it from his brother.(1)

Since the death of William II. prince of Orange, who attempted, as we have already seen, to encroach on the liberties of the republic of Holland, the Dutch, conformable to their perpetual edict, had elected no stadtholder. The government had continued wholly in the hands of the Louvestein, or violent republican party, who were declared enemies against the house of Orange. This state of the affairs of the United Provinces could not be very agreeable to the king of England, who must naturally desire to see his nephew, William III. reinstated in that authority possessed by his ancestors. He is even suspected of a design, in conjunction with his brother, of rendering the young prince absolute, and bringing the States to a dependence on England. It is at least certain, that the famous John de Wit, pensionary of Holland, who was the soul of the republican party, and vested with almost dictatorial powers, afraid of some such design, had, soon after the Restoration, entered into close alliance with France.(2) This has since been thought bad policy: and it must be owned, that de Wit's antipathy against the family of Orange led him into measures not always advantageous to his country; but it ought at the same time to be remembered, that neither the genius of Lewis XIV. nor the resources of the French monarchy were then known.

De Wit, equally distinguished by his magnanimity, ability, and integrity; and who knew how to blend the moderate deportment of the private citizen with the dignity of the minister of state—de Wit, who had laid it down as a maxim, that no independent state ought ever tamely to suffer any breach of equity from another, whatever their disparity in force, when informed of the hostilities of England, did not hesitate a moment how to act. He immediately sent orders to de Ruyter, who was cruising with a fleet in the Mediterranean, for the purpose of chastising the piratical states of Barbary, to sail toward the coast of Guinea, and put the Hollanders again in possession of those settlements from which they had been violently expelled. The

its detriment to the nation. The charge of maintaining that fortress was very great, and the benefit arising from it small. It had then no harbour to receive vessels of burden; and Lewis XIV. who was a judge of such acquisitions, and who first made it a good sea-port, thought he had made a hard bargain, when he paid four hundred thousand pounds for it. *D'Estrades' Letters.*

(1) *King James's Memoirs.* This territory, as lying within the line of the English discoveries, had been formerly granted by James I. to the earl of Stirling; but it had never been planted, except by the Dutch.

(2) Basnage. Temple. Burnet.

Dutch admiral, who had a considerable body of land forces on board, recovered all the conquests of the English on the coast of Africa, except Cape Corse castle. He even dispossessed them of some of their old settlements; and sailing for America, he insulted Barbadoes, committed hostilities on Long Island, and took a considerable number of ships.(1)

A declaration of war was the consequence of these mutual hostilities, and both sides prepared for the most vigorous exertions of their naval strength. By the prudent management of de Wit, a spirit of union was preserved among the States; great sums were levied; and a navy, composed of larger ships than the Dutch had ever before sent to sea, was speedily equipped. Charles, who was perfectly acquainted with naval architecture, went himself from port to port, inspecting the dock-yards, and hastening the preparations. Sailors flocked from all quarters; and James duke of York, the king's brother, who had been originally designed for the head of the navy, and was now lord high-admiral of England, put to sea with a fleet of an hundred sail, besides fire-ships and bomb-ketches, and stood for the coast of Holland. Prince Rupert and the earl of Sandwich commanded under him. The Dutch fleet, of at least equal force, was commanded by Admiral Opdam, in conjunction with Evertson and young Tromp, son to the famous admiral of that name, killed in the former war. They declined not the combat. The sea was smooth, and not a cloud to be seen in the sky. The duke of York, in the royal Charles, bore down upon Opdam, and a furious battle began. The contest was continued for four hours with great obstinacy: at length Opdam's ship blew up; and the Dutch, discouraged by the awful fate of their admiral and his gallant crew, fled toward the Texel.(2) They lost near thirty ships, and their whole fleet might have been sunk or taken, had the English made a proper use of their victory. But unfortunately about midnight, orders were given to shorten sail;(3) so that, at morning, no hopes of overtaking the enemy remained. And thus was neglected an opportunity of destroying the naval force of the Dutch, which never returned in this, or in any succeeding war. The English lost only one ship.

The joy arising from the duke of York's naval victory, so highly extolled by the adherents of the court, was much diminished by the breaking out of the plague, which carried off near an hundred thousand persons in London in one year. The melancholy apprehensions occasioned by this calamity, added to the horrors of war, were increased by the prospect of new enemies. Lewis XIV. was obliged to assist the Dutch, in consequence of his alliance with de Wit and the States; and the king of Denmark, who was jealous of the naval power of England, engaged to furnish thirty ships in support of the same cause, for an annual subsidy of fifteen hundred thousand crowns.(4) De Wit, however, who was now blamed as the author of the war, did not trust to these alliances. He not only forwarded the naval preparations, but went on board the fleet himself; and so extensive was his genius, that he soon became as much master of sea affairs, as if he had been bred to them from his infancy. By his courage and capacity, he quickly remedied all the disorders occasioned by the late misfortune; infused new confidence into his party, and revived the declining valour of his countrymen.(5)

(1) *Basnage. Temple. Burnet.*

(2) *King James's Memoirs.*

(3) These orders were given by one Bronker, a gentleman of the duke's bedchamber while his master was asleep, and without his authority, if we believe the royal memorialist; and his behaviour during the action leaves us no room to suppose he could be afraid of a beaten and flying enemy. But it is nevertheless well known, that the same man may be a hero at noon, and a coward at midnight. In a word, it is highly improbable that Bronker should dare to give such orders of himself; and although we know nothing positively to the contrary, we are informed by Burnet, that the duke seemed very much struck when, understanding that he was likely to come up with the enemy, he was told by Pen, his captain, that he must "prepare for better work in the next engagement," as the Dutch always gather courage from despair. (*Hist. of his own Times*, vol. i. book ii.) This information Burnet had from the earl of Montague, who was then a volunteer on board the duke's ship.

(4) *Letts. Estrades.*

(5) *Basnage.*

In order to balance so formidable a combination, Charles attempted, but without success, to negotiate an alliance with Spain. Conscious, however, that Lewis could have no serious purpose of exalting the power of Holland, and elated with recent success, he was not alarmed at the number of his enemies; though every shore was hostile to the English seamen, from the extremity of Norway to the coast of Bayonne. A formidable fleet of seventy-eight sail of the line, commanded by the duke of Albemarle and prince Rupert, seemed to justify the confidence of the king. But unfortunately this force was divided in the moment of danger. It having been reported, that the duke of Beaufort had entered the Channel, with a French fleet of forty sail, prince Rupert was detached with twenty sail to oppose him. Meanwhile the Dutch fleet, to the number of ninety sail, commanded by de Ruyter and Tromp, had put to sea; and Albemarle, notwithstanding his inferiority, rashly sought an engagement.⁽¹⁾ But his valour atoned for his temerity. The battle that ensued was one of the most memorable in the annals of mankind; whether we consider its duration, or the desperate courage with which it was fought.

Four days did the combat rage, without any appearance of valour slackening on either side. The Dutch had the advantage in the action of the first day; yet Albemarle, in engaging de Ruyter, had showed himself worthy of his former renown. Two Dutch admirals were slain, and three English ships taken. One Dutch ship was burnt. Darkness parted the combatants. Next morning the battle was renewed with redoubled fierceness; and the Dutch were ready to give way, when they were reinforced with sixteen capital ships. The English now found that the most heroic valour cannot counterbalance the superiority of numbers, against an enemy not defective either in courage or conduct. Albemarle, however, would yield to nothing but the interposition of night; and, although he had lost no ships in this second action, he found his force so much weakened, that he resolved to take advantage of the darkness and retire. But the vigilance of the enemy, and the shattered condition of his fleet, prevented him from fully executing his design. Before morning, however, he was able to make some way; and it was four in the afternoon before de Ruyter could come up with him. His disabled ships were ordered to make all the sail possible, and keep a-head, while he himself closed the rear with sixteen of the most entire, and presented an undaunted countenance to the Hollanders. Determined to perish sooner than to strike, he prepared to renew the action. But as he was sensible the probability of success was against him, he declared to the earl of Ossory, son of the duke of Ormond, who was then on board with him, his intention to blow up his ship rather than fall into the hands of the enemy: and that gallant youth applauded the desperate resolution. But fortune rescued both from such a violent death, at the same time that it saved the English navy. A fleet being descried before the action was renewed, suspense for a time restrained the rage of the combatants. One party concluded it to be the duke of Beaufort, the other prince Rupert, and both rent the sky with their shouts. At length, to the unspeakable joy of the English, it was discovered to be the prince. Night prevented an immediate renewal of the action, but next morning the battle raged with more intenseness than ever. Through the whole fourth day the contest remained doubtful; and toward evening both fleets, as if weary of carnage, retired under a thick fog to their respective harbours.⁽²⁾

But the English admirals were men of too high valour to be satisfied with less than victory. While they sent the disabled ships to different docks to be refitted, they remained on board their own. The whole fleet was soon ready to put to sea, and a new engagement was immediately sought. Nor was it long denied them. Ruyter and Tromp, with the Dutch fleet, consisting of about eighty sail, had posted themselves at the mouth of the Thames, in hopes of being joined by a French squadron, and of riding triumphant in the Channel. There they were descried by the English fleet under prince Ru-

(1) *Clarendon's Life. Contin. of Baker.*

(2) *Basnage. Clarendon. Heath.*

pert and Albemarle. The force on both sides was nearly equal. The Dutch bore toward the coast of Holland, but were closely pursued. At length they formed themselves in order of battle, and a terrible conflict ensued. Sir Thomas Allen, who commanded the English white squadron, attacked the Dutch van with irresistible fury, and killed the three admirals who commanded it. Tromp engaged, and defeated sir Jeremy Smith, admiral of the blue; but unfortunately for his countrymen, by pursuing too eagerly, he was utterly separated from the Dutch centre, where his assistance was much wanted. Meanwhile de Ruyter, who occupied that dangerous station, maintained with equal conduct and courage the combat against the centre of the English fleet, commanded by Rupert and Albemarle. Overpowered by numbers, his high spirit was at last obliged to submit to a retreat, which he conducted with the greatest ability; yet could he not help exclaiming, in the agony of his heart, "My God! what a wretch am I, to be compelled to submit to this disgrace!—Among so many thousand bullets, is there not one to put an end to my miserable life?" Tromp too, after all his success, was obliged to yield to the combined efforts of the English red and blue squadrons. (1)

Though the loss sustained by the Dutch in this engagement was not very considerable, it occasioned great consternation among the provinces. The defeat of their fleet filled them with the most melancholy apprehensions. Some of these were soon realized. The English, now absolute masters of the sea, rode in triumph along the coast, and insulted the Hollanders in their harbours. A squadron, under sir Robert Holmes, entered the road of Vlie, and burnt two men of war and a hundred and forty rich merchantmen, together with the large village of Brandaris; the whole damage being computed at several millions sterling. (2)

The situation of de Wit was now truly critical. The Dutch merchants, uniting themselves with the Orange faction, violently exclaimed against an administration, which, as they pretended, had brought disgrace and ruin on their country. But the firm and intrepid mind of de Wit supported him under all his difficulties and distresses. Having quieted the provinces of Holland and Zealand, he gave himself little trouble about the murmurs of the rest, as they contributed but little toward the public expense. The fleet of the republic was refitted in an incredibly short time, and again sent to sea under de Ruyter; and the king of France, though pleased to see England and Holland weakening each other's naval force, hastened the sailing of the duke of Beaufort, lest a second defeat should oblige his friend de Wit to abandon his dangerous station. (3) Such a defeat would certainly have happened to one, if not to both fleets, had not a violent storm obliged prince Rupert to retire into St. Helen's. While he remained there, repairing the damages he had sustained, de Ruyter, who had taken shelter in the road of Boulogne, returned home with his fleet in a sickly condition. The duke of Beaufort, who came too late to form a junction with the Dutch admiral, passed between and down the Channel without being observed by the English fleet; and Louis XIV. anxious for the safety of his infant navy, which he had reared with much care and industry, dispatched orders to Beaufort to make the best of his way to Brest. (4)

The same storm which, by sea, prevented prince Rupert from annoying the French and Dutch fleets, promoted a dreadful calamity on land. A fire broke out, at one in the morning, in a baker's shop near London-bridge, and had acquired great force before it was observed. The neighbouring houses were chiefly composed of wood; the weather had long been remarkably dry; the streets were narrow, and the wind blew violently from the east; so that the flames spread rapidly from house to house, and from street to street, till the whole city was in a blaze. Terror and consternation seized on the distracted inhabitants, who considered the conflagration, so fast fol-

(1) Basnage. Clarendon. Heath.

(2) Clarendon. Heath.

(3) Basnage. Le Clerc.

(4) Clarendon's Life. Contin. of Baker.

lowing the plague, as another visitation from Heaven, on account of the crimes of the court; or as a conspiracy of the papists, in conjunction with France, for the extirpation of all true religion. Suspicions even extended to the royal family.(1) Three nights and three days did the flames rage with increasing fury: on the fourth day, the wind falling, the fire ceased in a manner as wonderful as its progress. Of twenty-six wards, into which the city was divided, fifteen were burnt down; four hundred streets and lanes, and thirteen thousand houses were destroyed.(2) But this calamity, though severely felt at the time, has eventually contributed to the health, safety, and future conveniency of the inhabitants of London, by the judicious method observed in constructing the new buildings;(3) and, what is truly remarkable, it does not appear that, during the whole conflagration, one life was lost either by fire or otherwise.

Though the most judicious historians leave us no room to suppose that either the Catholics or the court had any concern in the fire of London, the very suspicion of such a conspiracy is a proof of the jealousy entertained of the measures of government. This jealousy was chiefly occasioned by the severities exercised against the Presbyterians and other non-conformists, who still composed the majority of the people of England; and by the secret favour shewn to the Catholics, who, though proscribed by many laws, seldom felt the rigour of any.

The non-conformists in Scotland were, if possible, still more harshly treated. In consequence of the introduction of episcopacy, a mode of worship extremely obnoxious to the great body of the Scottish nation, three hundred and fifty parish churches had been at once declared vacant. New ministers were sought for all over the kingdom, and the churches filled with men of the most abandoned characters. No candidate was so ignorant or vicious as to be rejected. The people, who were extremely devoted to their former teachers (men remarkable for the austerity of their manners and their fervour in preaching), could not conceal their indignation against these intruders, whose debaucheries filled them with horror. They followed the ejected clergymen to the woods and mountains, where multitudes assembled to listen to their pious discourses; and while this pleasure was allowed them, they discovered no symptoms of sedition. But when the Scottish parliament, which was wholly under the influence of the court, framed a law against conventicles, similar to that severe act passed in England, the people took the alarm;—and the cruelties and oppressions, exercised in enforcing this law, at last roused them to rebellion.(4)

The inhabitants of the western counties, where religious zeal has always been more ardent than in any other part of Scotland, rose in arms, to the number of two thousand, and renewed the Covenant. They conducted themselves, however, in a harmless and inoffensive manner, committing no kind of violence, nor extorting any thing by force; and they published a manifesto, in which they professed their loyalty and submission to the king, and only desired the re-establishment of Presbytery and their former ministers. As most of the gentlemen of their party in the West had been confined on suspicion of an insurrection, they marched toward Edinburgh, in hopes of being joined by some men of rank; but finding themselves deceived, many dispersed, and the rest were marching back to their own country, when they were attacked by the king's forces, and routed at Pentland Hills. A considerable number of prisoners were taken, and treated with great severity: ten were hanged on one gibbet at Edinburgh, and thirty-five before their own doors, in different parts of the country.(5)

(1) Burnet, book ii.

(2) *King James's Mem. Clarendon's Life.* Burnet, ubi sup.

(3) The streets were not only made wider, and more regular than formerly, but the houses were formed of less combustible materials, the use of tith and plaster being prohibited.

(4) Not only such as frequented conventicles were punished to the utmost rigour of the law, but when it was found that the head of any family did not regularly go to church, soldiers were quartered upon him, till he paid a due attendance. Burnet, book ii.

(5) Burnet, vol. i. book ii.

All these men might have saved their lives, if they would either have renounced the Covenant or discovered any of their associates; but, though mostly persons of mean condition, they adhered inviolably to their faith and friendship. Maccail, one of their teachers, supposed to have been deep in the secrets of his party, was put to the torture, in order to extort a confession, but without effect. He bore his sufferings with great constancy; and expiring under them, seemed to depart in a transport of joy. "Farewell sun, moon, and stars," said he;—"farewell kindred and friends; farewell weak and frail body; farewell world and time: welcome eternity, welcome angels and saints, welcome Saviour of the world, and welcome God the judge of all!"⁽¹⁾ These words he uttered with a voice and manner that made a great impression upon all that heard him, and contributed not a little to inflame the zeal of his partisans. Conventicles continued to be attended in defiance of all the rigours of government, though these were extended to a degree of severity that was disgraceful to humanity.

The state of Ireland was no less deplorable than that of Scotland; but the miseries of the Irish proceeded from other causes. Those it must now be our business to trace.

Cromwell having expelled, without distinction, all the native Irish from their three principal provinces, Munster, Leinster, and Ulster, had confined them to Connaught and the county of Clare. And although those who had thus been expelled were generally Catholics, many of them were altogether innocent of the massacre which had drawn so much odium on their countrymen of that religion. Several Protestants too, and the duke of Ormond among the rest, who had uniformly opposed the Irish rebellion, were also attainted, because they had afterward embraced the king's cause against the parliament. To all these unhappy sufferers, some relief seemed due after the Restoration: but the difficulty was, how to find the means of redressing such great and extensive grievances.

The most valuable lands in Ireland had been already measured out and divided, either among the adventurers who had lent money to the parliament for the suppression of the popish conspiracy, or among the soldiers who had accomplished that business. These men could not be dispossessed; because they were the most powerful, and only armed part of the inhabitants of Ireland; because it was necessary to favour them, in order to support the Protestant and English interest in that kingdom; and because they had generally, with seeming zeal and alacrity, concurred in the king's Restoration. Charles, therefore, issued a proclamation, in which he promised to maintain their settlement: and he at the same time engaged to yield redress to the innocent sufferers.⁽²⁾

There was a considerable quantity of land still undivided in Ireland; and from this and other funds, it was thought possible for the king to fulfil his engagements, without disturbing the present landholders. A Court of Claims was accordingly erected, consisting altogether of English commissioners, who had no connection with any of the parties into which Ireland was divided; and the duke of Ormond, being supposed the only person whose prudence and justice could compose such jarring interests, was created lord-lieutenant. The number of claims presented spread universal anxiety and alarm; but after a temporary ferment, all parties seemed willing to abate somewhat of their pretensions, in order to obtain stability. Ormond interposed his authority to that purpose. The soldiers and adventurers agreed to relinquish a fourth of their possessions: all those who had been attainted on account of their adherence to the king, were restored, and some of the innocent Catholics.⁽³⁾

In consequence of this settlement, Ireland began to acquire a degree of composure, when it was disturbed by an impolitic act, passed by the English parliament, prohibiting the importation of Irish cattle into England.

(1) Burnet, vol. i. book ii.

(2) Carte's *Life of the duke of Ormond*, vol. ii. Hume, vol. vii.

(3) *Id. ibid.*

Ormond remonstrated strongly against that law. He said, that the trade then carried on between England and Ireland was extremely to the advantage of the former kingdom, which received only provisions, or rude materials, in return for every species of manufacture; that if the cattle of Ireland were prohibited, the inhabitants of that island had no other commodity with which they could pay England for their importations, and must therefore have recourse to other nations for a supply; that the industrious part of the inhabitants of England, if deprived of Irish provisions, which made living cheap, would be obliged to augment the price of labour, and thereby render their manufactures too dear to be exported with advantage to foreign markets.(1)

The king was so well convinced of the force of these arguments that he used all his interest to oppose the bill, and declared that he could not give his assent to it with a safe conscience. But the commons were obstinate, and Charles was in want of supply: he was therefore impelled by his fears of a refusal, to pass it into a law.(2) The event, however, justified the reasoning of Ormond. This severe law brought great distress upon Ireland for a time; but it has proved in the issue beneficial to that kingdom, and hurtful to England, by obliging the Irish to apply with more industry to manufactures, and to cultivate a commercial correspondence with France.

These grievances and discontents in all the three kingdoms, and the little success in a war from which the greatest advantages were expected, induced the king to turn his thoughts towards peace. The Dutch, whose trade had suffered extremely, were no less disposed to such a measure; and after some ineffectual conferences, held in the queen-mother's apartments at Paris, it was agreed to transfer the negotiation to Breda. The English ambassadors, lord Hollis and Henry Coventry, immediately desired, that a suspension of hostilities should be agreed to, until the several claims could be adjusted; but this proposal, seemingly so natural, was rejected through the influence of the penetrating de Wit. That able and active minister, perfectly acquainted with the characters of the contending princes, and with the situation of affairs in Europe, had discovered an opportunity of striking a blow, which might at once restore to the Dutch the honour lost during the war, and severely revenge those injuries which he ascribed to the wanton ambition and injustice of the English monarch.(3)

The expense of the naval armaments of England had been so great, that Charles had not hitherto been able to convert to his own use any of the money granted him by parliament. He therefore resolved to save, as far as possible, the last supply of one million eight hundred thousand pounds, for the payment of his debts. This sum, which was thought by his wisest ministers too small to enable him to carry on the war with vigour, afforded the profuse and needy monarch a pretence for laying up his first and second rate ships. Nor did that measure appear highly reprehensible, as the immediate prospect of peace seemed sufficient to free the king from all apprehensions of danger from his enemies. But de Wit, who was informed of this supine security, protracted the negotiations at Breda, and hastened the naval preparations of Holland. The Dutch fleet, under de Ruyter, took possession of the mouth of the Thames; while a squadron commanded by Van Ghent, assisted by an east wind and a spring tide, after reducing Sheerness, broke a chain which had been drawn across the river Medway, and destroyed three ships stationed to guard it; advanced as far as Chatham, and burned the Royal Oak, the Loyal London, and the Great James, all first rates, and carried off the hull of the Royal Charles.(4)

The destruction of the ships at Chatham drew the city of London into the utmost consternation. It was apprehended the Dutch would next sail up

(1) Carte, ubi sup.

(2) *Parl. Hist.* vol. xliii.

(3) Baanage.

(4) *Clarendon's Life. King James's Mem.* Captain Douglas, who commanded on board the Royal Oak, perished in the flames, though he had an easy opportunity of escaping. "Never was it known," said he, "that a Douglas quitted his post without orders!" Temple, vol. ii.

the Thames, and that they might carry their hostilities even as far as London-bridge. Nine ships were sunk at Woolwich, five at Blackwall; platforms were built in many places, furnished with artillery; the country was armed, and the train-bands of the city were called out. These precautions, and the difficult navigation of the Thames, induced de Ruyter to steer his course to the westward. He made a fruitless attempt upon Portsmouth, and also on Plymouth; he returned to the mouth of the Thames, where he was not more successful; but he rode triumphant in the Channel for several weeks, and spread universal alarm along the coast.(1)

These fears, however, were soon dispelled by the signing of the treaty at Breda. In order to facilitate that measure, so necessary in his present distressed situation, Charles had instructed his ambassadors to recede from those demands which had hitherto obstructed the negotiation. No mention was now made of the restitution of the island of Polorone in the East Indies, which had formerly been insisted on; nor was any satisfaction required for those depredations, which had been assigned as the cause of the war. England, however, retained possession of New York; and the English settlement of Surinam, which had been reduced by the Dutch, was ceded to the republic.(2)

But this pacification, though it removed the apprehensions of danger, by no means quieted the discontents of the people. All men of spirit were filled with indignation at the improvidence of government, and at the avarice, meanness, and prodigality of the king, who, in order to procure money to squander upon his pleasures, had left his kingdom exposed to insult and disgrace. In a word, the shameful conclusion of the Dutch war totally dispelled that delirium of joy which had been occasioned by the Restoration; and the people, as if awaking from a dream, wondered why they had been pleased.

Charles, who, amid all his dissipations, possessed and even employed a considerable share of political sagacity, as well as address, resolved to attempt the recovery of his popularity, by sacrificing his minister to the national resentment. The plan in part succeeded, as it seemed to indicate a change of measures, at the same time that it presented a grateful offering to an offended people.

Though the earl of Clarendon had for some time lost the confidence of his sovereign, by the austerity of his manners and the severity of his remonstrances, he was still considered by the public as the head of the cabinet, and regarded as the author of every unpopular measure since the Restoration. The king's marriage, in which he had merely acquiesced; the sale of Dunkirk, to which he had only given his assent, as one of the council; the Dutch war which he had opposed; and all the persecuting laws against the different sectaries, were universally ascribed to him. The Catholics knew him to be the declared enemy of their principles, both civil and religious: so that he was exposed, one way or other, to the hatred of every party in the nation. This general odium afforded the king a pretence for depriving him of the seals, and dismissing him from his councils; and the parliament, to whom Charles ungenerously gave the hint, first impeached, and then banished him.(3) Conscious of his own innocence, and unwilling to disturb the tranquillity of the state, the chancellor made no defence, but quietly submitted to his sentence. And this cruel treatment of so good a minister, by a kind of tacit combination of prince and people, is a striking example of the ingratitude of the one, and of the ignorance and injustice of the other; for if Clarendon was not a great, he was at least an upright, and even an able statesman. He was, to use the words of his friend Southampton, "a true Protestant, and an honest Englishman;" equally attentive to the just prerogatives of the crown, and to the constitutional liberties of the subject, whatever errors he might be guilty of either in foreign or domestic politics.

The king's next measure, namely the Triple Alliance, was no less popular,

(1) *Clarendon's Life. King James's Men.*

(2) *Clarendon, ubi sup.*

(3) *King James's Memoirs. Clarendon's Life.*

and more deserving of praise. But before I speak of that alliance, we must take a view of the state of France and Spain.

Lewis XIV. who assumed the reins of government nearly at the same time that Charles II. was restored to the throne of his ancestors, possessed every quality that could flatter the pride, or conciliate the affections of a vain-glorious people. The manly beauty of his person, in which he surpassed all his courtiers, was embellished with a noble air; the dignity of his behaviour was tempered with affability and politeness; and if he was not the greatest king, he was at least, to use the words of my lord Bolingbroke, "the best actor of majesty that ever filled a throne."⁽¹⁾ Addicted to pleasure, but decent even in his sensualities, he set an example of elegant gallantry to his subjects; while he elated their vanity, and gratified their passion for shew, by the magnificence of his palaces and the splendour of his public entertainments. Though illiterate himself, he was a munificent patron of learning and the polite arts; and men of genius, not only in his own kingdom, but all over Europe, experienced the fostering influence of his liberality.

Dazzled with the lustre of so many shining qualities, and proud to participate in the glory of their young sovereign, the French nation submitted without murmuring to the most violent stretches of arbitrary power. This submissive loyalty, combined with the ambition of the prince, the industry and ingenuity of the people, and her own internal tranquillity, made France, which had long been distracted by domestic factions, and overshadowed by the grandeur of the Spanish monarchy, now appear truly formidable to the neighbouring kingdoms. Colbert, an able and active minister, had put the finances into excellent order; enormous sums were raised for the public service; a navy was created, and a great standing army supported, without being felt by that populous and extensive kingdom.

Conscious of his power and his resources, the French monarch had early given symptoms of that haughty spirit, that restless ambition, and insatiable thirst of glory, which so long disturbed the peace of Europe. A quarrel having happened, in London, between the French and Spanish ambassadors, on account of their claims to precedence, Lewis threatened to commence hostilities, unless the superiority of his crown was acknowledged; and was not satisfied till the court of Madrid sent a solemn embassy to Paris, and promised never more to revive such claims. His treatment of the pope was still more arrogant. Crequi, the French ambassador at Rome, having met with an affront from the guards of Alexander VII. that pontiff was obliged to punish the offenders, to send his nephew into France to ask pardon, and to allow a pillar to be erected in Rome itself, as a monument of his own humiliation. Nor did England escape experiencing the lofty spirit of Lewis. He refused to pay the honours of the flag; and prepared himself with such vigour for resistance, that the too easy Charles judged it prudent to desist from his pretensions. "The king of England," said he, to his ambassador d'Estrades, "may know the amount of my force, but he knows not the elevation of my mind. Every thing appears to me contemptible in comparison of glory."⁽²⁾

These were strong indications of the character of the French monarch; but the first measure that gave general alarm was the invasion of the Spanish Netherlands.

Though Lewis XIV. by the treaty of the Pyrenees, had solemnly renounced all title to the succession of any part of the Spanish dominions, which might occur in consequence of his marriage with the infanta Maria Theresa, he had still kept in view, as a favourite object, the eventual succession to the whole of that monarchy; and on the death of his father-in-law, Philip IV. he retracted his renunciation, and pretended that natural rights, depending on blood and succession, could not be annihilated by any extorted deed or contract. Philip had left a son, Charles II. of Spain, a sickly infant, whose death was daily expected; but as the queen of France was the offspring of a

(1) *Letters on the Study and Use of History.*

(2) *D'Estrades' Letters.*

prior marriage, she laid claim to a considerable province of the Spanish monarchy, to the exclusion even of her brother. This claim was founded on a custom in some parts of Brabant, where a female of a first marriage was preferred to a male of a second, in the succession to private inheritances; and from which Lewis inferred, that his queen had acquired a right to the sovereignty of that important duchy.

Such an ambitious claim was more fit to be adjusted by military force than by argument; and, in that kind of dispute, the king of France was sensible of his superiority. He had only to contend with a weak woman, Mary Anne of Austria, queen regent of Spain, who was entirely governed by father Nitard, her confessor, a German Jesuit, whom she had placed at the head of her councils, after appointing him grand inquisitor. The ignorance and arrogance of this priest are sufficiently displayed in his well known reply to the duke of Lerma, who had treated him with disrespect: "You ought to revere the man," said he, "who has every day your God in his hands, and your queen at his feet."⁽¹⁾

Father Nitard and his mistress had left the Spanish monarchy defenceless in every quarter: but had the towns in the Low Countries been more strongly garrisoned, and the fortifications in better repair, the king of France was prepared to overcome all difficulties. He entered Flanders at the head of forty thousand men: Turenne commanded under him; and Louvois, his minister for military affairs, had placed large magazines in all their frontier towns. The Spaniards, though apprized of their danger, were in no condition to resist such a force. Charleroy, Aeth, Tournay, Furnes, Armentiers, Courtray, and Douay, immediately surrendered; and Lisle, though well fortified, and furnished with a garrison of six thousand men, capitulated after a siege of nine days. Louvois advised the king to leave garrisons in all these towns, and the celebrated Vauban was employed to fortify them.⁽²⁾

A progress so rapid filled Europe with terror and consternation. Another campaign, it was supposed, might put Lewis in possession of all the Low Countries. The Dutch were particularly alarmed at the prospect of having their frontier exposed to so powerful and ambitious a neighbour. But, in looking around them, they saw no means of safety: for although the emperor and the German princes discovered evident symptoms of discontent, their motions were slow and backward; and no dependence, the States thought, could be placed on the variable and impolitic councils of the king of England. Contrary to all expectation, however, the English monarch resolved to take the first step toward a confederacy, which should apparently have for its object the restraining of the power and the ambitious pretensions of France.

Sir William Temple, the English resident at Brussels, received orders to go secretly to the Hague for this purpose. Frank, open, sincere, and superior to the little arts of vulgar politicians, Temple met in de Wit with a man of the same generous sentiments and honourable views. He immediately disclosed his master's intentions; and, although jealousy of the family of Orange might inspire de Wit with an aversion against a strict union with England, he patriotically resolved to sacrifice every private consideration to the public safety. Lewis, dreading a general combination, had offered to relinquish all his queen's rights to Brabant, on condition either of keeping the conquests he had made last campaign, or of receiving instead of them Franche-Compte, Aire, and St. Omer. De Wit and Temple founded their treaty upon that proposal: they agreed to offer their mediation to the contending powers, and to oblige France to adhere to this alternative, and Spain to accept it.⁽³⁾ A defensive alliance was at the same time concluded

(1) Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. vii.

(2) *Ib.* The citadel of Lisle was the first fort constructed according to his new principles.

(3) Temple at first insisted on an offensive league between England and Holland, in order to oblige France to relinquish all her conquests; but this de Wit considered as too strong a measure to be agreed to by the States. The French monarch, he said, was young, haughty, and powerful: and if treated in so imperious a manner, would expose himself to the greatest extremities rather than submit. *Temple's Memoirs*, part. I.

between England and Holland; and room being left for the accession of Sweden, which was soon after obtained, that kingdom also became a principal in the treaty.

This alliance, which has always been considered as the wisest measure in the disgraceful reign of Charles II. restored England to her proper station in the scale of Europe, and highly exalted the consequence of Holland. Yet it is somewhat surprising, that the same confederacy which was concerted to put a stop to the conquests of Lewis XIV. did not also require a positive renunciation of his unjust pretensions to the Spanish succession; for if his former renunciations were no bar to the supposed rights accruing to Maria Theresa his queen, on the death of her father Philip IV. they could be none to the rights that would accrue to her and her children on the death of her brother Charles, whose languishing state of health left no room to hope that he could ever live to have offspring. But our surprise on this account ceases, when we are told, that the king of England was actuated by no views of general policy; that to acquire a temporary popularity with his subjects, to ruin de Wit, by detaching him from France, and, in consequence of his fall, to raise the family of Orange, were Charles's only motives for standing forth as the head of the Triple Alliance.(1) It gave, however, at the time, great satisfaction to the contracting powers, and filled the negotiators with the highest joy. "At Bréda, as friends!"—cried Temple;—"here as brothers!" and de Wit added, that now the business was finished, it looked like a miracle.(2)

France and Spain were equally displeased at the terms of this treaty. Lewis was enraged to find limits set to his ambition; for although his own offer was made the basis of the league, that offer had only been thrown out, in order to allay the jealousy of the neighbouring powers, and to keep them in a state of inaction, till he had reduced the whole ten provinces of the Low Countries. Spain was no less dissatisfied at the thought of being obliged to give up so many important places, on account of such unjust claims, and unprovoked hostilities. At length, however, both agreed to treat, and the plenipotentiaries of all the parties met at Aix-la-Chapelle; where Spain, from a consciousness of her own weakness, accepted of the alternative offered by France, but in a way that occasioned general surprise, and gave much uneasiness to the Dutch. Lewis, under pretence of enforcing the peace, had entered Franche-Comté in the month of February, and reduced the whole province in a few weeks. Spain chose to recover this province, and to abandon all the towns conquered in Flanders during the last campaign;(3) so that the French monarch still extended his garrisons into the heart of the Low Countries, and but a slender barrier remained to the United Provinces. But as the Triple League guaranteed the remaining provinces of Spain, and the emperor and the German princes, whose interests appeared to require its support, were invited to enter into the same confederacy, Lewis, it was thought, could entertain no views of prosecuting his conquests in the quarter which lay most exposed to his ambition.

Other circumstances seemed to combine to ensure the balance of Europe. After a ruinous war of almost thirty years, carried on by Spain, in order to recover the sovereignty of Portugal, and attended with various success, an equitable treaty had at last been concluded between the two crowns, in consequence of which the independency of Portugal was acknowledged.(4)

(1) *Mem. de Gourville*, tom. ii. See also Macpherson's *Hist. of Britain*, vol. i. and Dalrymple's *Append.*

(2) *Temple's Mem.* part. i.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) This treaty, which was concluded through the mediation of the king of England, and to which a body of English troops had greatly contributed by their valour, was partly connected with a very singular revolution. Alphonso VI. (son of the famous duke of Braganza, who had encouraged the Portuguese to shake off the Spanish yoke, and who was rewarded with the crown) a weak and profligate prince, had offended his subjects by suffering himself to be governed by the mean companions of his pleasures. His queen, daughter of the duke of Nemours, attracted by the more agreeable qualities of his brother Don Pedro, forsook his bed, and fled to a monastery. She accused him of debility both of body and mind, sued for a divorce, and put herself, in the mean time, under the

Being now free from so formidable a foe, Spain might be expected to exert more vigour in defence of her possessions in the Low Countries; and the satisfaction expressed in England on account of the late treaty, promised the most hearty concurrence of the parliament in every measure that should be proposed for confining the dangerous greatness of France.

But the bold ambition of Lewis XIV. aided by the pernicious policy of the faithless Charles, soon broke through all restraints; and, as we shall afterwards have occasion to see, set at defiance more formidable confederacies than the Triple Alliance.

LETTER XIII.

The General View of the Affairs of Europe continued from the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1668, to the Peace of Nimeguen, in 1678.

As the most trivial causes frequently produce the greatest events, in like manner, my dear Philip, the slightest circumstances are often laid hold of by ambition, as a pretext for its devastations—for deluging the earth with blood, and trampling upon the rights of mankind. Though Lewis XIV. was highly incensed at the republic of Holland, for pretending to prescribe limits to his conquests, and had resolved upon revenge; yet his resentment seems to have been more particularly roused by the arrogance of Van Beuninghen, the Dutch ambassador. This republican, who, although but a burgomaster of Amsterdam, possessed the vivacity of a courtier and the abilities of a statesman, took a peculiar pleasure in mortifying the pride of the French monarch, when employed in negotiating the treaty at Aix-la-Chapelle. "Will you not trust to the king's word?"—said M. de Lionne to him in a conference. "I know not what the king will do," replied he:—"but I know what he can do." (1) A medal is also mentioned, though seemingly without foundation, on which Van Beuninghen (his Christian name being *Joshua*) was represented, in allusion to the scripture, as arresting the sun in his course:—and the sun was the device chosen for Lewis XIV. by his flatterers! (2) It is certain, however, that the States ordered a medal to be struck, on which, in a pompous inscription, the republic is said to have conciliated kings, and restored tranquillity to Europe.

These were unpardonable affronts in the eyes of a young and haughty monarch, surrounded by minions and mistresses, and stimulated by an insatiable thirst of glory. But whilst Lewis was making preparations for chastising the insolence of the Dutch, or rather for the conquest of Holland, his love of fame was attracted by a new object, and part of his forces employed against an enemy more deserving the indignation of the *Most Christian King*.

The Turks, after a long interval of inaction, were again become formidable to Europe. The grand vizier, Kupruli, who at once directed the councils and conducted the armies of the Porte, had entered Hungary at the head of an hundred thousand men, in 1664; and although he was defeated, in a great battle, near St. Godard upon the Raab, by the imperial troops, under the famous Montecuculi, the Turks obtained a favourable peace from Leopold, who was threatened with a revolt of the Hungarians. The Hungarian nobles, whose privileges had been invaded by the emperor, flew to arms, and even craved the assistance of the Turks, their old and irrecon-

protection of the church. A faction seized the wretched Alphonso, who was confined in the island of Tercera; while his brother, who immediately married the queen, was declared regent of the kingdom in the assembly of the States. (Vertot *Hist. de la Revol. de Port.*) Don Pedro, a prince of abilities, was preparing to assert with vigour the independency of his country, when it was established by treaty in the beginning of the year 1668.

(1) Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. viii.

(2) Ibid. chap. ix.

cilable enemies. The rebels were quickly subdued by the vigour of Leopold. But the body of that brave people who had so often repelled the infidels, and tilled, with the sword in their hand, a country watered with the blood of their ancestors, were still dissatisfied; and Germany itself, deprived of so strong a barrier as Hungary, was soon threatened by the Turks.

In the mean time Kupruli turned the arms of the Porte against the Venetians; and an army of sixty thousand Janizaries, under that able and experienced general, had now besieged Candia for upwards of two years. But the time of the Crusades was long past, and the ardour which inspired them, extinguished. Though this island was reputed one of the chief bulwarks of Christendom against the infidels, no general confederacy had been formed for its defence. The pope and the knights of Malta were the only allies of the Venetians, against the whole naval and military force of the Ottoman empire. At length, however, Lewis XIV. whose love of glory had made him assist the emperor against the Turks even in Hungary, sent a fleet from Toulon to the relief of Candia, with seven thousand men on board, under the duke of Beaufort. But as no other Christian prince imitated his example, these succours served only to retard the conquest of that important island. The duke of Beaufort was slain in a sally; and the capital being reduced to a heap of ruins, surrendered to Kupruli.⁽¹⁾ The Turks, during this siege, discovered great knowledge of the military art; and Morosini, the Venetian admiral, and Montbrun, who commanded the troops of the republic, made all the exertions, and took advantage of all the circumstances, that seemed possible for valour and conduct, in opposition to such superior armaments.

These distant operations did not a moment divert the attention of Lewis from his favourite project, the conquest of the Low Countries, which he meant to resume, with the invasion of Holland. But, in order to render that project successful, it seemed necessary to detach England from the Triple Alliance. This was no difficult matter.

Since the exile of Clarendon, which had been preceded by the death of Southampton, and was soon followed by that of Albemarle, Charles II. having no man of principle to be a check upon his conduct, had given up his mind entirely to arbitrary counsels. These counsels were wholly directed by five persons, commonly denominated the CABAL, in allusion to the initial letters of their names; Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale: all men of abilities, but destitute of either public or private virtue. They had flattered Charles in his desire of absolute power, and encouraged him to love that he might accomplish it by a close connexion with France.⁽²⁾ Lewis, they said, if gratified in his ambition, would be found both able and willing to defend the common cause of kings against usurping subjects; that the conquest of the United Provinces, undertaken by two such potent monarchs, would prove an easy enterprise, and effectually contribute to the attainment of the great purpose desired; that, under pretence of the Dutch war, the king might levy a military force, without which he could never hope to maintain, or enlarge his prerogative; and that, by subduing the republic of Holland, a great step would be made toward a desirable change in the English government; as it was evident the fame and grandeur of that republic fortified his majesty's factious subjects in their attachment to what they vainly termed their civil and religious liberties.⁽³⁾

But although such were the views of the king, and such the sentiments of his ministers, so conscious was Charles of the criminality of the measures he meant to pursue, that only two of the unprincipled members of

(1) Voltaire, ubi sup. Hennault, 1669.

(2) Charles's desire of absolute power seems to have proceeded more from a love of ease, and an indolence of temper, than from any inclination to oppress his subjects. He wished to be able to raise the necessary supplies without the trouble of managing the parliament. But as his profusion was boundless, and his necessities in consequence of it very great, it may be questioned whether, if he had accomplished his aim, he would not have loaded his people with taxes beyond what they could easily bear. At any rate, the attempt was atrocious; was treason against the constitution, and ought to be held in eternal detestation.

(3) Boling. *Stud. Hist.* Hume, vol. viii.

the Cabal were thought fit to be trusted with his whole scheme; Clifford and Arlington, both secretly Roman Catholics.(1) By the counsels of these men, in conjunction with the duke of York and some other Catholics, was concluded at Paris, by the lord Arundel of Wardour, a secret treaty with France; in which it was agreed, not only that Charles should co-operate in the conquest of the Low Countries, and in the destruction of Holland, but that he should propagate, to the utmost of his power, the Catholic faith in his dominions, and publicly declare himself a convert to that religion.(2) In consideration of this last article, he was to receive from Lewis the sum of two hundred thousand pounds, and a body of troops, in case the change of his religion should occasion a rebellion in England; and, by another article, a large annual subsidy was to be paid him, in order to enable him to carry on the war without the assistance of parliament.(3)

On purpose to concert measures conformable to this alliance, and to conceal from the world, and even from the majority of the Cabal, the secret treaty with France, a pompous farce was acted, and an important negotiation managed by a woman of twenty-five. Lewis, under pretence of visiting his late conquests, but especially the great works he was erecting at Dunkirk, made a journey thither, accompanied with his whole court, and preceded or followed by thirty thousand men; some destined to reinforce the garrisons, some to work on the fortifications, and others to level the roads.(4) The princess Henrietta Maria of England, who had been married to the duke of Orleans, brother to Lewis XIV. and who was equally beautiful and accomplished, took this opportunity of visiting her native country, as if attracted by its vicinity. Her brother Charles met her at Dover; where was concluded, between France and England, a mock treaty, perfectly similar to the real one, except in the article of religion, which was totally omitted; and where, amid festivity and amusements, it was finally resolved to begin with the Dutch war, as a prelude to the establishment of popery and arbitrary sway in Great Britain.(5)

Soon after that negotiation, which gave the highest satisfaction to the French, and was so disgraceful to the English monarch, died his sister, the duchess of Orleans, the brightest ornament of the court of Versailles, and the favourite of her family. Her death was sudden, and not without violent suspicions of poison; yet did it make no alteration in the conduct of Charles. Always prodigal, he hoped, in consequence of this new alliance, to have his necessities amply supplied by the generosity of France and the spoils of Holland. And Lewis XIV. well acquainted with the fluctuating councils of England, had taken care also to bind the king to his interests by a tie, yet stronger, if possible, than that of his wants—by the enslaving chain of his pleasures. When the duchess of Orleans came over to meet her brother at Dover, she brought among her attendants, at the desire of the French monarch, a beautiful young lady of the name of Querouaille, who made the desired impression upon Charles. He sent her proposals: his offers were accepted; and although the fair favourite, in order to preserve appearances, went back to France with her mistress, she soon returned to England. The king, in the first transports of his passion, created her duchess of Portsmouth; and as he continued attached to her during the whole future part of

(1) *King James's Memoirs.*

(2) The time when this declaration should be made, was left to Charles; who, at the prospect of being able to reunite his kingdoms to the Catholic church, is said to have wept for joy. *King James's Mem.*

(3) *King James*, ubi sup. See also Dalrymple's *Append.*

(4) Voltaire, *Sicde*, chap. ix.

(5) *King James's Mem. Conference at Dover.* Beside his eagerness for the conquest of Holland, Lewis was afraid, if Charles should begin with a declaration of his religion, to which he seemed inclined, that it might create such troubles in England as would prevent him from receiving any assistance from that kingdom; a circumstance which weighed more with the French monarch, notwithstanding his bigotry, than the propagation of the Catholic faith. (*Dalrymple's Appendix.*) The duke of York, on the other hand, was for beginning with religion, foreseeing that Lewis, after serving his own purposes, would no longer trouble himself about England. *King James's Mem.*

his life, she may be supposed to have been highly instrumental in continuing his connexions with her native country.

Lewis, now sure of the friendship of Charles, and having almost completed his preparations for the invasion of the United Provinces, the chief object of their alliance, took the first step toward the accomplishment of it. There were two ways of leading an army from France into the territories of the republic: one lay through the Spanish Netherlands, the other through the dominions of the German princes upon the Rhine. A voluntary passage through the former was not to be expected; to force it appeared dangerous and difficult; it was therefore resolved to attempt one through the latter. The petty princes upon the Rhine, it was presumed, might be corrupted with ease, or insulted with safety; but as it was necessary first to enter the territories of the duke of Lorraine, whose concurrence Lewis thought it impossible to gain, on account of the memory of former injuries, he resolved to seize the dominions of a prince whom he could not hope to reconcile to his views. He accordingly gave orders, in breach of the faith of treaties, and in the height of security and peace, to the mareschal de Crequi, to enter Lorraine with a powerful army. The duchy was subdued in a short time; and the duke, deprived of all his territories, took refuge in the city of Cologne.

This enterprise, which seemed only a prelude to farther violences, gave great alarm to the continental powers, though ignorant of its final purpose; and Lewis in vain endeavoured to justify his conduct, by the allegation of dangerous intrigues at the court of Lorraine. (1) Charles II. though under no apprehensions from the ambition of the French monarch, took advantage of the general terror, in order to demand a large supply from his parliament. He informed the two houses, by the mouth of the lord-keeper Bridgeman, that both France and Holland were arming by sea and land, and that prudence dictated similar preparations to England. He urged, beside, the necessity he was under, in consequence of the engagements into which he had entered by the Triple Alliance, of maintaining a respectable fleet and army, in order to enable him to preserve the tranquillity of Europe. Deceived by these representations, the commons voted a supply of near three millions sterling; (2) the largest that had ever been granted to a king of England, and surely for the most detestable purpose that ever an abused people voluntarily aided their prince.

But ample as this supply was, neither it nor the remittances from France were equal to the accumulated necessities of the crown. Both were lost in the mysterious vortex of old demands and new profusions, before a fleet of fifty sail was ready to put to sea. The king durst not venture again to assemble the parliament; for although the treaty with France was yet a secret, though the nation was still ignorant of his treasonous designs against the religion and liberties of his subjects, the duke of York, the presumptive heir of the crown, had at last declared himself a Catholic, and an universal alarm was spread of popery and arbitrary power. Some new expedient was, therefore, necessary, in order to raise money to complete the naval preparations; and, by the advice of sir Thomas Clifford, one of the Cabal, who was rewarded for his pernicious counsels with a peerage, it was resolved to shut the Exchequer; to pay no money advanced upon the security of the funds, but to secure all the payments that should be made by the officers of the revenue, for the public service. (3)

(1) *Suite de Meseray*. Henault, vol. ii. Voltaire, ubi sup.

(2) *Journals*, Oct. 24, 1670. This liberal grant is a sufficient proof, that if Charles had acted conformable to the wishes of his people, he would have had no reason to accuse the parliament of parsimony; and may be considered as a final refutation of all apologies for his conduct founded on such a supposition.

(3) The hardships attending this measure will better be understood by a short explanation. It had been usual for the bankers to carry their money to the Exchequer, where they received interest for it; and to advance it upon the security of the funds on which the parliament had charged their supplies, and out of which they were repaid, when the money was levied upon the public. One million four hundred thousand pounds had been advanced upon the faith of the money-bills passed in the last session of parliament, when the Exchequer was shut. R. Coke, p. 168.

The shutting of the Exchequer occasioned universal consternation, and even ruin in the city: the bankers failed, the merchants could not answer their bills, and a total stagnation of commerce was the consequence. The king and his ministers, however, seemed to enjoy the general confusion and distress. Charles, in particular, was so much elated at being able to supply his wants without the assistance of parliament, and so confident of success in the war with Holland, which he thought could not last above one campaign, that he grew perfectly regardless of the complaints of his subjects; discovered strong symptoms of a despotic spirit, and exercised several acts of power utterly inconsistent with a limited government.(1) But his first hostile enterprise was ill calculated to encourage such hopes, or support such arbitrary proceedings. Before the declaration of war, an insidious and unsuccessful attempt was made upon the Dutch Smyrna fleet, valued at near two millions sterling, by an English squadron under sir Robert Holmes. And Charles had the infamy of violating the faith of treaties, without obtaining such advantage as could justify the measure on the principles of political prudence.

Though the Dutch were not ignorant of the preparations of England, they never thoroughly believed they could be intended against them, before this act of hostility, which was immediately followed by a declaration of war. As Lewis had taken offence at certain insolent speeches, and pretended *medals*, Charles, after complaining of a Dutch fleet, on their own coast, not striking the flag to an English yacht, mentioned certain *abusive pictures* as a cause of quarrel.(2) The Dutch were at a loss for the meaning of this last article, until it was discovered, that a portrait of Cornelius de Wit, brother to the pensionary, painted by order of certain magistrates of Dort, and hung up in a chamber of the town-house, had given occasion to the complaint. In the back ground of that picture, were drawn some ships on fire in a harbour, which was construed to be Chatham, where de Wit had really distinguished himself. But little did he or his countrymen think, that an obscure allusion to that act of open hostility would rouse the resentment of England.(3) In a word, reasons more false and frivolous were never employed to justify a flagrant breach of treaty.

The French monarch, in his declaration of war, affected more dignity. He did not condescend to specify particulars; he only pretended that the insolence of the Hollanders had been such, that it did not consist with his *glory* any longer to bear it. They had incurred his displeasure, and he denounced vengeance. This indignant language was ill suited to deliberate violence and injustice; but the haughty Lewis had now completed his preparations, and his ambition was flattered with the most promising views of success.

Never had Europe beheld such a naval and military force, or so extensive a confederacy, since the league of Cambray, as was formed for the destruction of the republic of Holland. Sweden, as well as England, was detached from the Triple league, by the intrigues of Lewis, in order to be a check upon the emperor. The bishop of Munster, a warlike and rapacious prelate, was engaged by the payment of subsidies and the hopes of plunder to take part with France. The elector of Cologne had also agreed to act offensively against the States; and having consigned Bonne and other towns into the hands of Lewis, magazines were there erected, and it was proposed to invade the United Provinces from that quarter. The combined fleet of France and England, amounting to upwards of an hundred sail, was ready to ravage their coasts; and a French army of an hundred and twenty thousand choice troops, commanded by the ablest generals of the age, was preparing to enter their frontiers.

The Dutch were in no condition to resist such a force, especially by land. The security procured by the peace of Westphalia; the general tranquillity, in consequence of that treaty; the subsequent connexions of the States with

(1) Rapin, vol. ii. fol. edit. Hume, vol. vii. Macpherson, vol. i.

(2) Vide *Declaration*.

(3) Hume, vol. vii. Voltaire, *Sicde*, chap. ix.

France; the growing spirit of commerce; and even their wars with England, had made them neglect their military force, and throw all their strength into the navy. Their very fortifications, on which they had formerly rested their existence, were suffered to go out of repair, and their small army was ill disciplined, and worse commanded. The old experienced officers, who were chiefly devoted to the house of Orange, had been dismissed during the triumph of the rigid republican party, and their places supplied by raw youths, the sons or kinsmen of Burgomasters, by whose interest that party was supported. These new officers, relying on the credit of their friends and family, paid no attention to their military duty. Some of them, it is said, were even allowed to serve by deputies, to whom they assigned a small part of their pay.(1)

De Wit, now sensible of his error, in relying too implicitly on the faith of treaties, attempted to remedy these abuses, and to raise a respectable military force for the defence of his country, in this dangerous crisis. But every proposal which he made for that purpose was opposed by the Orange faction, who ascribed to his misconduct alone the defenceless state of the republic; and their power, which had increased with the difficulties of the States, was become extremely formidable, by the popularity of the young prince William III. now in the twenty-second year of his age, and who had already given strong indications of the great qualities which afterward distinguished his active life. For these qualities William was not a little indebted to his generous and patriotic rival, de Wit; who, conscious of the precarious situation of his own party, had given the prince an excellent education, and instructed him in all the principles of government and sound policy, in order to render him capable of serving his country, if any future emergency should ever throw the government into his hands.(2)

The conduct of William had hitherto been highly deserving of approbation, and such as could not fail to recommend him to his countrymen. Though encouraged by England and Brandenburg, to which he was allied by blood, to aspire after the stadtholdership, he had expressed his resolution of depending entirely on the States for his advancement. The whole tenor of his behaviour was extremely suitable to the genius of the Hollanders. Grave and silent, even in youth; ready to hear, and given to inquire; destitute of brilliant talents, but of a sound and steady understanding; greatly intent on business, little inclined to pleasure, he strongly engaged the hearts of all men. And the people, remembering what they owed to his family, which had so gloriously protected them against the exorbitant power of Spain, were desirous of raising him to all the authority of his ancestors; as the leader whose valour and conduct could alone deliver them from those imminent dangers with which they were threatened.(3) In consequence of this general predilection, William was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces of the republic, and the whole military power was put into his hands. New levies were made, and the army was completed to the number of seventy thousand men. But raw troops could not of a sudden acquire discipline or experience: and the friends of the prince were still dissatisfied, because the Perpetual Edict, by which he was excluded from the stadtholdership, was not yet revoked. The struggle between the parties continued; and by their mutual animosities, the vigour of every public measure was broken, and the execution of every project retarded.

In the mean time de Wit, whose maxim, and that of his party, it had ever been to give the navy a preference above the army, hastened the equipment of the fleet; in hopes that, by striking at first a successful blow, he might be able to inspire courage into the dismayed States, as well as to support his own declining authority. Animated by the same hopes, de Ruyter, his firm adherent, and the greatest naval officer of his age, put to sea with ninety-one men of war, and forty-four frigates and fire-ships, and sailed in quest of the enemy.

(1) Le Clerc. Temple. Voltaire.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Le Clerc. Temple. Voltaire.

The English fleet, under the duke of York and the earl of Sandwich, had already joined the French fleet, commanded by count d'Estrées. With this junction the Dutch were unacquainted, and hoped to take signal vengeance on the English for their perfidious attempt on the Smyrna fleet. When de Ruyter came in sight, the combined fleet, to the number of an hundred and thirty sail, lay at anchor in Solebay. The earl of Sandwich, who had before warned the duke of the danger of being surprised in such a posture, but whose advice had been slighted as savouring of timidity, now hastened out of the bay; where the Dutch, by their fireships, might have destroyed the whole naval force of the two kingdoms. Though determined to conquer or perish, he so tempered his courage with prudence, that the combined fleet was evidently indebted to him for its safety. He commanded the van; and by his vigour and dispatch, gave the duke of York and d'Estrées time to disengage themselves. Meanwhile he himself, rushing into battle with the Hollanders, and presenting a front to every danger, had drawn the chief attention of the enemy. He killed Van Ghent, a Dutch admiral, and beat off his ship, after a furious engagement: he sunk another ship, which attempted to lay him aboard, and two fire-ships that endeavoured to grapple with him. Though his own ship was much shattered, and of one thousand men she carried, near six hundred lay dead on the deck, he still continued to thunder with all his artillery, and to set the enemy at defiance, until seized on by a third fire-ship more fortunate than the two former. The ruin of his gallant ship was now inevitable; but although sensible of the consequences of remaining on board, he refused to make his escape.(1) So deep had the duke's sarcasm sunk into his mind, that a brave death, in those awful moments, appeared to him the only refuge from ignominy, since his utmost efforts had not been attended with victory.

During this terrible conflict between Van Ghent's division and the earl of Sandwich, the duke of York and de Ruyter were not idle. The duke bore down upon the Dutch admiral, and fought him with such fury for two hours, that of thirty-two actions in which that hoary veteran had been engaged, he declared that this was the most vigorously disputed. Night put a stop to the doubtful contest. Next morning the duke of York thought it prudent to retire.(2) The Dutch, though much disabled, attempted to harass him in his retreat: he turned upon them, and renewed the fight. Meantime sir Joseph Jordan, who had succeeded Sandwich in the command of the van, or blue division, which had hitherto been only partially engaged, having gained the weather-gage of the enemy, de Ruyter fled, from a sense of his danger, and was pursued by the duke to the coast of Holland. As the English hung close on his rear, fifteen of his disabled ships could only have been saved by a sudden fog, which prevented all farther consequences.(3) The French had scarce any share in this action; and as backwardness is not their national characteristic, it was universally believed, that they had received orders to keep at a distance, while the English and Dutch were weakening each other: an opinion which was confirmed by all the subsequent engagements during the war.

It was certainly honourable for the Dutch to have fought, with so little loss, the combined fleet of France and England; but nothing less than a complete victory, and not perhaps even that, could have preserved the credit of de Wit, or prevented the execution of those schemes which were formed for the ruin of his country.

The king of France having divided his army, consisting of an hundred and twenty thousand men, into three bodies, had put them all in motion about the beginning of May. The first he headed in person, assisted by the

(1) Burnet. Temple. King James, in his Memoirs, makes no mention of any disagreement with the earl of Sandwich; but this silence is surely insufficient to weigh against the general testimony of other cotemporary writers. It was a circumstance not to his honour, and therefore likely to be concealed. His account of the battle seems in other respects very accurate.

(2) *King James's Mem.*

(3) *Ibid.*

famous Turenne; the prince of Condé led the second; and Chamilli and Luxembourg, who were to act either separately or conjunctly, commanded the third. The armies of the elector of Cologne and the bishop of Munster appeared on the other side of the Rhine, and divided the force and attention of the States. Too weak to defend their extensive frontier, the Dutch troops were scattered into so many towns, that no considerable body appeared in the field; and yet a strong garrison was scarcely to be found in any fortress. Orsoy, Wesel, Rhimberg, and Burack, were taken almost as soon as invested, by the French generals. Groll surrendered to the bishop of Munster: and Lewis, to the universal consternation of the Hollanders, advanced to the banks of the Rhine.(1)

The passage of that river, so much celebrated by the flatterers of Lewis XIV. had in it nothing extraordinary. The extreme dryness of the season, in addition to the other misfortunes of the Dutch, had much diminished the greatest rivers, and rendered many of them, in some places, fordable. The French cavalry, animated by the presence of their prince, and protected by a furious discharge of artillery, flung themselves into the Rhine, and had only a few fathoms to swim: the infantry, with the king at their head, passed quietly over a bridge of boats; and as only a few Dutch regiments, without any cannon, appeared on the other side, the danger was very small.(2)

The attempt however, was bold, and its success added greatly to the glory of Lewis, and the terror of his arms. Arnheim immediately surrendered to Turenne; and Schenck, which had formerly sustained a siege of nine months, was reduced by the same great commander, in less than half the number of days. Nimeguen, and a number of other towns, were delivered up on the first summons; and the prince of Orange, unable to make head against the victorious enemy, retired into the province of Holland with his small and discouraged army. The progress of Lewis, like the course of an inundation, levelled every thing before it. The town and province of Utrecht sent deputies to implore his clemency. Naerden, within nine miles of Amsterdam, was reduced by the marquis of Rochfort; and had he taken possession of Muyden, the keys of which were delivered to some of his advanced parties, but recovered by the magistrates, when the moment of terror was over, Amsterdam itself must have fallen, and with it perhaps the republic of Holland.

But this opportunity being neglected, the States had leisure to recollect themselves; and the same ambitious vanity; which had induced the French monarch to undertake the conquest of the United Provinces, proved the means of their preservation. Lewis entered Utrecht in triumph, surrounded by a splendid court, and followed by a gallant army, all glittering with gold and silver. Poets and historians attended to celebrate his exploits, and transmit the fame of his victories to posterity. In the course of a few weeks, the three provinces of Gueldres, Utrecht, and Overysse, had submitted to his arms: Friesland and Groningen were invaded by his ally, the bishop of Munster; so that the reduction of Holland and Zealand seemed now only necessary to crown his enterprise. But he wasted in vain parade at Utrecht the season proper for that purpose.

In the mean time, the people of the remaining provinces, instead of collecting courage and unanimity from the approach of danger, became still more a prey to faction, and ungovernable and outrageous from their fears. They ascribed all their misfortunes to the unhappy de Wit, whose prudence and patriotism had formerly been the object of such general applause. Not only the bad state of the army, and the ill choice of governors, was imputed to him, but, as instances of cowardice multiplied, treachery was suspected; and his former connexions with France being remembered, the populace believed that he and his party had conspired to betray them to their ambitious

(1) Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. ix. Henault, 1672.

(2) *Id. ibid.* The notion which generally prevailed of this passage at Paris was, that all the French forces had passed the Rhine by swimming, in the face of an army intrenched on the other side, and amidst the fire of artillery from an impregnable fortress called the *Thelus*. Voltaire, *ubi sup.*

enemy. Under this apprehension, and perhaps from a hope of disarming the resentment of the king of England, the torrent of popular favour ran strongly toward the prince of Orange, who, notwithstanding his youth and inexperience, was represented as the only person able to save the republic. The Pensionary and his partisans, however, unwilling to relinquish their authority, still opposed the repeal of the Perpetual Edict; and hence the distracted counsels and feeble efforts of the States.

Amsterdam alone, amid the general despondency, seemed to retain any degree of courage or conduct. The magistrates obliged the burgesses to keep strict watch; the populace, whom want of employment might engage to mutiny, were maintained by regular pay, and armed and disciplined for the public defence. Ships were stationed to guard the city by sea; and, as a last resource, the sluices were opened, and the neighbouring country was laid under water, without regard to the fertile fields, the numerous villas, and flourishing villages, which were overwhelmed by the inundation! (1) All the province followed the example of the capital.

But the security derived from this expedient was not sufficient to infuse courage into the dejected States. The body of the nobles, and eleven towns, voted to send ambassadors to the hostile kings, in order to supplicate peace. They offered to surrender Maestricht, and all the frontier towns which lay beyond the limits of the Seven Provinces, and to pay a large sum toward the expenses of the war. Fortunately for the republic and for Europe, these conditions were rejected. Lewis, in the absence of Turenne, listened to the violent counsels of his minister Louvois, whose unreasonable demands threw the States into a despair that overcame their fears. The demands of Charles were not more moderate. The terms, in a word, required by the two monarchs, would have deprived the commonwealth of all security, by sea as well as by land, and have reduced it to a state of perpetual dependence. Yet were the Provinces still agitated by the animosities of faction. Enraged to find their country enfeebled by party jealousy, when its very political existence was threatened, the people rose at Dort, and forced their magistrates to sign the repeal of the Perpetual Edict. Other cities followed the example, and the prince of Orange was declared Stadtholder.

This revolution, so favourable to the defence of the republic, was followed by a lamentable tragedy. The talents and virtues of the pensionary de Wit marked him out as a sacrifice to the vengeance of the Orange party, now triumphant. But popular fury prevented the interposition of power. Cornelius de Wit, the pensionary's brother, who had so often served his country with his sword, was accused, by a man of an infamous character, of endeavouring to bribe him to poison the prints of Orange. The accusation, though attended with the most improbable, and even absurd circumstances, was greedily received by the credulous multitude, and even by the magistrates. Cornelius was cited before a court of judicature, and put to the torture, in order to extort a confession of his crime. He bore with the most intrepid firmness all that cruelty could inflict: but he was stript notwithstanding of his employments, and sentenced to banishment for life. The pensionary, who had supported his brother through the whole prosecution, resolved not to desert him in his disgrace. He accordingly went to his prison, on purpose to accompany him to the place of his exile. The signal was given to the populace. They broke open the prison doors: they pulled out the two brothers; and wounded, mangled, and tore them to pieces; (2) exercising on their dead bodies acts of barbarity too horrid to relate.

The massacre of the de Wits, by extinguishing for a time the animosities of party, gave vigour and unanimity to the councils of the state. All men, from fear, inclination, or prudence, concurred in paying the most implicit obedience to the prince of Orange; and William, worthy of that heroic family from which he was descended, adopted sentiments becoming the head

(1) Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. ix. *Temples Mem.* part ii.

(2) *Temple's Mem.* part ii. See also Burnet, Basnage, Le Clerc, the *Gazette*, No. 704, preserved in several Histories.

of a brave and free people. He exhorted them to reject with scorn those humiliating conditions demanded by their imperious enemies; and, by his advice, the States put an end to negotiations which had served only to depress the courage of the citizens, and delay the assistance of their allies. He shewed them, that, aided by the advantages of their situation, they would still be able, if they abandoned themselves not to despondency, to preserve the remaining provinces, until the other nations of Europe, made sensible of their common danger, could come to their relief. And he professed himself willing to undertake their defence, provided they would second his efforts with the same manly fortitude, which they had so often discovered under his illustrious predecessors.

The spirit of the young prince seemed to diffuse itself into every breast. The people, who had lately entertained only thoughts of yielding their necks to subjection, now bravely determined to resist the haughty victor, and to defend that remnant of their native soil, of which neither the arms of Lewis nor the inundation of waters had as yet bereaved them. Should even the ground on which they might combat fail them, to use the forcible language of Hume, they were still resolved not to yield the generous strife; but flying to their settlements in the East Indies, erect a new empire in the South of Asia, and preserve alive, even in the climates of slavery, that liberty of which Europe was unworthy.(1) They had already concerted measures, we are told, for executing this extraordinary resolution; and found, that the ships in their harbours adequate to such a voyage, were capable of carrying fifty thousand families, or about two hundred thousand persons.(2)

No sooner did the confederate kings perceive the new spirit with which the Dutch were animated, than they bent all their efforts to corrupt the prince of Orange. They offered him the sovereignty of the province of Holland; to be held under the protection of France and England, and secured against the invasion of foreign enemies, as well as the revolt of his own subjects. But William, from motives of prudence, if not patriotism, rejected all such proposals. He was sensible that the season of danger was over, and that the power which he already enjoyed by the suffrage of his countrymen, was both more honourable and less precarious, than that which must depend on princes, who had already sacrificed their faith to their ambition. He therefore declared, that he would sooner retire, if all his endeavours should fail, and pass his life in hunting on his lands in Germany, than betray the trust reposed in him, by selling the liberties of his country.(3) And when asked, in a haughty tone, if he did not see that his country was already ruined, he firmly replied, "There is one way, by which I can be certain never to see the ruin of my country; and that is, to die in disputing the last ditch!"(4)

The Dutch, however, were much disappointed in finding, that the elevation of the prince of Orange to the dignity of Stadtholder had no influence on the measures of his uncle, the king of England. Charles persisted in his alliance with France. But other circumstances saved the republic. When the hostile fleets approached the coast of Holland, with an army on board commanded by count Schomberg, they were carried back to sea in so wonderful a manner, and afterward prevented from landing the forces, by such stormy weather, that Providence was believed to have interposed miraculously to prevent the ruin of the Hollanders;(5) and Lewis, finding that his enemies gained courage behind their inundations, and that no

(1) *Hist. Eng.* vol. vii.

(2) Burnet, book ii. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. ix. The reflections of Voltaire on this subject are truly ingenious and striking, "Amsterdam, the emporium and the magazine of Europe, says he, wherein commerce and the arts are cultivated by three hundred thousand inhabitants, would soon, in that event, have become one vast morass. All the adjacent lands, which require immense expense, and many thousands of men, to keep up their dykes, would again have been overwhelmed by that ocean from which they had been gained, leaving to Lewis XIV. only the wretched glory of having destroyed one of the finest and most extraordinary monuments of human industry." *Id. ibid.*

(3) *Temple's Mem.* part ii.

(4) Burnet, book ii.

(5) *Ibid.*

farther progress was likely to be made by his arms during the campaign, had retired to Versailles, in order to enjoy the glory of his success, which was pompously displayed in poems, orations, and triumphal arches. Meanwhile the other states of Europe began to discover a jealousy of the power of France. The emperor, though naturally slow, had put himself in motion; the elector of Brandenburg shewed a disposition to support the States; the king of Spain had sent some forces to their assistance; and, by the vigorous efforts of the prince of Orange, and the prospect of relief from their allies, a different face of affairs began soon to appear.

Of all their friends or allies there was none on whom the Dutch relied more firmly for relief than the English parliament, which the king's necessities obliged him at last to convene. But that assembly was too much occupied with domestic grievances, to have leisure to attend to foreign politics. Charles, among his other arbitrary measures, had issued a general Declaration of Indulgence in religious matters, by which the Catholics were placed on the same footing with the Protestant sectaries. The purpose of this measure was easily foreseen, and excited a general alarm. A remonstrance was framed against such an exercise of prerogative: the king defended his measure, and the hopes and fears of all men were suspended, in regard to the issue of so extraordinary an affair. Besides his usual guards, the king had an army encamped on Blackheath, under the command of marshal Schomberg, a foreigner. Many of his officers were of the Catholic religion; and he had reason to expect that his ally, the king of France, would supply him with troops, if force should become necessary for restraining his discontented subjects, and supporting the measures they had, by common consent, agreed to pursue.

But Charles, although encouraged by his ministers to proceed, was startled when he approached the dangerous precipice; and the same love of ease which had led him to desire arbitrary power, induced him to retract the Declaration of Indulgence; when he saw how much hazard and difficulty there would be in maintaining it. He accordingly called for the writing, and broke the seals with his own hand.⁽¹⁾ But the parliament, though highly satisfied with this compliance, thought another step necessary for the security of their civil and religious liberties. They passed an act called the Test: by which all persons, holding any public office, besides taking the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, and receiving the sacrament, according to the rites of the church of England, were obliged to abjure the doctrine of transubstantiation. Even to this bill the king gave his assent; and the parliament, in recompense for these concessions, granted him a considerable supply for his *extraordinary occasions*, as they expressed themselves, disdaining to mention a war which they abhorred.⁽²⁾

But Charles, though baffled in his favourite project, and obliged tacitly to relinquish the dispensing power of the crown, was still resolved to persevere in his alliance with France, in the Dutch war, and consequently in all the secret designs which depended on such pernicious measures. With the money granted by parliament, he was enabled to equip a fleet, the command of which was given to prince Rupert, the duke of York being set aside by the Test. Sir Edward Spragge and the earl of Ossory commanded under the prince. A French squadron joined them, commanded by d'Estrées and Martel.

The combined fleet sailed toward the coast of Holland, where three indecisive battles were fought with the Dutch, under de Ruyter and Van Tromp. The last, however, claims our attention on account of its obstinacy. Tromp immediately fell along the side of Spragge, and both engaged with incredible obstinacy. Tromp was compelled once to shift his flag, Spragge twice to quit his ship; and, unfortunately, as the English admiral was passing to a third ship, in order to hoist his flag, and renew the dispute, a shot

(1) Echard. Burnet. Rapin. The people were so much elated at this victory over the prerogative, that they expressed, with bonfires and illuminations, their tumultuous joy. *Ibid.*

(2) Journals, March, 1673. Echard, vol. iii. Burnet, book ii.

struck his boat, and he was drowned, to the regret even of his enemies. But the death of this gallant officer did not pass unrevengeed. Van Tromp, after the disaster of Spragge, was repulsed, in spite of his most vigorous efforts, by the intrepidity of the earl of Ossory.(1)

In the mean time a furious combat was maintained between de Ruyter and prince Rupert. Never did the prince acquire more deserved honour; his conduct being no less conspicuous than his valour, which shone with distinguished lustre. The contest was equally obstinate on both sides, and victory remained long doubtful. At length prince Rupert threw the enemy into some confusion; and, in order to increase it, sent among them two fire-ships. They at once took to flight; and had the French, who were masters of the wind, and to whom a signal was made, borne down upon the Dutch, a decided advantage would have been gained. But they paid no regard to the signal. The English, seeing themselves neglected by their allies, therefore gave over the pursuit; and de Ruyter, with little loss, made good his retreat.(2) The victory, as usual, was claimed by both sides.

While the Dutch, my dear Philip, thus continued to defend themselves with vigour by sea, fortune was still more favourable to them by land. Though the French monarch took Maestricht, one of their strongest bulwarks, after a siege of thirteen days, no other advantage was obtained during the campaign. Naerden was retaken by the prince of Orange; and the Imperialists, under Montecuculi, after having in vain attempted against Turenne the passage of the Rhine, eluded the vigilance of that able general, and sat down suddenly before Bonne. The prince of Orange, by a conduct no less masterly, leaving behind him the other French generals, joined his army to that of the empire. Bonne surrendered, after a short siege. The greater part of the electorate of Cologne was subdued by the Dutch and Germans; and the communication between France and the United Provinces being by that means cut off, Lewis was obliged to recall his forces, and abandon his conquests with the utmost precipitation.(3) The very monuments of his glory were not completed, when he returned in disgrace: the triumphal arch at the gate of St. Denis was yet unfinished, after all cause of triumph had ceased!(4)

A congress, under the mediation of Sweden, held at Cologne during the summer, was attended with no success. The demands, of the confederate kings were originally such as must have reduced the Hollanders to perpetual servitude; and although they sunk in their demands, in proportion as the affairs of the States rose, the States fell still lower in their offers, so that it was found impossible for the parties, without some remarkable change of fortune, ever to agree on any conditions. After the French evacuated Holland, the congress broke up. No longer anxious for their safety, the States were now bent on revenge. Their negotiations at the courts of Vienna and Madrid were approaching to a happy conclusion. The house of Austria in both its branches was alarmed at the ambition of Lewis XIV. and the emperor and the Catholic king, publicly signed a treaty with the United Provinces before the close of the year. Forgetting her ancient animosities against the republic, in the recent injuries which she had received from the French monarch, Spain immediately issued a declaration of war; and, by a strange reverse in her policy, defended the Dutch against France and England, by whose aid they had become independent of her power!

The boundless ambition of Lewis XIV. together with the dark designs and mercenary meanness of Charles II. which led him to a close alliance with France, had totally changed the system of European policy. But a run of events which it was not in the power of the confederate kings to reverse, at last brought things back to what is now esteemed their natural order. The first of these events was the peace between England and Holland.

When the English parliament met, the commons discovered such strong

(1) Carte's *Life of the Duke of Ormond*. Burchet, p. 404.

(2) Burchet. Baanage. Echard. Kennet.

(3) Henault, 1674.

(4) Voltaire, *Sicile*, chap. x.

symptoms of discontent at the late measures of government, that the king, perceiving he could expect no supply for carrying on the war, asked their advice in regard to peace. Both houses thanked him for his condescension, and unanimously concurred in their advice for a negotiation. Peace was accordingly concluded with Holland, by the marquis de Fresno, the Spanish ambassador at the court of London, who had powers for that purpose, and added the influence of his own court to the other reasons which had obliged Charles to listen to terms. The conditions, though little advantageous, were by no means degrading to England. The honour of the flag was relinquished by the Dutch; all possessions were mutually restored; new regulations of trade were made, and the republic agreed to pay the king near three hundred thousand pounds toward reimbursing the expense of the war.(1) Charles bound himself to the States, by a secret article, not to allow the English troops in the French service to be recruited, but would not agree to recall them. They amounted to ten thousand men, and had greatly contributed to the rapid success of Lewis.(2)

Though the peace with Holland relieved the king from many of his difficulties, it did not restore him to the confidence of his people, nor allay the jealousy of the parliament. Sensible of this jealousy, Charles, who had always been diffident of the attachment of his subjects, still kept up his connections with France. He apologized to Lewis for the step he had taken, by representing the real state of his affairs; and the French monarch, with great complaisance and good humour, admitted the validity of his excuses. In order still farther to atone for deserting his ally, Charles offered his mediation to the contending powers.

Willing to negotiate under so favourable a mediator, the king of France readily acceded to the offer. As it was apprehended, however, that, for a like reason, the allies would be inclined to refuse it, sir William Temple, whose principles were known to be favourable to the general interests of Europe, was invited from his retreat, and appointed ambassador from England to the States. Temple accepted the office. But reflecting on the unhappy issue of his former fortunate negotiations, and on the fatal turn of counsels which had occasioned it, he resolved, before he set out on his embassy, to acquaint himself, as far as possible, with the king's real sentiments in regard to those popular measures which he seemed to have resumed. He therefore took occasion, at a private audience, to blame the dangerous schemes of the Cabal, as well as their flagrant breach of the most solemn treaties.(3) And when the king seemed disposed to vindicate their measures, but blamed the means employed to carry them into execution, that excellent minister, no less prudent than patriotic, endeavoured to shew his sovereign how difficult, if not impossible, it would be, to introduce into England the same system of religion and government that was established in France; that the universal bent of the nation was against both; that many, who appeared indifferent in regard to all religions, would yet oppose the introduction of popery, as they were sensible it could not be effected without military force, and that the same force, which should enable the king to bring about such a change, would also make him master of their civil liberties; that, in France, it was only necessary for a king to gain the nobility and clergy, as the peasants, having no land, were as insignificant as our women and children:—Whereas, in England, a great part of the landed property was in the hands of the yeomanry or lower gentry, whose hearts were high with ease and plenty, while the inferior orders in France were dispirited by oppression

(1) *Articles of Peace, in the Journals of the Lords.*

(2) Hume, vol. vii. The king's partiality to France prevented a strict execution of his engagement relative to the recruiting of these troops. Id. *ibid.* See also Dalrymple's *Append.*

(3) The Cabal was now in a manner dissolved. Clifford was dead; and Ashley, created earl of Shaftesbury, had gone over to the popular party, in order to avoid the danger of an impeachment, when he found the king wanted courage to support his ministers in those measures which he had himself dictated. Buckingham, in consequence of his wavering and inconsistent conduct, was become of small account; but Lauderdale and Arlington were still of some weight.

and want; that a king of England, since the abolition of the feudal policy, could neither raise nor maintain an army, except by the voluntary supplies of his parliament; that granting he had an army on foot, yet, if composed of Englishmen, it would never be induced to serve ends which the people so much hated and feared; that the Roman catholics in England were not the hundredth part of the nation, and in Scotland not the two-hundredth; and it seemed against all common sense to hope, by any one part, to govern ninety-nine, who were of different humours and sentiments; that foreign troops, if few, would serve only to inflame hatred and discontent; and how to bring over at once, and maintain many (for no less than threescore thousand would be necessary, to subdue the spirit and liberties of the nation), was very hard to imagine.(1)

These reasonings Temple endeavoured to enforce by the authority of Gourville, a French statesman, who had resided some time in England, and for whose judgment he knew Charles had great respect. "A king of England," said Gourville, on hearing of our dissensions "who will be the MAN of his People, is the greatest king in the world; but if he will be something more, by God! he is nothing at all." The king, who had listened with impatience at first, seemed now open to conviction; and laying his hand on Temple's, said with an air of sincerity—"And I will be the MAN of my people!"(2)

When Temple went abroad, he found a variety of circumstances likely to defeat the purpose of his embassy. The allies in general, independent of their jealousy of Charles's mediation, expressed great ardour for the continuance of the war. Spain had engaged Holland to stipulate never to come to an accommodation, until all things in Flanders were restored to the same situation in which they were left by the Pyrenean treaty; the emperor had high pretensions on Alsace; and although the Dutch, oppressed by heavy taxes, might be desirous of peace, they could not, without violating all the principles of honour and policy, abandon those allies to whose protection they had so lately been indebted for their safety. The prince of Orange, who had vast influence in their councils, and in whose family they had just decreed the office of stadtholder to be perpetual, was beside ambitious of military fame, and convinced, that it would be in vain to negotiate till a greater impression was made upon France, as no equitable terms could otherwise be expected from Lewis.(3) The operations of the ensuing campaign did not contribute to this effect.

Lewis XIV. astonished all Europe by the vigour of his exertions. He had three great armies in the field this summer: one on the side of Germany, one in Flanders, and one on the frontiers of Roussillon; and he himself, at the head of a fourth, entered Franche Comté, and subdued the whole province in six weeks. The taking of Besançon was matter of great triumph to the French monarch. He loved sieges, and is said to have understood them well; but he never besieged a town without being morally certain of taking it. Louvois prepared all things so effectually, the troops were so well appointed, and Vauban, who conducted most of the sieges, was so great a master in the art of taking towns, that the king's glory was perfectly safe. Vauban directed the attacks at Besançon, which was reduced in nine days, and became the capital of the province: the university and the seat of government being transferred to it from Dol.(4)

Nothing of importance happened in Roussillon: but in Flanders, the prince of Condé, with an inferior army, prevented the prince of Orange from entering France by that quarter: and, after long avoiding an engagement, from motives of prudence, he attacked the rear of the confederates, when an opportunity offered, in a narrow defile near Seneffe, a village between Marimont and Nivelles; threw them into confusion, and took great part of their cannon and baggage. The prince of Orange, however, less remarkable for

(1) *Temple's Mem.* part ii. chap. i.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) Temple, ubi. sup. Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. x.

(4) *Id. ibid.* Henault, 1674.

preventing misfortune than for stopping its progress, rallied his disordered forces; led them back to the charge; pushed the veteran troops of France; and obliged the great Condé to exert more desperate efforts, and hazard his person more than in any action during his life, though now in an advanced age, and though he had been peculiarly distinguished in youth by the impetuosity of his courage. William did not expose his person less. Hence the generous and candid testimony of Condé, forgetful of his own behaviour: "The prince of Orange has acted in every thing like an old captain, except "in venturing his life too much like a young soldier." (1)

The engagement was renewed three several times; and, after sun-set, it was continued for two hours by the light of the moon. Darkness at last, not the slackness of the combatants, put an end to the contest, and left the victory undecided. (2) Twelve thousand men lay dead on the field, and the loss on both sides was nearly equal. (3) In order to give an air of superiority to the allies, and to bring the French to a new engagement, the prince of Orange besieged Oudenarde; but Souches, the imperial general, not being willing to hazard a battle, he was obliged to relinquish his enterprise, on the approach of Condé. Before the close of the campaign, however, after an obstinate siege, he took Grave, the last town which the French held in any of the Seven Provinces. (4)

Turenne, who commanded on the side of Germany, completed that high reputation which he had already acquired, of being the greatest general of his age and nation. By a long and hasty march, in order to prevent the junction of the different bodies of German troops, he passed the Rhine at Philipsburg, and defeated the old duke of Lorraine, and Caprara, the imperial general, at Sintzheim. With twenty thousand men, he possessed himself of the whole Palatinate, by driving the allied princes beyond the Neckar and the Maine. They returned however, during his absence in Lorraine, with a prodigious army, and poured into Alsace, where they meant to pass the winter. He came back upon them unexpectedly; routed the Imperialists at Mulhausen, and chased from Colmar the elector of Brandenburg, who commanded the troops of the allied princes. He gained a further advantage at Turkheim; and having dislodged all the Germans, obliged them to pass the Rhine. But the glory of so many victories was stained by the cruelties committed in the Palatinate; where the elector beheld, from his castle at Mannheim, two cities and five and twenty towns in flames, (5) and where lust and rapine walked hand in hand with fire and sword. Stung with rage and revenge at such a spectacle, he challenged Turenne to single combat. The mareschal coolly replied, that he could not accept such a challenge without his master's leave; but was ready to meet the Palatine in the field, at the head of his army, against any which that prince and his new allies could bring together. (6)

These events inspired the people of England with the most melancholy apprehensions, but gave sincere satisfaction to the court; and Charles, at the request of the king of France, prorogued the parliament, which was to have met on the 10th of October, to the 13th of April in the following year, lest the commons should force him to take part with the United Provinces. One hundred thousand pounds was the price of this prorogation. (7)

Lewis, notwithstanding his successes, was alarmed at the number of his enemies; and therefore, beside purchasing the neutrality of England, he endeavoured, though in vain, to negotiate a peace with Holland. The events of the next campaign shewed that his fears were well founded. Though he made vast preparations, and entered Flanders with a numerous army, commanded by himself and the prince of Condé, he was able to gain no advantage of any consequence over the prince of Orange, who opposed him in all

(1) *Temple's Mem.* part II. chap. i.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. xi.

(4) Temple, *ubi sup.*

(5) Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. xi.

(6) *Temple's Mem.* part II.

(7) *Dalrymple's Append.* Macpherson, *Hist. Brit.* chap. iv.

his motions. Neither party was willing, without some peculiarly favourable circumstance, to hazard a general engagement, which might be attended with the utter loss of Flanders, if victory declared for the French, and with the invasion of France if the king should be defeated. Disgusted at his want of success, Lewis returned to Versailles about the end of July, and nothing memorable happened in the Low Countries during the campaign.

The campaign was still less favourable to France in other quarters. Turenne was opposed, on the side of Germany, by his celebrated rival Montecuculi, who commanded the forces of the empire. The object of Montecuculi was to pass the Rhine, and penetrate into Alsace, Lorraine, or Burgundy; that of Turenne, to guard the frontiers of France, and disappoint the schemes of his antagonist. The most consummate skill was displayed on both sides. Both had reduced war to a science, and each was enabled to discover the designs of the other, by judging what he himself would have done in like circumstances. Turenne, by posting himself on the German side of the Rhine, was enabled not only to keep Montecuculi from passing that river, but to seize any opportunity that fortune might present. Such a happy moment he thought he had discerned, and was preparing to take advantage of it, by bringing the Germans to a decisive engagement, and his own generalship and that of Montecuculi to a final trial, when a period was put to his life by a cannon-ball, as he was viewing the position of the enemy, and taking measures for erecting a battery. (1)

The consternation of the French on the loss of their general was inexpressible. The same troops, that a moment before were assured of victory, now thought of nothing but flight. A dispute relative to the command between the count de Lorges, nephew to Turenne, and the marquis de Vaurbrun, was added to their grand misfortune. They retreated: Montecuculi pressed them hard; but, by the valour of the English auxiliaries, who brought up the rear, and the abilities of de Lorges, who inherited a considerable share of the genius of his uncle, they were enabled to repass the Rhine, without much loss. Leaving the army in Flanders, under the command of Luxemburg, the prince of Condé came with a reinforcement to supply the place of Turenne; and though he was not, perhaps, in all respects, equal to that consummate general, he not only prevented the Germans from establishing themselves in Alsace, but obliged them to repass the Rhine, and take winter-quarters in their own country. (2)

Before the arrival of Condé, however, a detachment from the German army had been sent to the siege of Treves; an enterprise which the allies had greatly at heart. In the mean time the mareschal de Crequi advanced with a French army to the relief of the place. The Germans, whom he despised, leaving part of their forces in the lines, advanced to meet him with the main body, under the dukes of Zell and Osnabrug, and totally routed him. He escaped with only four attendants, and throwing himself into Treves, determined to perish rather than surrender the town. But the garrison, after a gallant defence, resolving not to fall a sacrifice to his obstinacy, capitulated for themselves; and because he refused to sign the articles, they delivered him into the hands of the enemy. (3)

The king of Sweden, who had been induced by the payment of large subsidies to take part with France, was still more unfortunate this campaign than Lewis. The Dutch, the Spaniards, the Danes, became at once his enemies. He was defeated by the elector of Brandenburg, whose territories he had invaded, and lost all Pomerania. Bremerfurt was taken by the troops of Brunawic-Lunenburg; Wolgast, by those of Brandenburg; and Wismar fell into the hands of the Danes. (4)

It was now the crisis for the king of England, by a vigorous concurrence with the allies, to have regained the confidence of his people and the respect of all Europe. He might have set bounds for ever to the power of France,

(1) *Temple's Mem.* part II. chap. i. Henault, 1675. Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. xi.

(2) *Id.* *ibid.*

(3) Voltaire, *ubi sup.*

(4) *Mem. de Brandenburg.*

and have been the happy instrument of preventing all those long and bloody wars, which were occasioned by the disputes in regard to the Spanish succession, as well as those which have been the consequence of a prince of the house of Bourbon being established on the throne of Spain. Charles was not ignorant of the importance of his situation; but, instead of taking advantage of it, to restrain the ambition of Lewis XIV. he thought only of acquiring money to squander upon his pleasures, by selling his neutrality to that monarch! A new secret treaty was accordingly concluded between the two kings, by which they obliged themselves to enter into no treaties without mutual consent; and in which Charles farther stipulates, in consideration of an annual pension, to prorogue or dissolve his parliament, should it attempt to force him to declare war against France.(1)

Thus secure of the neutrality of England, Lewis made vigorous preparations for carrying on the war in Flanders, and was early in the field in person. He laid siege to Condé in the month of April, and took it by storm. Bouchain fell into his hands by the middle of May; the prince of Orange, who was ill supported by his allies, not daring to attempt its relief, on account of the advantageous position of the French army. After facing each other for some time, the two armies withdrew to a greater distance, as if by mutual consent, neither choosing to hazard an engagement. The king of France, with his usual avidity for praise, and want of perseverance, returned to Versailles, leaving the command of his army to Mareschal Schomberg: and the prince of Orange, on the departure of Lewis, laid siege to Maestricht. The trenches were opened toward the end of July, and many desperate assaults made, and several outworks taken; but all without effect. The place made a gallant defence; sickness broke out in the confederate army; and on the approach of Schomberg, who had already taken Aire, the prince of Orange was obliged to abandon his enterprise.(2) The taking of Phillipsburg, by the Imperialists, was the only success that attended the arms of the allies during the campaign.

France was no less successful by sea than by land, Lewis XIV. had very early discovered an ambition of forming a powerful navy: and during the war between England and Holland, in which he was engaged, his subjects had acquired in perfection the art of ship-building, as well as the most approved method of conducting sea-engagements, by means of signals, said to have been invented by the duke of York. An accidental circumstance now afforded Lewis an opportunity of displaying his naval strength, to the astonishment and terror of Europe.

Messina in Sicily had revolted from Spain; and a French fleet, under the duke de Vivonne, was sent to support the citizens in their rebellion. A Dutch and Spanish squadron sailed to oppose Vivonne; but, after an obstinate combat, Messina was relieved by the French. Another engagement ensued near Augusta, rendered famous by the death of the gallant de Ruyter, and in which the French had also the advantage. A third battle, more decisive than any of the former, was fought off Palermo. The combined fleet, to the number of twenty-seven ships of the line, nineteen galleys, and four

(1) Rouvigny to Lewis XIV. Jan. 9, and Feb. 27, 1676, in *Dalrymple's Append.* The proofs that Charles was a pensioner of France do not rest solely upon these Letters. They are also to be found in *King James's Memoirs*, and the *Danby Papers*. Bolingbroke seems to have been perfectly acquainted with them; and very justly observes, "That Charles II. by this meanness, whatever might be his motives for submitting to it, established the superiority of France in Europe." (*Letters on the Study of History.*) Unprincipled as the ministers of Charles were, it is with pleasure that we learn from Rouvigny's dispatches, not one of them heartily concurred in this infamous treaty. "Hence," says he to his master, "your majesty will plainly see, that in all England, there is only the king and the duke of York, who embrace your interests with affection." (Feb. 27, 1676.) And in a future letter he adds in confirmation of this singular exception, "I can answer for it to your majesty, that there are none of your own subjects who wish you better success, in all your undertakings, than these two princes; but it is also true that you cannot count upon any, but these two friends, in all England!" (Jan. 28. 1677.) The ambassador's only fear therefore was, that Charles might be "drawn into the sentiments of his people!" And the pension was esteemed a necessary "new tie," to bind him to the interests of France. Rouvigny, ubi sup.

(2) *Temple's Memoirs*, part II.

fire-ships, was drawn up in a line without the mole, and under cover of the fortifications. The disposition was good, and the appearance formidable; yet Vivonne, or rather du Quesne, who commanded under him, and was a great naval officer, did not hesitate to venture an attack with a squadron inferior in strength. The battle was sustained with great vigour on both sides; until the French, taking advantage of a favourable wind, sent some fire-ships in among the enemy. All was now confusion and terror. Twelve capital ships were sunk, burnt, or taken; five thousand men lost their lives; and the French, riding undisputed masters of the Mediterranean, endangered the total revolt of Naples and Sicily.(1)

A congress had been opened at Nimeguen in the beginning of the year, but no progress, it was found, could be made in negotiation, till the war had taken a more decisive turn. The disappointment of the allies, in the events of the campaign, had now much damped their sanguine hopes; and the Hollanders, on whom the whole weight of the war lay, seeing no prospect of a general pacification, began to entertain thoughts of concluding a separate treaty with France. They were loaded with debts and harassed with taxes; their commerce languished; and, exclusive of the disadvantages attending all leagues, the weakness of the Spaniards, and the divisions and delays of the Germans, prognosticated nothing but disgrace and ruin. They themselves had no motive for continuing the war, beside a desire of securing a good frontier to Flanders; yet gratitude to their allies inclined them to try whether another campaign might not produce a peace that would give general satisfaction. And the prince of Orange, actuated by ambition and animosity against France, endeavoured to animate them to a steady perseverance in their honourable resolution.

In the mean time the eyes of all parties were turned toward England. Charles II. was universally allowed to be the arbiter of Europe; and no terms of peace which he would have prescribed could have been refused by any of the contending powers. The Spaniards believed that he would never suffer Flanders to be subdued by France; or, if he could be so far lost to his own interest, that the parliament would force him to take part with the confederates.(2) The parliament was at last assembled, in order to appease the murmurs of the people, after a recess of upward of twelve months. Disputes about their own rights engaged the peers for a time; and the commons proceeded with temper, in taking into consideration the state of the navy, which the king had recommended to their attention. Every thing seemed to promise a peaceable and easy session. But the rapid and unexpected progress of the French arms soon disturbed this tranquillity, and directed to other objects the deliberations of both houses.

Lewis, having previously formed large magazines in Flanders, had taken the field in February. Attended by his brother the duke of Orleans, his minister Louvois, Vauban, and five marshals of France, he undertook the siege of Valenciennes; and by the judicious advice of Vauban, who recommended an assault to be made in the morning, when it would be least expected, in preference to the night, the usual time for such attempts, the place was carried by surprise.(3) Cambray surrendered after a short siege; and St. Omer was closely invested, when the prince of Orange, with an army hastily assembled, marched to its relief. The siege was covered by the dukes of Orleans and Luxemburg; and as the prince was determined to endeavour to raise it, be the consequences what they might, an obstinate battle was fought at Mont Cassel; where, by a superior movement of Luxemburg, William was defeated, in spite of his most vigorous efforts, and obliged to retire to Ypres. His behaviour was gallant, and his retreat masterly; but St. Omer submitted to the arms of France.(4)

(1) Le Clerc, vol. ii. Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. xiii.

(2) *Temple's Memoirs*, part II. chap. ii.

(3) Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. xii.

(4) *Temple's Memoirs*, part II. chap. ii. In attempting to rally his dispersed troops, the prince struck one of the runaways across the face with his sword. "Rascal!"—cried he, "I will set a mark on you at present, that I may hang you afterward." Id. *ibid*.

Justly alarmed at such extraordinary success, the English parliament presented an address to the king, representing the danger to which the kingdom was exposed from the greatness of France, and praying that he would form such alliances as should both secure his own dominions and the Spanish Netherlands, and thereby quiet the fears of his people. The king returned an evasive answer, and the commons thought it necessary to be more particular. They entreated him to interpose immediately in favour of the confederates; and, in case a war with France should be the consequence of such interference, they promised to support him with all necessary aids and supplies. Charles, in his answer, artfully expressed his desire of being *first* put in a *condition* to *accomplish* the *design* of their *address*. This was understood as a demand for money; but the commons were too well acquainted with the king's connexions with France, to hazard their money in expectation of alliances which they believed would never be formed, if the supplies were granted beforehand. Instead of a supply, they therefore voted an address, in which "they besought his majesty to enter into a league, *offensive* and *defensive*, with the States General of the United Provinces, against the growth and power of the French king, and for the preservation of the Spanish Netherlands; and to make such other alliances with the confederates as should appear fit and useful for that end." (1) They supported their advice with arguments; and concluded with assuring the king, that when he should be pleased to declare such an alliance in parliament, they would most cheerfully support his measures with plentiful and speedy supplies. Pretending resentment at this address, as an encroachment on his prerogative, Charles made an angry speech to the commons, and ordered the parliament to be adjourned.

Had the king, my dear Philip, been prompted to this measure (as an author, no ways prejudiced against him, very justly observes) by a real jealousy of his prerogative, it might merit some applause, as an indication of vigour; but when we are made acquainted with the motives that produced it, when we know that it proceeded from his secret engagements with France, and his disappointment in not obtaining a large sum to dissipate upon his pleasures, it furnishes a new instance of that want of sincerity which disgraced the character of Charles. (2) When he thus urged the commons to strengthen his hands for war, he had actually sold his neutrality to France, as I have already had occasion to notice; and had he obtained the supply required for that end, he would no doubt have found expedients to screen his conduct, without entering into war, or even breaking off his private correspondence with Lewis. But to make an *offensive* and *defensive* alliance with the *confederates* the *condition* of a *supply*, he foresaw, would deprive him of the *secret subsidy*, and throw him upon the mercy of his commons, whose confidence he had deservedly lost, and whose spirit he was desirous to subdue. Considering his views, and the engagements he had formed, he acted with prudence; but both were unworthy of a king of England.

While Charles, lolling in the lap of pleasure, or wasting his time in thoughtless jollity, was thus ingloriously sacrificing the honour of his kingdom and the interests of Europe, in consideration of a contemptible pension from a prince to whom he might have given law, the eyes of his subjects were anxiously turned toward the political situation of the contending powers, and the events of the campaign. In Spain, domestic faction had been added to the other misfortunes of a kingdom long declining, through the weakness of her councils, and the general corruption of her people. Don John of Austria, natural son of Philip IV. had taken arms against the queen-regent, and advanced toward Madrid; and, although disappointed in his expectations of support, he returned to Saragossa, fortune soon after favoured his ambition. The young king, Charles II. escaping from his mother, ordered her to be shut up in a convent at Toledo, and declared Don John prime minister. But the hopes entertained of his abilities were not answered by the event. The misfortunes of Spain increased on every side.

(1) Journals, May 25, 1671.

(2) Macpherson, *Hist. Brit.* chap. i.

In Catalonia, Monterey was defeated; Bracamonte lost the battle of Formiga in the kingdom of Sicily; and Flanders, in consequence of the capture of Valenciennes, Cambray, and St. Omer, was laid open to absolute conquest. The prince of Orange, in order to atone for his defeat at Cassel, sat down before Charleroy; but on the appearance of the French army, under mareschal Luxemburg, he was forced to raise the siege.⁽¹⁾ William, though possessed of considerable talents for war, was inferior to this experienced general; and seems always to have wanted that happy combination of genius and skill which is necessary to form the great commander.

On the Upper Rhine, Charles V. duke of Lorraine, who had succeeded his uncle rather in the title than in the territory of that duchy, commanded a body of the allies. The prince of Saxe-Eisinach, at the head of another army, endeavoured to enter Alsace. But the mareschal de Crequi, with an inferior force, defeated the vanguard of the duke of Lorraine, though an able officer. He obliged him to retire from Mentz; he hindered him from crossing the Maese; he beat up his posts, he cut off his convoys; and having gained an advantage over the allies, near Cokersburg, he closed the campaign on that side with the taking of Friburg. The baron de Montelar, who defended Alsace, was no less successful. After various movements, he inclosed the troops of the prince of Saxe-Eisinach within his own, and forced them to capitulate near Strasburg.⁽²⁾ The king of Sweden, however, was not equally fortunate with his illustrious ally; he had still the worst in the war, notwithstanding the taking of Elseinbourg, and a victory gained over the king of Denmark. His fleet was twice defeated by the Danes, and the elector of Brandenburg took from him the important fortress of Stettin.⁽³⁾

During the rapid progress of the French arms in Flanders, serious negotiations had been begun between Lewis and the States General of the United Provinces, and an eventual treaty was actually concluded; by which all differences were adjusted, and nothing wanting to the restoration of peace, but the concurrence of their respective allies. The misfortunes of the confederates, and the supine indifference of England, seemed to render peace necessary to them. But had they been sufficiently acquainted with the state of France, they would have had fewer apprehensions from the continuance of the war. Though victorious in the field, she was exhausted at home. The successes which had rendered her the terror of her neighbours, had already deprived her, for a time, of the power of hurting them. But the ignorance of mankind continued their fears: the apprehensions of Europe remained: and Lewis derived more glory from his imaginary than from his real force.

These apprehensions were very great in England. In parliament they were made subservient to the purposes of ambition and faction, as well as of patriotism; and they awakened dangerous discontents among the people. Murmurs were heard from all ranks of men. Willing to put an end to dissatisfactions that disturbed his repose, Charles made a new attempt to gain the confidence of his people. His brother's bigoted attachment to popery, and his own unhappy connexions with France, he was sensible, had chiefly occasioned the loss of his popularity. To afford the prospect of a Protestant succession to the throne, and procure a general peace to Europe, could not therefore fail, he thought, of quieting the minds of his subjects. He accordingly encouraged proposals of marriage from the prince of Orange to the lady Mary, his brother's eldest daughter, and presumptive heiress to the crown, the duke of York having then no male issue, and the king no legitimate offspring. By so tempting a match, he hoped to engage the prince entirely in his interests; and to sanctify with William's approbation such a peace as would satisfy France, and tend to perpetuate his own connexions with Lewis.

William came over to England at the close of the campaign; and whatever might be his motives for such a conduct, he acted a part highly deserving of applause, whether we examine it by the rules of prudence or delicacy.

(1) Pelisson, tom. iii.

(2) Ibid. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xii.

(3) *Mém. de Brandenburg*.

He refused to enter upon business before he had been introduced to the lady Mary; declaring that, as he placed great part of his happiness in domestic satisfaction, no consideration of interest or policy could ever induce him to marry a person who was not perfectly agreeable to him. The lady Mary, whom he found in the bloom of youth, and very amiable both in mind and person, exceeded his highest hopes; but he still refused to concert any measures for the general peace, until his marriage should be concluded. His allies, who, as things stood, were likely to have hard terms, would otherwise, he said, be apt to suspect that he had made this match at their cost. "And 'I am determined,'" added he, "it shall never be said, that I sold my honour for a wife!"⁽¹⁾ Charles, who affected to smile at these punctilios, persisted in his resolution of making the peace precede the marriage; but finding the prince inflexible, he at last consented to the nuptials, which were celebrated at St. James's, to the inexpressible joy of the nation.

This matrimonial alliance gave great alarm to the king of France. A junction of England with the confederates, he concluded, would be the immediate consequence of so important a step, taken not only without his consent, but without his knowledge or participation. Charles, however, endeavoured to quiet his apprehensions, by adjourning the parliament from the third of December to the fourth of next April; a term late for granting supplies, or forming preparations for war.⁽²⁾ In the mean time the king, the prince of Orange, the lord-treasurer Danby, and sir William Temple, held consultations relative to a general peace; and the earl of Feversham was dispatched to France with conditions sufficiently favourable to the allies, and yet not dishonourable to Lewis.

Two days only were allowed the French monarch for the acceptance or refusal of the peace, and the English ambassador had no power to negotiate. But he was prevailed on to stay some days longer, and returned at last without any positive answer. "My ambassador at London," said Lewis, "shall have full powers to finish the treaty to the satisfaction of the king. And I hope my brother will not break with me for one or two towns."⁽³⁾ The French ambassador declared, that he had leave to yield all the towns required, except Tournay; and even to treat of some equivalent for that, if the king thought fit. Charles was softened by the moderation of Lewis. The prince of Orange, who had given vigour to the English councils, was gone; and delay succeeded delay in the negotiations, until the French monarch, having taken the field early, made himself master of Ghent and Ypres, after having threatened Mons and Namur.⁽⁴⁾

These conquests, which completed the triumph of France, filled the Dutch with terror, and the English with indignation. But Lewis managed matters so artfully in both nations, that neither proved a bar in the way of his ambition. Through his intrigues with the remains of the Louvestein party in Holland, he increased the general desire of peace, by awakening a jealousy of the designs of the prince of Orange on account of his eagerness for continuing the war. In England, he not only maintained his connexions with Charles, but gained to his interest many of the popular members in both houses of parliament, who were less afraid of the conquest of Flanders than of trusting the king with an army to defend it. So great, however, was the ardour of the people of England for war, that both the king and parliament were obliged to give way to it. An army of twenty thousand men, to the astonishment of Europe, was completed in a few weeks; and part of it was sent over, under the duke of Monmouth, to secure Ostend. Meanwhile Charles, in consideration of the sum of three hundred thousand pounds, secretly engaged to disband his army, and to permit Lewis to make his own terms with the confederates; and the commons also, awayed by French influence, but ignorant of the king's engagements, and ever desirous to thwart

(1) *Temple's Mem.* part ii. chap. iii.

(2) *Dalrymple's Append.*

(3) *Temple's Mem.* part ii. chap. iii.

(4) *Id. ibid.* Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. xii.

his measures, voted that the army should be disbanded (1) Baseness so complicated, in men of the most exalted stations, makes us almost hate human nature, and the generous mind, in contemplating such a motley groupe, without regard to imposing names, beholds with equal indignation the pensioned king and the hiring patriot. (2)

Having nothing now to dread from the only two powers that could set bounds to his empire, Lewis assumed the style of a conqueror; and, instead of yielding to the terms offered by Charles, he himself dictated the articles of a peace, which, by placing all the barrier towns of Flanders in his hands, left that country open to his future inroads. This imperious proceeding, and other aggravating circumstances, occasioned great murmurs in England, and the king seemed at length disposed to enter heartily into the war. But the confederates had been too often deceived, to trust any longer to the fluctuating counsels of Charles. Negotiations for a general peace advanced toward a conclusion at Nimeguen; and as the emperor and Spain, though least able to continue the war, seemed resolved to stand out, Van Beverning, the Dutch ambassador, more prudently than honourably signed a separate treaty with France. (3) That treaty, which occasioned much clamour among the confederates, was ratified by the States; and all the other powers were at last obliged to accept the terms prescribed by the French monarch.

The principal of these terms were, That Lewis, beside Franche Comté, which he had twice conquered, should retain possession of Cambray, Aire, St. Omer, Valenciennes, Tournay, Ypres, Bouchain, Cassel, Charlemont, and other places; that he should restore Maestricht to the States, the only place belonging to the United Provinces which he now retained; that Spain should be again put in possession of Charleroy, Oudenarde, Aeth, Ghent, and Limbourg; that the emperor should give up Fribourg to France, and retain Philipsburg; that the elector of Brandenburg should restore to Sweden his conquests in Pomerania, and that the treaty of Westphalia should remain in full force over Germany and the North. (4) The duke of Lorraine was the only prince who refused to be included in the peace of Nimeguen: he chose rather to become a soldier of fortune, and to command the imperial armies, than to accept his dominions on the conditions proposed by Lewis.

The prince of Orange was so much enraged at this peace, that he took a very unwarrantable step to break it. He attacked the quarters of the duke of Luxemburg at St. Denis near Mons, after the treaty was signed, and when the duke reposed on the faith of it, in hopes of cutting off the whole French army. (5) But he gained no decided advantage; and this bold violation of the laws of humanity, if not of those of nations, was attended with no other consequence than the loss of many lives on both sides.

The king of England also, disgusted with Lewis, and ashamed of having been so long the tool of a monarch to whose ambition he might have given law, endeavoured to persuade the States to disavow their ambassador, and refuse to ratify the peace. But the Dutch had made too good terms for themselves to think of immediately renewing the war; and Charles, though

(1) *Temple's Mem.* part ii. chap. iii. Dalrymple's Appendix, p. 157. 159.

(2) That some of the popular members in both houses of parliament received money from the court of France, is a truth too notorious to be denied, though painful to relate. And to say they abetted no measure, which they did not believe to be for the good of their country, is but a poor apology for their venality. A senator who can be prevailed on to accept a bribe, it is to be feared, will readily persuade himself of the rectitude of any measure, for the support of which that bribe is offered. Of this lord Russell seems to have been fully convinced; for although willing to co-operate with France, in order to prevent Charles II. from becoming absolute, (as soon as informed that Lewis XIV. began to discover that such a change in the English government would be against his interest) he was startled when told by Barillon, that he had "a considerable sum" to distribute in parliament, to obstruct the vote of supply. "—I should be sorry," said he, "to have any communication with men who can be gained by money." *Dalrymple's Appendix.*

(3) *Temple's Mem.* part ii. chap. iii.

(4) Henault, *Ann.* 1678. *Mém. de Brandebourg.* Voltaire, *Siclé*, chap. xii.

(5) Voltaire, *ubi sup.* Burnet, book iii.

denied the stipulated bribe for his ignominious neutrality, soon returned to his former connections with France.⁽¹⁾

Thus, my dear Philip, was Lewis XIV. highly exalted above every other European potentate. He had greatly extended his dominions, in defiance of a powerful confederacy; and he had secured very important conquests, by treaty. His ministers, in negotiating, had appeared as much superior to those of other nations, as his generals in the field. He had given law to Spain, Holland, and the empire: his arms had humbled his most formidable neighbours, and his ambition threatened the independency of all. The farther progress of that ambition we shall afterward have occasion to trace. In the mean time we must carry forward the domestic history of Great Britain.

LETTER XIV.

England, from the Popish Plot, in 1678, to the Death of Charles II. with a retrospective View of the Affairs of Scotland.

NOTWITHSTANDING the seeming eagerness of Charles II. for war, toward the conclusion of the peace of Nimeguen, he was never believed to be sincere. So utterly had he lost the confidence of his people, that his best measures were supposed to proceed from bad motives: nay, the more popular any measure appeared, the more it was suspected of some dangerous purpose. A general terror prevailed of popery and arbitrary power: dark surmises were propagated; and the king and the duke of York, in conjunction with France, were justly considered as the great enemies of the civil and religious liberties of the nation.

These apprehensions, inflamed by the violence of faction, and turned upon a particular object by the forgeries of artful men, gave birth to the famous imposture known by the name of the Popish Plot; the most extraordinary example of frenzy and delusion that ever distracted an unhappy people. But before we enter on that mysterious business, I must carry forward the affairs of Scotland, with which it was intimately connected.

Soon after the suppression of the insurrection in the West of Scotland, in 1666, and the severe punishment of the fanatical insurgents, the king was advised to try milder methods for bringing the people over to episcopacy. With this view, he entrusted the government to the earl of Tweeddale, and sir Robert Murray, men of prudence and moderation. In order to compose the religious differences, which still ran high, these ministers adopted a scheme of *comprehension*; by which it was proposed to diminish the authority of the bishops, to abolish their negative voice in the ecclesiastical courts, and to leave them little more than the right of precedency among the Presbyters.⁽²⁾ But this scheme alarmed the jealousy of the zealous teachers of those times. They chose rather to deliver their wild harangues, at the hazard of their lives, to conventicles in woods and mountains, than have any communication with antichristian institutions, which they esteemed dangerous and criminal. "Touch not! taste not! handle not!" was their common cry; and the king's ministers, perceiving that advances to such men could only serve to debase the dignity of government, by being contemptuously rejected, gave up the project of *comprehension*, and adopted that of *indulgence*.

In the prosecution of this new scheme, they proceeded with great temper and judgment. Some of the most enlightened of the Presbyterian teachers were settled in vacant churches; without being obliged to conform to the established religion; and salaries of twenty pounds a year were offered to the

(1) Dalrymple's Append.

(2) Burnet, vol. i.

rest, till they should be otherwise provided for, on condition that they behaved themselves with decency and moderation. This offer was universally rejected, as the king's bribe for silence; and those teachers who were settled in the vacant churches soon found their popularity decline, when they delivered only the simple doctrines of Christianity. By ceasing to rail against the church and state, called *preaching* to the times, they got the name of *dumb dogs*, who were supposed to be afraid to bark.⁽¹⁾ The churches were again deserted, for the more vehement and inflammatory discourses of the field: preachers and conventicles multiplied daily in the West; where the people, as formerly, came armed to their places of worship.

When this fanaticism was at its height, Lauderdale was appointed commissioner to the Scottish parliament, which met on the 19th of October. The zealous Presbyterians, the chief asserters of liberty, were unable to oppose the measures of the court; so that the tide ran strongly toward monarchy, if not despotism. By one act it was declared, That the right of governing the church was inherent in the king; and by another, the number of the militia (established by the undue influence of the crown about two years before) was settled at twenty-two thousand men; who were to be constantly armed, regularly disciplined, and held in readiness to march to any part of his majesty's dominions, where their service might be required, for the support of his authority, power, or greatness.⁽²⁾ Thus was Charles invested with absolute sway in Scotland, and even furnished with the means of becoming formidable to his English subjects, whose liberties he wished to subdue.

A severe act against conventicles followed these arbitrary laws, on which Lauderdale highly valued himself, and which induced the king to make him sole minister for Scotland. Ruinous fines were imposed on the Presbyterians, who met to worship in houses, and field preachers and their hearers were to be punished with death. But laws that are too severe defeat their own end. The rigours exercised against conventicles in Scotland, instead of breaking the spirit of the fanatics, served only to render them more obstinate; to increase the fervour of their zeal, to bind them more closely together, and to inflame them against the established religion. The commonalty every where in the low country, but more especially in the western counties, frequented conventicles without reserve; and although the gentry themselves seldom visited those illegal places of worship, they took no measures to repress that irregularity in their inferiors, whose liberty they seemed to envy. In order to prevent this connivance, a bond or contract was tendered to the landlords in the West, by which they were to engage for the good behaviour of their tenants; and in case any tenant frequented a conventicle, the landlord was to subject himself to the same fine that could by law be exacted from the offender.⁽³⁾

But it was ridiculous to give sanction to laws by voluntary contracts; it was iniquitous to make one man answerable for the conduct of another, and it was illegal to impose such hard conditions upon men who had no way of defended.⁽⁴⁾ For these reasons the greater part of the gentry refused to sign the bonds required; and Lauderdale, enraged at such firmness, endeavoured to break their spirit by an expedient truly tyrannical. Because the western counties abound in conventicles, though otherwise in a state of profound peace, he pretended that they were in a state of actual rebellion. He made therefore an agreement with some Highland chiefs to call out their followers, to the number of eight thousand who, in conjunction with the guards, and the militia of Angus, were sent to live at free quarter upon the lands of such gentlemen as had rejected the bonds.

As the western counties were the most populous, and the most industrious in Scotland, and the Highlanders the men least civilized, it is more easy to imagine than to describe the havoc that ensued. An army of barbarians,

(1) Burnet, vol. i.

(2) Burnet, ubi sup.

(3) Burnet, vol. ii.

(4) Hume, vol. viii.

trained up in rapine and violence, unaccustomed to discipline, and averse from the restraints of law, was let loose among a set of people, whom they were taught to regard as the enemies of their prince and their religion. Nothing escaped their ravenous hands: neither age, nor sex, nor innocence, afforded protection. And lest the cry of an oppressed people should reach the throne, the council forbade, under severe penalties, all noblemen and gentlemen of landed property to leave the kingdom.(1)

Notwithstanding this severe edict, the duke of Hamilton, with ten other noblemen, and about fifty gentlemen of distinction, went to London, and laid their complaints before the king. Charles was shocked at their narrative, but he took no effectual means to remedy the grievances of which they complained. "According to your representation," said he, "Lauderdale has been guilty of many bad things in the government of Scotland; but I cannot find that he has, in any thing, acted contrary to my interest." What must the interests of a king be, when they are unconnected with the welfare of his people!

Meanwhile Lauderdale ordered home the Highlanders; and taking advantage of the absence of the dissatisfied noblemen and gentlemen, he summoned a convention of estates at Edinburgh. And this assembly, to the eternal disgrace of the nation, sent up an address to the king, approving of Lauderdale's government. But as the means by which that address was procured were well known, it served only to render both the king and his minister more odious in Scotland, and to spread universal alarm in England; where all men concluded, that as, in the neighbouring kingdom, the very voice of liberty was totally suppressed, and grievances so rivetted, that it was become dangerous even to mention them, every thing was to be feared from the arbitrary disposition of Charles. If, by a Protestant church, persecution could be carried to such extremes, what, it was asked, might not be dreaded from the violence of popery, with which the kingdom was threatened?—and what from the full establishment of absolute power, if its approaches were so tyrannical?—Such were the reasonings of men, and such their apprehensions in England, when the rumour of a popish plot threw the whole nation into a panic.

The chief actor in this horrid imposture, which occasioned the loss of much innocent blood, was a needy adventurer, named Titus Oates, one of the more profligate of mankind. Being bred to the church, he obtained a small living, which he was obliged to abandon on account of a prosecution for perjury. He was afterward chaplain on board a man of war, but was dismissed for an unnatural crime.(2) In his necessity, he came to London, the former scene of his debaucheries, where he got acquainted with Dr. Tongue, a city divine, who for some time fed and clothed him. Tongue himself was no perfect character, being a man of a credulous temper, and of an intriguing disposition. A lover of mischief, to spread scandal was his chief amusement, and to propagate the rumour of plots his highest delight. By his advice, Oates, whom he found to be a bold impudent fellow, agreed to reconcile himself to the Romish communion, in order to discover the designs of the Catholics connected with the English court; to go beyond sea, and to enter into the society of the Jesuits. All these directions Oates implicitly followed. He became a papist; visited different parts of France and Spain; resided some time in a seminary of Jesuits at St. Omers; but was at last dismissed on account of bad behaviour, by that politic body, who never seem to have trusted him with any of their secrets.(3)

Oates, however, setting his wicked imagination at work, in order to supply the want of materials, returned to England burning with resentment against the Jesuits, and with a full resolution of forming the story of a popish plot. This he accomplished in conjunction with his patron Dr. Tongue; and one Kirby, a charmer, and Tongue's friend, was employed to communicate the

(1) Burnet, vol. ii.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Burnet, ubi sup. See also *Danby's Mem.* Echard, Kennet, and James II. 1670.

intelligence to the king. Charles made light of the matter, but desired to see Dr. Tongue; who delivered into his hands a narrative, consisting of forty-three articles, of a conspiracy to murder his majesty, to subvert the government, and to re-establish the Catholic faith in England. The king, having hastily glanced over the paper, ordered him to carry it to the lord-treasurer Danby, who treated the information more seriously than it seemed to deserve. Yet the plot, after all, would have sunk into oblivion, on account of the king's disregard to a tale accompanied with such incredible circumstances, had it not been for an artful contrivance of the impostors, that gave to the whole a degree of importance of which it was unworthy.

Tongue, who was continually plying the king with fresh information, acquainted the lord-treasurer, by letter, that a packet, written by Jesuits, concerning the plot, and directed to Bedingfield, confessor to the duke of York, would soon be delivered. Danby, who was then in Oxfordshire, hastened to court; but before his arrival, Bedingfield had carried the letters to the duke, protesting that he did not know what they meant, and that they were not the hand-writing of the persons whose names they bore. The duke carried them to the king; who was farther confirmed, by this incident, in his belief of an imposture, and of the propriety of treating it with contempt. But the duke, anxious to clear his confessor and the followers of his religion from such an horrid accusation, insisted on a thorough inquiry into the pretended conspiracy before the council. The council sat upon the business: Kirby, Tongue, and Oates, were brought before them; and although the narrative of the latter was improbable, confused, and contradictory, the plot made a great noise, and obtained such universal credit, that it was considered as a crime to disbelieve it.

The substance of Oates's evidence was, That he had been privy, both at home and abroad, to many consultations among the Jesuits for the assassination of Charles II. who, they said, had deceived them; that Grove and Pickering, the one an ordained Jesuit, the other a lay brother, were at first appointed to shoot the king, but that it had afterward been resolved to take him off by poison, by bribing Sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, and a papist; that many Jesuits had gone into Scotland, in disguise, to distract the government of that kingdom, by preaching sedition in the field conventicles; that he himself had assisted at a consultation of Jesuits in London, where it was resolved to dispatch the king by the dagger, by shooting, or by poison; and that, when he was busy in collecting evidence for a full discovery, he was suspected, and obliged to separate himself from them, in order to save his own life.(1)

The letters sent to Bedingfield were produced, in support of this evidence: and although they bore as evident marks of forgery as the narrative of imposture, the council issued orders for seizing such accused persons as were then in London. Sir George Wakeman was accordingly apprehended, together with Coleman, late secretary to the duchess of York; Langhorne, an eminent barrister at law, and eight Jesuits, among whom was Pickering.(2) These steps of the council still farther alarmed the nation: the city was all in an uproar; and apprehension and terror every where prevailing, the most absurd fictions were received as certain facts.

But this ferment would probably have subsided, and time might have opened the eyes of the public so as to discern the imposture, had it not been for certain collateral circumstances, which put the reality of a popish plot beyond dispute, in the opinion of most men. An order had been given, by the lord-treasurer, to seize Coleman's papers. Among these were found some copies of letters to father la Chaise, the French king's confessor, to the pope's nuncio at Brussels, and to other Catholics abroad; and as Coleman was a weak man, and a wild enthusiast in the Romish faith, he had insinuated many extraordinary things to his correspondents, in a mysterious language, concerning the conversion of the three British kingdoms, and the

(1) Burnet, &c. ubi supra. See also Oates's *Narrative*.

(2) Id. *ibid*.

total ruin of the Protestant religion, which he termed pestilent heresy. He founded his hopes on the zeal of the duke of York, and spoke in obscure terms of aids from abroad, for the accomplishment of what he denominated a *glorious work*. (1)

These indefinite expressions, in the present state of men's minds, were believed to point distinctly at all the crimes in Oates's narrative; and as Coleman's letters for the last two years, which were supposed to contain the unfolding of the whole plot, had been conveyed out of the way before the others were seized, full play was left for imagination. Another incident completed the general delusion, and rendered the prejudices of the nation incurable. This was the murder of sir Edmundsbury Godfrey, an active justice of the peace, who had taken the deposition of Oates relative to his first narrative. He was found dead in a ditch near Primrose Hill, between London and Hampstead, with his sword thrust through his body, his money in his pocket, and the rings on his fingers. From these last circumstances it was inferred, that his death had not been the act of robbers: it was therefore universally ascribed to the resentment of the Catholics; though it appears, that he had always lived on a good footing with that sect, and was even intimate with Coleman at the time that he took Oates's evidence. (2)

All possible advantage, however, was taken of this incident, in order to inflame the popular phrenzy. The dead body of Godfrey was exposed to view for two whole days: the people in multitudes crowded around it; and every one was roused to a degree of rage approaching madness, as well by the mutual contagion of sentiments, as by the moving spectacle. His funeral was celebrated with great pomp and parade: the corpse was conducted through the chief streets of the city; seventy-two clergymen walked before, and above a thousand persons of distinction concluded the procession behind. (3) To deny the reality of the plot, was now to be reputed an accomplice; to hesitate, was criminal. All parties concurred in the delusion, except the unfortunate Catholics; who, though conscious of their own innocence, began to be afraid of a massacre similar to that of which they were accused. But their terror did not diminish that of others. Invasions from abroad, insurrections at home, conflagrations, and even poisonings, were apprehended. Men looked with wild anxiety at one another, as if every interview had been the last. The business of life was at a stand; all was panic, clamour, and confusion, which spread from the capital over the whole kingdom; and reason, to use the words of a philosophical historian, could no more be heard, in the present agitation of the human mind, than a whisper in the midst of the most violent hurricane. (4)

During this national ferment the parliament was assembled; and the earl of Danby, who hated the Catholics, who courted popularity, and perhaps hoped that the king would be more cordially beloved by the nation, if his life was supposed to be in danger from the Jesuits, opened the story of the plot in the house of peers. Charles, who wished to keep the whole matter from the parliament, was extremely displeased with this temerity, and said to his minister, "You will find, though you do not believe it, that you have given the parliament a handle to ruin yourself, as well as to disturb all my affairs: and you will certainly live to repent it!" Danby had afterward sufficient reason to revere the sagacity of his master.

The cry of the plot was immediately echoed from the upper to the lower house. The authority of parliament gave sanction to that fury with which the people were already animated. The commons voted an address for a solemn fast, and a form of prayer was framed for that occasion. Oates was brought before them; and finding that even the semblance of truth was no longer necessary to gain credit to his fictions, he made a bolder publication of his narrative at the bar of the house, adding many new and extraordinary circumstances. The most remarkable of these were, That the pope, having

(1) *Coleman's Letters*.

(2) Burnet, vol. ii.

(3) North.

(4) Hume, vol. viii.

resumed the sovereignty of England, on account of the heresy of prince and people, had thought proper to delegate the supreme power to the society of Jesuits; and that de Oliva, general of that order, in consequence of the papal grant, had supplied all the principal offices, both civil and military, with Catholic noblemen and gentlemen, many of whom he named. On this ridiculous evidence, the earl of Powis, with the lords Stafford, Arundel, Peters, and Bellasis, were committed to the Tower, and soon after impeached for high treason: and both houses voted, without one dissenting voice, "That there has been, and still is, a *damnable and hellish plot*, contrived and carried on "by papists, for murdering the king, subverting the government, and destroying the Protestant religion!" (1)

Encouraged by this declaration, new informers appeared. Coleman and a number of other Catholics were brought to trial, whose only guilt appeared to be that of their religion. But they were already condemned by the voice of the nation. The witnesses in their favour were ready to be torn in pieces: and the jury, and even the judges, discovered strong symptoms of prejudice against them. Little justice could be expected from such a tribunal. Many of those unhappy men died with great firmness, and all protesting their innocence to the last; (2) yet these solemn testimonies, after all hopes of life had failed, could not awaken compassion for their fate in the breast of a single spectator. They were executed amid the shouts of the deluded populace, who seemed to enjoy their sufferings.

From the supposed conspirators in the popish plot, the parliament turned its views to higher objects. A bill was introduced, by the commons, for a new Test, in which *popery* was denominated *idolatry*; and all the members who refused this test, were to be excluded from both houses. The bill passed the lower house, without opposition, and was sent up to the lords. The duke of York moved, in the house of peers, that an exception might be admitted in his favour; and with great earnestness, and even with tears in his eyes, he said, he was now to throw himself on their kindness, in the greatest concern he could have in this world. He dwelt much on his duty to the king, and his zeal for the prosperity of the nation; and he solemnly protested, that whatever his religion might be, it should be only a *private thing* between God and his own soul, and never should influence his public conduct. This exception being agreed to, the bill was returned to the commons; and, contrary to all expectation, the amendment was carried by a majority of two votes. (3)

The rage against popery, however, continued; and was in nothing more remarkable than in the encouragement given by the parliament to informers. Oates, who, granting his evidence true, must be regarded as an infamous scoundrel, was recommended by the two houses to the king. He was rewarded with a pension of twelve hundred pounds a year; guards were appointed for his protection; men of the first rank courted his company; and he was called the saviour of the nation. The employment of an informer became honourable; and, beside those wretches who appeared in support of Oates's evidence, a man high in office assumed that character.

Montague, the English ambassador at the court of France, disappointed in his expectation of being made secretary of state, returned without leave, and took his seat in the lower house. He had been deeply concerned in the money negotiations between Charles and Lewis. On the late disagreement of these two princes, he had been gained by the latter; and now, on the failure of his hopes of preferment from the court of England, he engaged, for one hundred thousand crowns, to disgrace the king, and to ruin his minister, who was become peculiarly obnoxious to France. (4) Danby, having some intimation of this intrigue, ordered Montague's papers to be seized; but that experienced politician, prepared against the possibility of such a circumstance, had delivered into sure hands the papers that could most effectually serve

(1) *Journals*, October 31, 1678.

(2) Burnet, vol. ii.

(3) *Journals*, Nov. 22, 1678.

(4) *Dalrymple's Append.* p. 198.

his purpose. The violence of the minister afforded a kind of excuse for the perfidy of the ambassador. Two of Danby's letters were produced before the house of commons. One of these contained instructions to demand three hundred thousand pounds a year, for three years, from the French monarch, provided the conditions of peace should be accepted at Nimeguen, in consequence of Charles's good offices; and, as Danby had foreseen the danger of this negotiation, the king, in order to remove his fears, had subscribed with his own hand, that the letter was written by his express orders.(1)

This circumstance rather inflamed than allayed the resentment of the commons, who naturally concluded, that the king had all along acted in concert with the French court, and that every step which he had taken, in conjunction with the allies, had been illusory and deceitful. It was immediately moved, That there is sufficient matter of impeachment against the lord-treasurer; and the question was carried by a considerable majority. Danby's friends were abashed, and his enemies were elated beyond measure with their triumph. The king himself was alarmed: his secret negotiations with France, before only suspected, were now ascertained. Many who wished to support the crown were ashamed of the meanness of the prince, and deserted their principles in order to save their reputation.

The articles exhibited against the treasurer were six in number; and consisted, beside the letters, of various mismanagements in office, most of which were either frivolous or ill founded. Danby, upon the whole, had been a cautious minister. When the impeachment was read in the house of peers, he rose and spoke to every article. He shewed that Montague, the informer against him, had himself promoted with ardour the money-negotiations with Lewis. He cleared himself from the aspersion of alienating the king's revenue to improper purposes: and he insisted particularly on his known aversion against the interests of France; declaring, that whatever compliances he might have made, he had always esteemed a connexion with that king pernicious to his master and destructive to his country.(2) The lords went immediately into a debate on the question; and, upon a division, the majority were against the commitment of Danby. The commons however insisted, that he should be sequestered from parliament and committed. A violent contest was likely to ensue; and the king, who thought himself bound to support his minister, and saw no hopes of ending the dispute by gentle means, first prorogued, and afterward dissolved the parliament.

This was a desperate remedy in the present critical state of the nation, and did not answer the end proposed. It afforded but a temporary relief, if it may not be said to have increased the disease. The new parliament, which the king was under the necessity of assembling, consisted chiefly of the most violent of the former members, reinforced by others of the same principles. The court had exerted its influence in vain: the elections were made with all the prejudices of the times. The king's connections with France had alienated the affections of his subjects; but the avowed popery of the duke of York was a still more dangerous subject of jealousy and discontent. Sensible that this was the fatal source of the greater part of the misfortunes of his reign, and foreseeing the troubles that were likely to be occasioned by the violent spirit of the new representatives, Charles conjured his brother to conform to the established church. He even sent the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of Winchester to persuade him, if possible, to become again a Protestant; and on finding all their arguments lost on his obstinacy, he desired him to withdraw beyond sea, in order to appease the people, and to satisfy the parliament that popish counsels no longer prevailed at court. This proposal the duke also declined, as he apprehended that his retiring would be construed into an acknowledgment of guilt; but when the king insisted on his departure, as a step necessary for the welfare of both, he obeyed, after engaging Charles to make a public declara-

(1) *Journals*, Dec. 14. 1678. See also *Danby's Papers*.

(2) *Journals of the Lords*, Dec. 25, 1678.

tion of the illegitimacy of the duke of Monmouth. He went first to Holland, and then to Brussels, where he fixed his residence.⁽¹⁾

James duke of Monmouth, natural son of Charles II. by Lucy Walters, and born about ten years before the Restoration, possessed all the qualities that can engage the affections of the populace, with many of those that conciliate the favour of the more discerning part of mankind. To a gracefulness of person, which commanded respect, he joined the most winning affability; by nature tender, he was an enemy to cruelty: he was constant in his friendships, and just to his word. Active and vigorous in his constitution, he excelled in the manly exercises of the field. He was personally brave, and loved the pomp, and the very dangers of war; but he was vain even to a degree of folly, versatile in his measures, and weak in his understanding. This weakness rendered him a fit tool for the earl of Shaftesbury, the most able and unprincipled man of his age, and who had lately distinguished himself as much by his opposition against the court as formerly by the violence of his counsels in its favour, while one of the Cabal. That bold and arch politician had flattered Monmouth with the hopes of succeeding to the crown. A story had even been propagated of his legitimacy, in consequence of a secret contract of marriage between the king and his mother. This story was greedily received by the multitude: and on the removal of the duke of York from the kingdom, and the prospect of his being excluded from the succession by the jealousy of parliament, it was hoped that Monmouth would be declared prince of Wales. But Charles, in order to cut off all such expectations, as well as to quiet his brother's apprehensions, made a solemn declaration before the privy council, that he was never married to any woman but the queen; and on finding that Monmouth continued to encourage the belief of the lawfulness of his birth, the king renewed his protestation, and made it particular against Lucy Walters.⁽²⁾

The subsequent events of this reign, my dear Philip, furnish abundant matter for the memorialist; but, the struggle between the king and parliament excepted, they have little relation to the line of general history. I shall, therefore, pass them over slightly, offering only the most important to your notice. One could wish that the greater part of them were erased from the English annals.

The new parliament, no way mollified by the dismissal of the duke of York, discovered all the violence that had been feared by the court. The commons revived the prosecution of the earl of Danby: they reminded the lords of his impeachment; and they demanded justice, in the name of the people of England. Charles, determined to save his minister, had already had the precaution to grant him a pardon. That he now avowed in the house of peers; declaring that he could not think Danby in any respect criminal, as he had acted in every thing by his orders. The lower house, paying no regard to this confession, immediately voted, that no pardon of the crown could be pleaded in bar of an impeachment by the commons of England.⁽³⁾ The lords seemed at first to adhere to the pardon, but yielded at last to the violence of the commons: and Danby, after absconding for a time, surrendered to the Black Rod, and was committed to the Tower.

Charles, in order to south the commons, made a show of changing his measures. Several popular leaders of both houses were admitted into the privy council; particularly sir Henry Capel, lord Russell, the earl of Shaftesbury, and the viscounts Halifax and Fauconberg, who had distinguished themselves by their opposition to the court. The earl of Essex, a popular nobleman, was advanced to the head of the treasury, in the room of the earl of Danby; and the earl of Sunderland, a man every way qualified for such an office, was made secretary of state.

(1) Burnet, vol. ii. James II. 1679.

(2) Kennet, vol. iii. Hume, vol. viii.

(3) The prerogative of mercy had been hitherto understood to be altogether unlimited in the crown; so that this pretension of the commons was perfectly new. It was not, however, unsuitable to the genius of a monarchy strictly limited; where the king's ministers are supposed to be accountable to the national assembly, even for such abuses of power as they may commit by orders from their master.

By thus placing the most violent patriots, either real or pretended, in his service, the king hoped to regain the affections of his parliament. But he was miserably disappointed. The commons received his declaration of a new council with the greatest indifference and coldness, believing the whole to be a trick in order to obtain money, or an artifice to induce the country party to drop their pursuit of grievances, by disarming with offices the violence of their leaders. They therefore continued their deliberations with unabating zeal; and resolved, without one dissenting voice, "That the duke of York's being a papist, and the hopes of his coming, as such, to the crown, has given the greatest countenance and encouragement to the plots against the king and the Protestant religion."⁽¹⁾

This being considered as an introductory step to the eventual exclusion of the duke from the throne, Charles, in order to prevent such a bold measure, laid before the parliament certain limitations, which, without altering the succession to the crown, he thought sufficient to secure the civil and religious liberties of the subject. The limitations proposed were very important: they deprived a popish successor of the right of bestowing ecclesiastical promotions, and of either appointing or displacing privy counsellors or judges, without the consent of parliament. The same precaution was extended to the military part of the government; to the lord-lieutenants and deputy-lieutenants of counties, and to all officers of the navy.⁽²⁾

These ample concessions, which in a manner annihilated the power of the crown, were rejected with contempt by the commons. They brought in a bill for the total exclusion of the duke of York, and they continued their prosecution against Danby. They resolved that the pardon which he claimed was illegal and void; and, after some conferences with the lords on the subject, a day was fixed for his trial. Preparations were also made for the trial of the popish lords in the Tower.

In the mean time a furious dispute arose between the two houses, occasioned by a resolution of the commons, "That the lords *spiritual* ought not to have any vote in any proceedings against the lords in the 'Tower.'"⁽³⁾ This resolution involved a question of no small importance, and was of peculiar consequence in the present case. Though the bishops were peculiarly prohibited by the canon law, and afterward by established custom, from assisting at capital trials, they generally sat and voted in motions preparatory to such trials. The validity of Danby's pardon was first to be debated; and, although but a preliminary, was the hinge on which the whole must turn. The commons, therefore, insisted upon excluding the bishops, whom they knew to be devoted to the court: the lords were unwilling to make any alteration in the forms of their judicature; both houses adhered to their respective pretensions; and Charles took advantage of their quarrels, first to prorogue, and then to dissolve the parliament; setting aside, by that measure, the trial of his minister, and, for a time, the Bill of Exclusion against his brother.⁽⁴⁾

Though this parliament, my dear Philip, is reprehensible on account of its violence and its credulity; and although some of its members seem to have been actuated by a spirit of party and a strong antipathy against the royal family, while others were influenced by the money of France or the intrigues of the prince of Orange, the greater number were animated by a real spirit of patriotism, by an honest zeal for their civil and religious liberties. Of this the Exclusion Bill and the *Habeas Corpus* Act are sufficient proofs. The latter, which particularly distinguishes the English constitution, can never be too much applauded.

The personal liberty of individuals is a property of human nature, which nothing but the certainty of a crime committed ought ever to abridge or restrain. The English nation had, accordingly, very early and repeatedly, as we have seen, secured by public acts this valuable part of their rights as

(1) *Journals*, April 27, 1679.

(2) *Ibid.* May 10.

(3) *Ibid.* May 17.

(4) Danby and the popish lords, Stafford excepted, whose fate I shall have occasion to relate, after lying in the Tower till 1684, were admitted to bail on petition.

men; yet something was still wanting to render personal freedom complete, and prevent evasion or delay from ministers and judges. The act of *Habeas Corpus*, passed last session, answered all these purposes, and does equal honour to the patriotism and the penetration of those who framed it and carried it into a law. This act prohibits the sending of any English subject to a prison beyond sea; and it provides, that no judge shall refuse to any prisoner a writ, by which the gaoler is directed to produce in court the body of such prisoner, and to certify the cause of his detainer and commitment.

The general rage against popery, and the success of the country-party in the English parliament, raised the spirit of the Scottish Covenanters, and gave new life to their hopes. Their conventicles, to which they went armed, became more frequent and numerous; and though they never acted offensively, they frequently repelled the troops sent to disperse them. But even this small degree of moderation could not long be preserved by a set of wild enthusiasts, who thought every thing lawful for the support of their godly cause; who were driven to madness by the oppressions of a tyrannical government, and flattered, by their friends in England, with the prospect of relief from their troubles. A barbarous violence increased the load of their calamities.

Sharpe, archbishop of St. Andrews, was deservedly obnoxious to the Covenanters. Having been deputed by the Scottish clergy at the Restoration, to manage their interests with the king, he had betrayed them. He soon after openly abandoned the Presbyterian party; and when episcopacy was established in Scotland, his apostacy was rewarded with the dignity of primate. To him was chiefly entrusted the conduct of ecclesiastical affairs; and, in order to recommend himself to the court, he persecuted the Covenanters, or non-conformists, with unrelenting rigour. It was impossible for human beings to suffer so many injuries, without being stimulated against their author by the keenest emotions of indignation and revenge. A band of desperate fanatics, farther influenced by the hope of doing an acceptable service to Heaven, way-laid the archbishop in the neighbourhood of St. Andrews; and, after firing into his coach, dispatched him with many wounds.(1)

This atrocious action furnished the ministry with a pretext for a more severe persecution of the Covenanters, on whom, without distinction, they threw the guilt of the murder of Sharpe. The troops quartered in the western counties received orders to disperse, by force, all conventicles, wherever they should be found. This severity obliged the Covenanters to assemble in large bodies; and their success in repelling the king's forces emboldened them to set forth a declaration against episcopacy, and publicly to burn the acts of parliament which had established that mode of ecclesiastical government in Scotland. They took possession of Glasgow; and established a kind of preaching camp in the neighbourhood; whence they issued proclamations, declaring that they fought against the king's supremacy in religious matters, against popery, prelacy, and a popish successor.(2)

Charles, alarmed at this insurrection, dispatched the duke of Monmouth, with a body of English cavalry, to join the royal army in Scotland, and subdue the fanatics. Monmouth came up with the Covenanters at Bothwell's bridge, between Glasgow and Hamilton, where a rout rather than a battle ensued, and the insurgents were totally dispersed. About seven hundred of these persecuted and misguided men fell in the pursuit, and twelve hundred were made prisoners. But, the execution of two clergymen excepted, this was all the blood that was shed. Monmouth used his victory with great moderation. Such prisoners, as would promise to live peaceably in future, were dismissed.

But lenity, however, unfortunately awakened the jealousy of the court. Monmouth was recalled and disgraced; and the duke of York, who had found a pretence to return to England, was entrusted with the government of Scotland. Under his administration, the Covenanters were exposed to a

(1) Burnet, vol. ii. Wodrow, vol. ii.

(2) *Id. ibid.*

cruel persecution; and such punishments were inflicted upon them, even on frivolous pretences, as make humanity shudder, and would disfigure the character of any prince less marked with severities than that of James. He is said to have been frequently present at the torturing of the unhappy criminals, and to have viewed their sufferings with as much unfeeling attention, as if he had been contemplating some curious experiment.(1)

While these things were passing in Scotland, a new parliament was assembled in England, where the spirit of party still raged with unabated fury. Instead of *Petitioners* and *Abhorrrers* (or those who applied for redress of grievances, and such as opposed their petitions), into which the nation had been for some time divided, the court and country parties came now to be distinguished by the still prevailing epithets of *Whig* and *Tory*. The court party reproached their antagonists with their affinity to the fanatical conventicles in Scotland, who were known by the name of *Whigs*; and the country party pretended to find a resemblance between the courtiers and the popish banditti in Ireland, to whom the appellation of *Tory* was affixed.(2) Such was the origin of those party-names, which will, in all probability, continue to the latest posterity.

The new parliament discovered no less violence than the former. The commons voted, That it is the undoubted right of the subjects of England to petition the king for the sitting of parliament and the redress of grievances; and they resolved, That to traduce such petitioning is to betray the liberty of the people, to contribute to subvert the ancient constitution, and to introduce arbitrary power. They renewed the vote of their predecessors, laying the whole blame of the popish plot on the religion of the duke of York; and they brought in a bill for excluding him from the throne. This bill was passed after a warm debate, and carried up to the house of peers; where Shaftesbury and Sunderland argued powerfully for it, and Halifax, no less strenuously against it. Through the forcible reasoning of the latter, who discovered an extent of abilities and a flow of eloquence which had never been exceeded in the English parliament, the bill was rejected by a considerable majority of the lords.(3)

Enraged at this disappointment, the commons discovered their ill humour in many violent and unjustifiable proceedings. They prosecuted the Abhorrrers; they impeached the judges, and they persecuted all the most intimate friends of the duke of York. At last they revived the impeachment of the popish lords in the Tower, and singled out the viscount Stafford as their victim. He was accordingly brought to trial; and, although labouring under age and infirmities, he defended himself with great firmness and presence of mind, exhibiting the most striking proofs of his innocence. Yet, to the astonishment of all unprejudiced men, he was condemned by a majority of twenty-four voices. He received with surprise, but resignation, the fatal verdict; and the people, who had exulted over his conviction, were softened into tears at his execution, by the venerable simplicity of his appearance. He continued on the scaffold to make earnest protestations of his innocence, and expressed a hope that the present delusion would soon be over. A silent assent to his asseverations was observed through the vast multitude of weeping spectators; whilst some cried, in a faltering accent, "We believe you, my Lord!" The executioner himself was touched with the general sympathy. Twice did he suspend the blow, after raising the fatal axe; and when at last, by a third effort, he severed that nobleman's head from his body, all the spectators seemed to feel the stroke.(4)

The execution of Stafford opened, in some measure, the eyes of the nation, but did not diminish the violence of the commons. They still hoped, that the king's urgent necessities would oblige him to throw himself wholly upon their generosity. They therefore brought in a bill for an association to pre-

(1) Burnet, vol. ii. This account of the apathy of James is confirmed by his letters in Dalrymple's *Appen.* part. i.

(2) Burnet, vol. ii. Hume, vol. viii.

(3) *Ibid.* James II. 1690.

(4) *Ibid.* Hume, vol. viii.

vent the duke of York, or any papist, from succeeding to the crown; and they voted, That whoever had advised his majesty to refuse the Exclusion Bill were enemies to the king and kingdom. Nor did they stop here. They resolved, That until a bill to exclude the duke of York should pass, the commons could grant the king no supply, without betraying the trust reposed in them by their constituents. And that Charles might not be enabled, by any other expedient, to support the government, and preserve himself independent, they farther resolved, That whoever should thereafter advance money on the customs, excise, or hearth money; or whoever should accept or buy any tally of anticipation upon any part of the king's revenue, should be adjudged to hinder the sitting of parliament, and become responsible for his conduct at the bar of the house of commons.(1)

Having got intelligence of these violent proceedings, Charles came to a resolution to prorogue the parliament; for although he was sensible, that the peers, who had rejected the Exclusion Bill, would still continue to defend the throne, he saw no hope of bringing the commons to any better temper, and was persuaded that their farther sitting could only serve to keep faction alive, and to perpetuate the general ferment of the nation. When they received information of his design, they resolved, That whoever advised his majesty to prorogue his parliament, for any other purpose than to pass the Bill of Exclusion, was a betrayer of the king, an enemy to the Protestant religion and to the kingdom of England, a promoter of the French interest, and a pensioner of France.(2) This furious resolution, and others of the same nature, determined the king instantly to dissolve the parliament, instead of proroguing it.

Both parties had now carried matters so far, that a civil war seemed inevitable, unless the king, contrary to his fixed resolution of not interrupting the line of succession, should agree to pass the Bill of Exclusion. Charles saw his danger, and was prepared to meet it. A variety of circumstances, however, conspired to preserve the nation from that extremity, and to fling the whole powers of government finally into the hands of the king.

THE PERSONAL CHARACTER of Charles, who, to use the words of one who knew him well, with great quickness of conception, pleasantness of wit, and variety of knowledge, "had not a grain of pride or vanity in his whole com-
"position,"(3) had always rendered him the idol of the populace. The most affable, best bred man alive, he treated his subjects like noblemen, like gentlemen, like freemen; not like vassals or boors. His professions were plausible, and his whole behaviour engaging; so that he won upon the hearts, even while he lost the good opinion of his subjects; and often balanced their judgment of things by their *personal* inclination.(4)

These qualities, and this part of his conduct, went a great way to give the king hold of the affections of his people. But these were not all. In his public conduct too, he studied and even obtained a degree of popularity; for although he often embraced measures inconsistent with the political interests of the nation, and sometimes dangerous to the liberty and religion of his subjects, he had never been found to persevere obstinately in them, but had always returned into that path which the general opinion seemed to point out to him. And, as a farther excuse, his worst measures were all ascribed to the bigotry and arbitrary principles of his brother. If he had been obstinate in denying, to the voice of his commons, the Bill of Exclusion, he had declared himself ready to pass any other bill, that might be deemed necessary to secure the civil and religious liberties of his people during the reign of a Popish successor, provided it did not tend to alter the descent of the crown in the true line. This, by the nation at large, was thought no unreasonable concession; and, if accepted, would have effectually separated the king from the duke of York, unless he had changed his religion, instead of uniting them together by a fear made common to both. But the die was

(1) *Journals*, Dec. 1690, and Jan. 1691.

(2) *Ibid.* Jan. 10, 1691.

(3) Sir William Temple.

(4) Bolingbroke, *Dissertation on Parties*.

thrown; and the leaders of the Whig party were resolved to hazard all, rather than hearken to any thing short of absolute exclusion.(1)

This violence of the commons increased the number of the king's friends among the people. And he did not fail to take advantage of such a fortunate circumstance, in order to strengthen his authority, and to disconcert the designs of his enemies. He represented to the zealous abettors of episcopacy, the multitude of Presbyterians and other sectaries who had entered into the Whig party, both in and out of parliament; the encouragement and favour they met with, and the loudness of their clamours against popery and arbitrary power; which, he insinuated, were intended only to divert the attention of the more moderate and intelligent part of the kingdom from their republican and fanatical views. By these means, he made the nobility and clergy apprehend, that the whole scheme for the abolition of the church and monarchy was revived; and that the same miseries and oppressions awaited them, to which they had been so long exposed during the former, and yet recent usurpations of the commons.

The memory of these melancholy times also united many cool and unprejudiced persons to the crown, and begot a dread lest the zeal for civil liberty should engraft itself once more on religious enthusiasm, and deluge the nation in blood. The king himself seemed not to be totally free from such apprehensions. He therefore ordered the new parliament to assemble at Oxford, that the Whig party might be deprived of all that encouragement and support, which they might otherwise derive from the vicinity of the great and factious city of London. The party themselves afforded a striking proof of the justice of the king's fears. Sixteen peers, all violent Exclusionists, with the duke of Monmouth at their head, presented a petition against the sitting of the parliament at Oxford; "where the two houses," they said, "could not deliberate in safety; but would be exposed to the swords of the Papists and their adherents, of whom too many had crept into his majesty's guards." (2) These insinuations, which so evidently pointed at Charles himself, were thrown out merely to inflame the people, not to persuade the king of the terror of the parliament; and, instead of altering his resolution, they served only to confirm him in the propriety of it.

In assembling a new parliament, so soon as two months after the dissolution of the former, Charles had little expectation of meeting with a more favourable disposition in the commons. But he was desirous to demonstrate his willingness to meet that national assembly; hoping, if every method of accommodation should fail, that he would be the better enabled to justify himself to the mass of his people, in coming to a final breach with the representative body. The commons, on their part, might readily have perceived, from the place where they were ordered to meet, that the king was determined to act with firmness. But they still flattered themselves, that his urgent necessities and his love of ease would ultimately make him yield to their vehemence. They therefore filled the whole kingdom with tumult and noise. The elections went every where against the court; and the popular leaders, armed, and confident of victory, came to Oxford attended by numerous bands of their partisans. The four members for the city of London, in particular, were followed by large companies, wearing in their hats ribbons, in which were woven the blood-stirring words, *No Popery! No Slavery!* The king also made a shew of his strength. He entered Oxford in great pomp. His guards were regularly mustered; his party collected their force; and all things, on both sides, wore more the appearance of hostile opposition, than of civil deliberation or debate.(3)

Charles, who had hitherto addressed his parliaments in the most soothing language, on this occasion assumed a more authoritative tone. He reproached the former house of commons with obstinacy, in rejecting his proffered limitations: he expressed a hope of finding a better temper in the present; and he assured both houses, that, as he should use no arbitrary government him-

(1) Burnet, vol. ii.

(2) Kennet, vol. iii. James II. 1681.

(3) Ibid.

self, he was resolved not to suffer tyranny in others.(1) The commons were not over-awed by this appearance of vigour. As they consisted chiefly of the same members that sat in the last parliament, they chose the same speaker, and discovered the same violence as formerly. They revived the impeachment of Danby, the inquiry into the popish plot, and the Bill of Exclusion.

The king, who was offended at the absurd bigotry of his brother, and willing to agree to any measure that might gain the commons without breaking the line of succession, permitted one of his ministers to propose, that the duke of York should be banished, during life, five hundred miles from England, Scotland, and Ireland; and that, on the king's decease, the next heir, namely the princess of Orange, should be constituted regent, with regal power. This, as lord Bolingbroke humorously observes, was surely not to vote the lion in the lobby into the house: it would have been to vote him out of the house and lobby both, and only to suffer him to be called lion still.(2) But the past disappointments of the popular party, and the opposition made by the court, had soured their temper to such a degree, that no method of excluding the duke, but their own, could give them satisfaction. The king's proposal was, therefore, rejected with disdain; and Charles, thinking he had now a sufficient apology for adopting that measure, which he had foreseen would become necessary, went privately to the house of peers, and dissolved the parliament.(3)

A sudden clap of thunder could not more have astonished the popular party, than did this bold step. Prepared for no other but parliamentary resistance, they gave all their towering hopes at once to the wind; and the great bulwark of opposition, which they had been so long employed in raising, quickly vanished into air. They were made sensible, though too late, that they had mistaken the temporizing policy of Charles for timidity, and his love of ease for want of vigour. They found, that he had patiently waited until things should come to a crisis; and that, having procured a national majority on his side, he had set his enemies at defiance. No parliament, they knew, would be summoned for some years; and, during that dangerous interval, they foresaw that the court would have every advantage over a body of men dispersed and disunited. Their spirit left them, with their good fortune: fears for themselves succeeded to their violence against the crown. They were apprehensive that a prince, whom they had offended and distressed, would use his victory with rigour. And they were not deceived.

From this time forward, the king became more severe in his temper, and jealous in his disposition. He immediately concluded a secret money-treaty with France, in order to enable him to govern without parliamentary supplies;(4) and he published a declaration, in vindication of his late violent measure. That declaration was ordered to be read in all the churches and chapels in England: the eloquence of the clergy seconded the arguments of the monarch: addresses, full of expressions of duty and loyalty, were sent to him from all the legal societies in the kingdom; and the people in general seemed to congratulate their sovereign on his happy escape from parliaments!(5) The doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance were revived; and the bench and the pulpit seemed to contend with each other, which could shew most zeal for unlimited power in the crown.

This was a strange and sudden revolution in the sentiments of the nation: yet, had the king pushed his victory no farther; had he been contented to enjoy his triumph without violence or injustice, his past conduct might have admitted of some apology, and the abettors of the prerogative might have softened resentment without kindling indignation. But Charles was unfortunately at the head of a faction, who seemed to think that the hour of reta-

(1) *Journals of the Lords*, March 21, 1681.

(2) *Dissertation on Parties*, Letter vii.

(3) Burnet, vol. ii.

(4) *Dalrymple's Append.* James II. 1681.

(5) This remarkable change, as Burnet very judiciously observes, shews how little dependence can be placed on popular humours, which "have their ebbs and their flows, their hot and cold fits, almost as certainly as seas or fevers." *Hist. of his Own Times*, vol. ii.

liation was come; and as he had formerly temporized to quiet his enemies, he now judged it necessary to give way to the vehemence of his friends. In order to gratify the established clergy, a severe persecution was commenced against the Presbyterians, and other Protestant sectaries who had been the chief support of the Exclusionists in the house of commons; and the whole gang of spies, informers, and false witnesses, who had been retained by the popular party in order to establish the reality of the popish plot, and whose perjuries had proved fatal to so many Catholics, were now enlisted by the court, and played off as an engine against their former patrons. The royalists, to use the expression of a nervous writer, thought their opponents so much covered with guilt, that *injustice* itself became *just* in their punishment.(1)

Every other species of retaliation but this, my dear Philip, may perhaps be vindicated, or admit of some excuse. Let force revenge the violences committed by force: let blood stream for blood; let the pillage of one party repay the depredations of another; let the persecuted, in their turn, become persecutors, and the faggot mutually flame for the purgation of martyrs:—these are but temporary evils, and may soon be forgot; but let not the fountain of justice be poisoned in its source, and the laws, intended to protect mankind, become instruments of destruction. This is the greatest calamity that can befall a nation, famine and pestilence not excepted; and may be considered as the last stage of political degeneracy.

In those times of general corruption and abject servility, when all men seemed ready to prostrate themselves at the foot of the throne, the citizens of London still retained their bold spirit of liberty and independency. The grand jury had judiciously rejected an indictment against the earl of Shaftesbury, on account of the improbability of the circumstances, after perjury had gone its utmost length. Enraged at this disappointment, the court endeavoured to influence the election of the magistrates, and succeeded; but as that contest, it was perceived, might be to renew every year, something more decisive was resolved upon. A writ of *Quo Warranto* was accordingly issued against the city: that is, an inquiry into the validity of a corporation charter, which is presumed to be defective, or to have been forfeited by some offence to be proved in the course of suit. And although the cause of the city was powerfully defended, and the offences pleaded against it of the most frivolous kind, judgment was given in favour of the crown.(2) The aldermen and common-council, in humble supplication, waited upon the king; and Charles, who had now obtained his end, agreed to restore their charter, but on such terms as would put the proud capital entirely in his power. He reserved to himself the *approbation* of the principal magistrates; with this special proviso, that should his majesty twice disapprove of the lord mayor or sheriffs elected, he might, by his own commission, appoint others in their room.

Filled with consternation at the fate of London, and convinced how ineffectual a contest with the court would prove, most of the other corporations in England surrendered their charters into the king's hands, and paid large sums for such new ones as he was pleased to frame. By these means a fatal stab was given to the constitution. The nomination of all the civil magistrates, with the disposal of all offices of power or profit, in every corporation in the kingdom, was in a manner vested in the crown; and as more than three-fourths of the house of commons are chosen by the boroughs, the court was made sure of an undisputed majority. A perfect despotism was established.

In such times, when it was become dangerous even to complain, resistance might be imprudent; but no attempt for the recovery of legal liberty could be criminal in men who had been born free. A project of this kind had for some time been entertained by a set of determined men, among whom were

(1) Macpherson, *Hist Brit.* chap. vi.

(2) Soon after the Revolution, this judgment was reversed by act of parliament; and it was at the same time enacted, that the privileges of the city of London shall never be forfeited by any delinquency whatever in the members of the corporation. Stat. 2 Will. and Mary.

some of the heads of the Country Party, though various causes had hitherto prevented it from being brought to maturity; particularly the impeachment of the earl of Shaftesbury, the framer of the plot, and his unexpected departure for Holland, where he soon after died. But the zeal of the conspirators, which had begun to languish, was rekindled by the seizure of the corporation charters, and a regular plan for an insurrection was formed. This business was committed to a council of six; the members of which were, the duke of Monmouth, the king's natural son, lord Russell, son of the earl of Bedford, the earl of Essex, lord Howard, the famous Algernon Sidney, and John Hampden, grandson of the illustrious patriot of that name.

These men had concerted an insurrection in the city of London, where their influence was great; in Scotland, by an agreement with the earl of Argyle, who engaged to bring the Covenanters into the field; and in the West of England, by the assistance of the friends of liberty in that quarter. They had even taken measures for surprising the king's guards, though without any design of hurting his person; the exclusion of the duke of York, and the redress of grievances, which they had found could not be obtained in a parliamentary way, being all they proposed by rising in arms. Sidney and Essex, indeed, are said to have embraced the idea of a republic; but Russell and Hampden, the more moderate and popular conspirators, had no views but the restoration of the broken constitution of their country, and the securing of the civil and religious liberties of the nation.

While these important objects were in contemplation, but before any blow had been struck, or even the time fixed for such a purpose, the patriotic conspirators were betrayed by one of their associates, named Rumsey. Lord Howard, a man of no principle, and in needy circumstances, also became evidence for the crown, in hopes of pardon and reward. Others of less note followed the infamous example. On their combined evidence several of the conspirators were seized, condemned, and executed. Among these, the most distinguished were Russell and Sidney. Both died with the intrepidity of men who had resolved to hazard their lives in the field, in order to break the fetters of slavery, and rescue themselves and their fellow-subjects from an ignominious despotism.(1) Monmouth, who had absconded, surrendered on a promise of pardon; Essex put an end to his life in the Tower; and sufficient proof not being found against Hampden to make his crime capital, he was loaded with an exorbitant fine; which, as it was beyond his ability to pay, was equivalent to the sentence of perpetual imprisonment.(2)

The defeating of this conspiracy, known by the name of the *Rye-house Plot*, contributed still farther to strengthen the hands of government, already too strong. The king was universally congratulated on his escape; new addresses were presented to him; and the doctrine of implicit submission to the civil magistrate, or an unlimited passive obedience, was more openly taught. The heads of the university of Oxford, under pretence of condemning certain doctrines, which they denominated republican, went even so

(1) Lord Grey's *Hist. of the Rye-house Plot. State Trials*, vol. iii. Law, if not justice, was violated, in order to procure the condemnation of Sidney, whose talents the king feared. Russell's popularity proved no less fatal to him. He was universally adored by the nation, and therefore a necessary victim in such times. Charles accordingly resisted every attempt to save him; for he scorned, on his trial, to deny his share in the concerted insurrection. In vain did lady Russell, the daughter of the loyal and virtuous Southampton, throw herself at the royal feet, and crave mercy for her husband: in vain did the earl of Bedford offer an hundred thousand pounds, through the mediation of the ambitious duchess of Portsmouth, for the life of his son. The king was inexorable. In order to put a stop to all farther importunity, he said, in reply to the earl of Monmouth, one of his favourite courtiers, and lord Russell's declared enemy, but who advised pardon—"I must have his life, or he will have mine!" (*Dalrymple's Memoirs*, part. i.) "My death," said Russell, with a consolatory prescience, when he found his fate was inevitable, "will be of more service to my country, than my life could have been." *Id. ibid.*

(2) Burnet, vol. ii. The severity of Charles, in punishing these over-zealous friends of freedom, seems to have been intended to strike terror into the whole popular party; and unfortunately for the criminals, a conspiracy of an inferior kind, which aimed at the king's life, being discovered at the same time, afforded him too good a pretext for his rigour. The assassination plot was confounded, on all the trials, with that for an insurrection.

far as to pass a solemn decree in favour of absolute monarchy. The persecution was renewed against the Protestant sectaries, and all the most zealous friends of freedom, who were prosecuted with the utmost severity. The perversion of justice was carried to a still greater excess by the court; and the duke of York was recalled from Scotland, and restored to the office of high admiral, without taking the Test.

This violation of an express act of parliament could not fail to give offence to the more discerning part of the nation; but the duke's arbitrary counsels, and the great favour and indulgence shown to the Catholics, through his influence, were more general causes of complaint. He indeed held entirely the reins of government, and left the king to pursue his favourite amusements; to loiter with his mistresses, and laugh with his courtiers. Hence the celebrated saying of Waller:—"The king is not only desirous that the duke should succeed him, but is resolved, out of spite to his parliament, to make him reign even in his lifetime."

Apprehensive, however, of new conspiracies, or secretly struck with the iniquity of his administration, Charles is said seriously to have projected a change of measures. He was frequently overheard to remonstrate warmly with his brother; and on finding him obstinate in his violent counsels, he resolved once more to banish him the court, to call a parliament, and throw himself wholly on the affections of his people. While resolving this idea, he was seized with a fit, resembling an apoplexy; which, after an interval of reason, carried him off in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and not without suspicions of poison.(1) These suspicions fell not on the duke of York, but on some of the duchess of Portsmouth's Roman-catholic servants; who are supposed to have been worked upon by her confessor, to whom she had communicated the king's intentions, or by those her confessor had trusted with the secret.(2)

The great lines of Charles's character I have already had occasion to delineate. As a prince, he was void of ambition, and destitute of a proper sense of his dignity, in relation to foreign politics. In regard to domestic politics, he was able and artful, but mean and disingenuous. As a husband he was unfaithful, and neglectful of the queen's person, as well as of the respect due to her character. As a gentleman and companion, he was elegant, easy, gay, and facetious; but having little sensibility of heart, and a very bad opinion of human nature, he appears to have been incapable of friendship or gratitude. As a lover, however, he was generous, and seemingly even affectionate. He recommended, with his latest breath, the duchess of Portsmouth, whom he had loaded with benefits, and her son, the duke of Richmond, to his brother: and he earnestly requested him not to let poor Nell starve!(3) This was Nell Gwyn, whom the king had formerly taken from the stage; and who, though no longer regarded as a mistress, had still served to amuse him in a vacant hour.(4) So warm an attachment, in his last moments, to the objects of an unlawful passion, has been regarded, by a great divine and popular historian, as a blemish in the character of Charles. But the philosopher judges differently: he is glad to find, that so profligate a prince was capable of any sincere attachment; and considers even this sympathy with the objects of sensuality, when the illusions of sense could no longer deceive, as an honour to his memory.

The religion of Charles, and his receiving the sacrament, on his death-bed, from Huddleston, a popish priest, while he refused it from the divines of the church of England, and disregarded their exhortations, have afforded matter of reproach and altercation. But if the king was really a Roman-catholic, as is generally believed, and as I have ventured to assert,

(1) Burnet, vol. ii.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Burnet, ubi sup.

(4) It may seem somewhat unaccountable that Charles, after so long an acquaintance, should have left Nell in such a necessitous condition, as to be in danger of starving. But this request must only be considered as a solicitous expression of tenderness.

on respectable authorities,(1) he could neither be blamed for concealing his religion from his subjects, nor for dying in that faith which he had embraced. If, as others contend, he was not a Catholic, his brother took a very extraordinary step, in making him die in the Romish communion. But if he was so weak, when Huddleston was introduced to him by the duke of York, as to be unable to refuse compliance; if he agreed to receive the sacrament from the divines of the church of England, but had not power to swallow the elements;(2) these circumstances prove nothing but his own feeble condition, and the blind bigotry of his brother. The truth, however, seems to be, that Charles, while in high health, was of no particular religion; but that, having been early initiated in the Catholic faith, he always fled to the altar of superstition, when his spirits were low, or when his life was thought in danger.

We must now, my dear Philip, return to the line of general history, and examine the farther progress of the ambition of Lewis XIV. before we carry lower the affairs of England.

LETTER XV.

A General View of the Affairs on the Continent, from the Peace of Nimeguen, in 1678, to the League of Augsburg, in 1687.

THE peace of Nimeguen, as might have been foreseen by the allies, instead of setting bounds to the ambition of Lewis XIV. only left him leisure to perfect that scheme of universal monarchy, or absolute sovereignty, in Europe at least, into which he was flattered by his poets and orators; and which, at length, roused a new and more powerful confederacy against him. While the empire, Spain, and Holland, disbanded their supernumerary troops, Lewis still kept up all his: in the midst of profound peace, he maintained a formidable army, and acted as if he had been already the sole sovereign in Europe, and all other princes but his vassals. He established judicatures for re-uniting such territories as had anciently depended upon the three bishopricks, Metz, Toul, and Verdun; upon Alsace, or any of his late conquests. These arbitrary courts inquired into titles buried in the most remote antiquity: they cited the neighbouring princes, and even the king of Spain, to appear before them, and to render homage to the king of France, or to behold the confiscation of their possessions.

No European prince, since the time of Charlemagne, had acted so much like a master and a judge, as Lewis XIV. The elector Palatine, and the elector of Treves, were divested of the signories of Falkenbourg, Germerheim, Valdentz, and other places, by his imperious tribunals; and he laid claim to the ancient and free city of Strasburg, as the capital of Alsace. This large and rich city, which was the mistress of the Rhine by means of its bridge over that river, had long attracted the eye of the French monarch: and his minister Louvois, by the most artful conduct, at last put him in possession of it. He ordered troops to enter Lorrain, Franche Comté, and Alsace, under pretence of employing them in working on the fortifications in these provinces. But, according to concert, they all assembled in the neighbourhood of Strasburg, to the number of twenty thousand men, and took possession of the ground between the Rhine and the city, as well as of the redoubt that covered the bridge. Louvois appeared at their head, and demanded that the town should be put under the protection of his master. The magistrates had been corrupted: the inhabitants were all consternation: the city opened its gates, after having secured its privileges by capitulation.

(1) Burnet, Halifax, Hume, &c. In confirmation of these authorities, see Barillon's *Letter to Lewis XIV.* Feb. 18, 1685, in Dalrymple's *Append.*

(2) Macpherson, *Hist. Brit.* vol. i. chap. iv.

Vauban, who had fortified so many places, here exhausted his art, and rendered Strasburg the strongest barrier of France.(1)

Nor did Lewis behave with less arrogance on the side of the Low Countries. He demanded the country of Alost from the Spaniards, on the most frivolous, and even ridiculous pretence. His minister, he said, had forgot to insert it in the articles of peace; and as it was not immediately yielded to him, he blockaded Luxemburg.(2) Alarmed at these ambitious pretensions, the empire, Spain, and Holland, began to take measures for restraining the encroachments of France. But Spain was yet too feeble to enter upon a new war, and the imperial armies were required in another quarter, to oppose a more pressing danger.

The Hungarians, whose privileges Leopold had never sufficiently respected, had again broke out into rebellion; and Tekeli, the head of the insurgents, had called in the Turks to the support of his countrymen. By the assistance of the basha of Buda, he ravaged Silesia, and reduced many important places in Hungary; while Mahomet IV. the reigning sultan, was preparing the most formidable force that the Ottoman empire had ever sent against Christendom.

Leopold, foreseeing that the gathering storm would finally break upon Germany, beside demanding the assistance of the princes of the empire, concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with John Sobieski, king of Poland. Meanwhile the grand vizier, Kara Mustapha, passing through Hungary, at the head of fifty thousand janizaries, thirty thousand spahis, and two hundred thousand common men assembled for the occasion, with baggage and artillery in proportion to such a multitude, advanced towards Vienna. The duke of Lorrain, who commanded the imperial forces, attempted in vain to oppose the progress of the invader. The Turks, under the grand vizier, took the right of the Danube, and Tekeli, with the Hungarians, the left. Seeing his capital threatened on every side, the emperor retired first to Lintz, and afterwards to Passau. Two thirds of the inhabitants followed the court, and nothing was to be seen, on all sides, but fugitives, equipages, and carriages laden with moveables.(3) The whole empire was thrown into consternation.

The garrison of Vienna amounted to about fifteen thousand men; and the citizens able to bear arms, to near fifty thousand. The Turks invested the town on the 17th of July; and they had not only destroyed the suburbs, but made a breach in the body of the place by the first of September. The duke of Lorrain had been so fortunate as to prevent the Hungarians from joining the Turks, but was unable to lend the garrison any relief; and an assault was every moment expected, when a deliverer appeared. John Sobieski, king of Poland, having joined his troops to those of Saxony, Bavaria, and the Circles, made a signal to the besieged from the top of the mountain of Calenberg, and inspired them with new hopes. Kara Mustapha, who, from a contempt of the Christians, had neglected to push the assault, and who, amidst the progress of ruin, had wanted in luxury, was now made sensible of his mistake, when too late to repair it.

The Christians, to the number of sixty-four thousand, descended the mountain, under the command of the king of Poland, the duke of Lorrain, and an incredible number of German princes. The grand vizier advanced to meet them at the head of the main body of the Turkish army, while he ordered an assault to be made upon the city with twenty thousand men, who were left in the trenches. The assault failed; and the Turks being seized with a panic, were routed almost without resistance. Only five hundred of the victors fell, and not above one thousand of the vanquished. And so great was the terror, and so precipitate the flight of the infidels, that they abandoned not only their tents, artillery, and baggage, but left behind them even the famous standard of Mahomet, which was sent as a present to the pope!(4)

(1) *Hist. d'Alsace*, liv. xxiii. Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. xiii.

(2) Voltaire, *ubi sup.*

(3) *Annal de l'Emp.* tom. ii. Barre, tom. x.

(4) *Id. ibid.*

The Turks received another defeat in the plain of Barcan ; and all Hungary, on both sides of the Danube, was recovered by the imperial arms.

The king of France, who had supported the malecontents in Hungary, and who encouraged the invasion of the Turks, raised however the blockade of Luxemburg, when they approached Vienna. "I will never," said he, "attack a Christian prince, while Christendom is in danger from the Infidels."⁽¹⁾ He was confident when he made his declaration, that the imperial city would be taken, and had an army on the frontiers of Germany, ready to oppose the farther progress of those very Turks whom he had invited thither ! By becoming the protector of the empire, he hoped to get his son elected king of the Romans.⁽²⁾ But this scheme being defeated, and the apprehensions of Christendom removed by the relief of Vienna and the expulsion of the Turks, Lewis returned to the siege of Luxemburg ; and reduced, in a short time, not only that place, but also Courtray and Dixmude.

Enraged at these violences, the Spaniards declared war, and attempted to retaliate. And the prince of Orange was eager for a general confederacy against France ; but not being able to induce his uncle, the king of England, to take part in it, he laid aside the design. The emperor, still deeply involved in the war with the Turks and Hungarians, could make no effort on the side of Flanders ; and the Spaniards alone were unequal to the contest in which, forgetting their weakness, they had rashly engaged. A truce of twenty years was, therefore, concluded by Spain and the empire with France, at Ratisbon. The principal articles of this temporary treaty were, That Lewis should restore Courtray and Dixmude, but retain possession of Luxemburg, Strasburg, the fortress of Kehl, and part of the reunions made by his arbitrary courts established at Metz and Brisac.⁽³⁾

The glory and greatness of the French monarch were still farther extended by means of his naval power. He had now raised his lately created marine to a degree of force that exceeded the hopes of France, and increased the fears of Europe. He had upward of an hundred ships of the line, and sixty thousand seamen.⁽⁴⁾ The magnificent port of Toulon, in the Mediterranean, was constructed at an immense expense ; and that of Brest, upon the Ocean, was formed on as extensive a plan. Dunkirk and Havre-de-Grace were filled with ships ; and Rochefort, in spite of nature, was converted into a convenient harbour. Nor did Lewis, though engaged in no naval war, allow his ships to lie inactive in these ports. He sent out squadrons, at different times, to clear the seas of the Barbary pirates : he ordered Algiers twice to be bombarded ; and he had the pleasure not only of humbling that haughty predatory city, and of obliging the Algerines to release all their Christian slaves, but of subjecting Tunis and Tripoli to the same conditions.⁽⁵⁾

The republic of Genoa, for a slight offence, was no less severely treated than Algiers. The Genoese were accused of having sold bombs and gunpowder to the Algerines ; and they had farther incurred the displeasure of Lewis, by engaging to build four gallees for the Spaniards. He commanded them, under pain of this resentment, not to launch those gallees. Incensed at this insult on their independency, the Genoese paid no regard to the menace. They seemed even desirous to shew their contempt of such arrogance ; but they had soon occasion to repent their temerity. Fourteen ships of the line, twenty gallees, ten bomb-ketches, and several frigates, immediately sailed from Toulon, under old Du Quesne ; and appearing before Genoa, suddenly reduced to a heap of ruins part of those magnificent buildings, which have obtained for that city the appellation of *FRONT*. Four thousand men were landed, and the suburb of St. Peter d'Arena was burnt. It now became necessary for the Genoese to make submissions, in order to prevent

(1) Voltaire, *Siccle*, chap. xiii.

(2) Voltaire, *ubi sup.*

(3) Dumont, *Corp. Diplom.* tom. vii.

(4) Voltaire, *Siccle*, chap. xiii.

(5) *Id. ibid.*

the total destruction of their capital. Lewis demanded, that the Doge, and four of the principal senators, should come and implore his clemency in his palace at Versailles; and, in order to prevent the Genoese from eluding this satisfaction, or depriving him of any part of his triumph, he insisted that the Doge, who should be sent to deprecate his vengeance, should be continued in office, notwithstanding the perpetual law of the republic, by which a Doge is deprived of his dignity the moment he quits the city.⁽¹⁾ These humiliating conditions were complied with. Imperiale Lascaro, Doge of Genoa, in his ceremonial habit, accompanied by four of the principal senators, appeared before Lewis in a supplicating posture. The Doge, who was a man of wit and vivacity, on being asked by the French courtiers what he saw most extraordinary at Versailles, very pointedly replied—"To see myself here!"

The grandeur of Lewis XIV. was now at its highest point of elevation; but the sinews of his real power were already somewhat slackened, by the death of the great Colbert. That excellent minister, to whom France owes her most valuable manufactures, her commerce, and her navy, had enabled his master, by the order and œconomy with which he conducted the finances, to support the most expensive wars; to dazzle with his pomp all the nations of Europe; and to corrupt its principal courts, without distressing his people. He has, however, been accused of not sufficiently encouraging agriculture, and of paying too much attention to the manufactures connected with luxury. But these, which for a time made all her neighbours in a manner tributary to France, he was sensible, only could supply the excessive drain of war, and the ostentatious waste of the king. He was not at liberty to follow his own judgment. The necessities of the state obliged him to adopt a temporary policy; and to encourage the more sumptuous manufactures at the expense of general industry, and consequently of population.

But in the prosecution of this system, which though radically defective, was the best that could be adopted in such circumstances, Colbert employed the wisest measures. He not only established the most ingenious, and least known manufactures, such as silks, velvets, laces, tapestries, carpets; but he established them in the cheapest and most convenient places, and encouraged, without distinction, persons of all nations and all religions. Above the rest, the Hugonots, or French Protestants, seemed to claim his attention. Having long lost their political consequence, they devoted themselves chiefly to manufactures. They every where recommended themselves by their industry and ingenuity, which were often rewarded with great opulence. This opulence begot envy; envy produced jealousy; and soon after the death of Colbert, who had always protected and patronized them, these useful and ingenious sectaries, without the imputation of any crime, were exposed to a cruel and impolitic persecution, which reduced them to the necessity of abandoning their native country.

This persecution, whose progress was marked by the *revocation* of the famous Edict of Nantz, which secured to the French Protestants the free exercise of their religion, and was understood to be perpetual, throws peculiar disgrace on the polished court and enlightened reign of Lewis XIV. Even before the revocation of that edict, so blindly bigoted, or violent and short-sighted, were the French ministers, that the Protestants were not only excluded from all civil employments, but rendered incapable of holding any share in the principal silk manufactories, though they only could carry them on to advantage!⁽²⁾

One might think, from such regulations, that those ministers had lived in the darkest ages, or were determined to ruin the state. Nor were their ordinances, after repealing the Edict of Nantz, less impolitic or absurd. They banished all the Protestant pastors, without once suspecting the flock would follow them: and when that evil was perceived, it was ineffectually decreed, that such as attempted to leave the kingdom should be sent to the gallees.

(1) Voltaire, *ubi. sup.*

(2) *Mém. de Noailles*, par l'Abbé Millot, tom. i.

Those who remained, were prohibited even the private exercise of their religion on pain of death; and, by a singular piece of barbarity, the children of Protestants were ordered to be taken from their parents, and committed to their nearest Catholic relations; or, in default of those, to such other good Catholics as the judges should appoint for their education. All the terrors of military execution, and all the artifices of priestcraft, were employed to make converts; and such as relapsed, were sentenced to the most cruel punishments. A twentieth part of the whole body was put to death in a short time, and a price was set on the heads of the rest, who were hunted like wild beasts upon the mountains.(1)

By these severities, in spite of the guards that were placed on the frontiers, and every other tyrannical restraint, France was deprived of near six hundred thousand of her most valuable inhabitants, who carried their wealth, their industry, and their skill in ingenious manufactures, into England, Holland, and Germany; where Lewis XIV. found, in his own fugitive, and once faithful subjects, not only formidable rivals in commerce, but powerful enemies burning with revenge, and gallant soldiers ready to set bounds to his ambition.

But while Lewis thus persecuted the French Protestants, contrary to all the principles of humanity and sound policy, he was no dupe to the court of Rome. On the contrary, he did every thing in his power to mortify Innocent XI. a man of virtue and abilities, who now filled the papal chair. He carried ecclesiastical disputes with him as far as possible, without separating the Gallican church entirely from the apostolic see. In civil affairs, the contest was still warmer, and took its rise from a singular abuse. The ambassadors of popish princes at Rome extended what they called their *quarters*, or the right of freedom and asylum, to a great distance from their houses. This pernicious privilege rendered one half of Rome a certain refuge for all sorts of criminals; and, by another privilege, as whatever entered Rome under the sanction of an ambassador's name, paid no duty, the trade of the city suffered, and the state was defrauded of its revenue. In order to remedy these abuses, Innocent prevailed on the emperor and the king of Spain to forego such odious rights: and an application to the same purpose was made to the king of France, entreating him to concur with the other princes in promoting the tranquillity and good order of Rome. Lewis, who was already dissatisfied with the pope, haughtily replied, that he had never made the conduct of others an example to himself; but, on the contrary, would make himself an example to others!(2) He accordingly sent his ambassador to Rome, surrounded with guards and other armed attendants; and Innocent was able to oppose him only with excommunications.

This triumph over the spiritual father of Christendom was the last insult on the dignity of sovereigns, which Lewis XIV. was suffered to commit with impunity. The emperor had taken Buda from the Turks, after an obstinate siege: he had defeated them with great slaughter at Mohatz: he had entirely subdued the Hungarian malecontents: he had even got the crown of Hungary declared hereditary in the house of Austria, and his son Joseph proclaimed king of that country. Though still engaged in hostilities with the infidels, he had now leisure to turn his eye towards France; nor could he do it with indifference. The same vain-glorious ambition which had prompted Lewis to tyrannize over the pope, and to persecute his Protestant subjects, that, to use the language of his historians, as there was *one* king there might be but *one* religion in the monarchy, and which justly alarmed all Germany and the North, at length awakened the resentment of Leopold.

A league had been already concluded by the whole empire at Augsburg, in order to restrain the encroachments of France, and to vindicate the objects of the treaties of Westphalia, the Pyrenees, and Nimeguen. And an ambitious attempt of Lewis XIV. to get the cardinal de Furstemberg, one of his own creatures, made elector of Cologne in opposition to the emperor, at

(1) *Mem. de Noailles*, par l'Abbé Millot, tom. i. See also Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. xxxii.

(2) Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. xiii.

once showed the necessity of such an association, and lighted anew the flames of war in Germany and the Low Countries. Spain and Holland had become principals in the league; Denmark, Sweden, and Savoy were afterward gained; so that the accession of England seemed only wanting to render the confederacy complete, and that was at last acquired.—But, before I enter into particulars, we must take a view of the unhappy reign of James II. and the great change in the English constitution with which it was terminated.

LETTER XVI.

Great Britain and Ireland, during the Reign of James II.

CHARLES II. by his popular character and temporizing policy, had so generally reconciled the English nation to his arbitrary administration, that the obnoxious religion, and even the blind bigotry of his brother, may perhaps be considered as fortunate circumstances for the British constitution. For had James II. been a Protestant, he might quietly have established despotism in England; or had he, as he formerly promised, made his religion a private affair between God and his own conscience, he might still have been able to subdue the small remains of liberty, and to establish that absolute government which he loved. But the justice of these reflections will best appear from the facts by which they were suggested.

The new king, who was fifty years of age when he ascended the throne, began his reign with a very popular act. He immediately assembled the privy council, and declared, That although he had been represented as a man of arbitrary principles, and though determined not to relinquish the just rights and prerogatives of the crown, he was resolved to maintain the established government, both in church and state, being sensible that the laws of England were sufficient to make him as great a monarch as he could wish.⁽¹⁾ This declaration gave great satisfaction to the council, and was received with the warmest applause by the nation. As James had hitherto been considered as a prince of unimpeached honour and sincerity, no one doubted but his intentions were conformable to his professions. "We have now," it was commonly said, "the word of a king; and a word never yet broken!"⁽²⁾ It was represented as a greater security to the constitution than any that laws could give. Addresses poured in from all quarters, full not only of expressions of duty, but of the most servile adulation.⁽³⁾

But this popularity was of short continuance. The nation was soon convinced, that the king either was not sincere in his promise to preserve the constitution inviolate, or entertained ideas of that constitution very different from those of his people, and such as could yield no security to their civil or religious liberties. He went openly, and with all the ensigns of his dignity, to mass, an illegal worship: he was even so imprudent as to urge others to follow his example: he sent an agent to Rome, in order to make submissions to the pope; and he levied taxes without the authority of parliament.⁽⁴⁾

James, however, soon found the necessity of assembling a parliament; and, in consequence of the influence which the crown had acquired in the boroughs, by the violation of the corporation-charters, a house of commons

(1) Printed Declaration.

(2) Burnet, book iv.

(3) The address from the Quakers was, however, distinguished by that plainness which has so long characterised the sect. "We are come," said they, "to testify our sorrow for the death of our good friend Charles, and our joy for thy being made our governor. We are told thou art not of the persuasion of the church of England, any more than we; wherefore we hope thou wilt grant us the same liberty which thou allowest thyself; which doing, we wish thee all manner of happiness."

(4) Burnet, book iv. Carte's *Life of Ormond*, vol. iii.

was procured as compliant as the most arbitrary prince could have wished. If they had been otherwise disposed, the king's speech was more calculated to work on their fears than their affections, to inflame opposition than to conciliate favour, and strongly indicated the violence of his principles. After repeating his promise to govern according to the laws, and to preserve the established religion, he told the commons, that he positively expected they would grant him, during his life, the same revenue which his brother had enjoyed. "I might use many arguments," said he, "to enforce this demand! the benefit of trade, the support of the navy, the necessities of the crown, and the well-being of the government itself, which I must not suffer to be precarious: but, I am confident that your own consideration, and your sense of what is just and reasonable, will suggest to you whatever might on this occasion be enlarged upon. There is indeed one popular argument," added he, "which may be urged against compliance with my demands. Men may think, that by *feeding me from time to time* with such supplies as they think convenient, they will better secure frequent meetings of parliament: but as this is the first time I speak to you from the throne, I will answer this argument once for all. I must plainly tell you, That such an expedient would be very improper to employ with me; and that the best way to engage me to meet you often, is always to use me well." (1)

In return to this imperious speech, which a spirited parliament would have received with indignation, both houses presented an address of thanks, without so much as a debate; and the commons unanimously voted, "That the revenue enjoyed by the late king, at the time of his death, shall be settled on his present majesty, during life." Nor did the generosity of the commons stop here. The king having demanded a farther supply for removing the anticipations on the revenue, and other temporary purposes, they revived certain duties on wines and vinegar, which had been granted to the late king; but which, having expired during the bad humours of his latter parliaments, had not been renewed. To these were added some impositions on tobacco and sugar; all which, under the rigid economy of James, rendered the crown, in time of peace, independent of the parliament. (2)

The Scottish parliament went yet farther than that of England. Both lords and commons declared their abhorrence of all the principles and positions derogatory to the king's sacred, supreme, sovereign, absolute authority; of which none, they said, whether single persons or collective bodies, can participate but in dependence on him and by commission from him. They offered, in the name of the nation, to support with their lives and fortunes their present sovereign and his lawful heirs, in the possession of the crown and its prerogatives; against all mortal men: and they annexed the whole excise, both of inland and foreign commodities, for ever to the crown. (3)

This profuse liberality of the parliaments of the two kingdoms, and the general, and even abject submission of the two nations, gave the king reason to believe that his throne was as firmly established as that of any European monarch. But, while every thing remained in tranquillity at home, a storm was gathering abroad to disturb his repose; and which, although dissipated without much trouble, may be considered as a prelude to that great revolution which finally deprived him of his crown, and condemned himself and his posterity to a dependant and fugitive life among foreigners.

The prince of Orange, ever since the proposed exclusion of his father-in-law, had raised his hopes to the English throne. He had entered deeply into intrigues with the ministers of Charles II. he had encouraged the parliamentary leaders in their violent opposition; and, unaccountable as it may seem, it appears that he secretly abetted the ambitious views of the duke of Monmouth, though they both aimed at the same object. (4) It is at least

(1) *Journals*, May 19, 1685.

(2) James II. 1685.

(3) Burnet, book iv. Home, vol. viii.

(4) See King James's *Mém.* in Macpherson's *Original Papers*, vol. i., and Count D'Avaux's *Negotiations*, tom. i. iii. iv.

certain that he received the duke with great kindness, and treated him with the highest marks of respect, after he had been pardoned by a fond and indulgent father, for his unnatural share in the Rye-house plot, but ordered to leave the kingdom on a new symptom of disaffection; that on the accession of James II. and when the prince of Orange was professing the strongest attachment to his father-in-law, Monmouth, Argyle, and other English and Scottish fugitives in Holland, were suffered, under his secret protection, to provide themselves privately with necessaries, and to form the plan of an invasion, in hopes of rousing to arms the dissatisfied part of the two kingdoms. (1)

Argyle, who was first ready, sailed for Scotland with three vessels, carrying arms and ammunition; and, soon after his arrival in the Highlands, he found himself at the head of two thousand men. But the king's authority was too firmly established in Scotland to be shaken by such a force. Early made sensible of this, Argyle was afraid to venture into the low country; where, if he had been able to keep the field, he might have met with support from the Covenanters. At any rate, he ought to have hazarded the attempt, before the ardour of his adherents had leisure to cool, or his well-wishers time to discern his danger, instead of waiting for an accession of strength among his mountains. But his situation, it must be owned, was at all times discouraging. Government, apprized of his intended invasion, had ordered all the considerable gentry of his clan to be thrown into prison. The whole militia of the kingdom, to the number of twenty-two thousand men, were soon under arms; and a third part of them, with all the regular forces, were now on their march to oppose him. The marquis of Athol pressed him on one side; lord Charles Murray on the other; the duke of Gordon hung upon his rear; the earl of Dumbarton met him in front. His arms and ammunition were seized, his provisions cut off. In this desperate extremity, he endeavoured to force his way into the disaffected part of the western counties. He accordingly crossed the river Levan, and afterwards the Clyde; but no person shewed either courage or inclination to join him. His followers, who had suffered all the hardships of famine and fatigue, gradually deserted; and he himself being made prisoner, was carried to Edinburgh, and immediately executed on a former iniquitous sentence. (2) Two English gentlemen excepted, his adherents, by dispersing themselves, escaped punishment.

Meanwhile the duke of Monmouth, according to agreement, had landed in the West of England; and so great was his popularity, that although accompanied only by about fourscore persons, the number of his adherents soon increased to five thousand. At the head of these, who were chiefly of the lower class, he entered Taunton; where he was received with such extraordinary expressions of joy, that he issued a declaration asserting the legitimacy of his birth, and assumed the title of king. From Taunton he marched to Bridgewater, where he was received with equal affection, and proclaimed king by the magistrates, with all the formalities of their office. His followers hourly increased; and he was obliged every day, for want of arms, to dismiss great numbers who crowded to his standard. He only, perhaps, needed conduct and abilities to have overturned his uncle's throne. Conscious of his want of these, as well as of resources, the nobility and gentry kept at a distance. He had no man of talent or courage, to advise with in the closet, or to assist him in the field. Lord Gray, his general of horse, and whom he had the weakness to continue in command, was to his own knowledge a coward; and he himself, though personally brave, allowed the expectation of the people to languish, without attempting any bold enterprise. (3)

Notwithstanding this imprudent caution, and the news of Argyle's miscarriage, Monmouth's followers continued to adhere to him, after all his

(1) See King James's *Mém.* in Macpherson's *Original Papers*, vol. i. and Count D'Avaux's *Negotiations*, tom. i. ii. iii. iv.

(2) Burnet. Wodrow. Hume.

(3) Burnet. Kennet. Ralph.

hopes of success had failed, and when he had even thoughts of providing for his own safety by flight. Roused to action by such warm attachments, and encouraged by the prospect of seizing an unexpected advantage, he attacked the king's forces, under the earl of Feversham, at Sedgemoor, near Bridgewater; and had it not been for his own misconduct, and the cowardice of lord Gray, he might have gained a decisive victory. Though Gray and the cavalry fled in the beginning of the action, the undisciplined infantry gallantly maintained the combat for three hours; and the duke himself, beside his errors in generalship, quitted the field too early for an adventurer contending for a crown. (1) About fourteen hundred of the rebels were killed in the battle and pursuit, and nearly an equal number made prisoners.

Monmouth himself, with a single attendant, escaped to a considerable distance from the scene of action; but his horse at length failing him, he was reduced to the necessity of travelling on foot, and changed clothes with a peasant, in order to conceal himself from his pursuers. In that humble disguise, he was found lying in the bottom of a ditch, covered with weeds. He had in his pocket some green peas, which had been his only food for several days; and his spirits being exhausted with hunger and fatigue, he burst into tears, and behaved otherwise in a manner unworthy of his character. Even on his arrival in London, allured by the fond hope of life, he was induced to make the meanest submissions, in order to procure a pardon; (2) though he might have been sensible, from the greatness of his own offences, and the king's unfeeling disposition, that he could expect no mercy. After that hope failed him, he behaved with becoming dignity; and discovered great firmness and composure at his execution, though accompanied with many horrid circumstances. (3)

Had James used his victory with moderation, this fortunate suppression of a rebellion in the beginning of his reign would have tended much to strengthen his authority; but the cruelty with which it was prosecuted, and the delusive prospects which it opened for his zeal to popery and unlimited power, proved the chief cause of his ruin. Such arbitrary principles had the court infused into its servants, that the earl of Feversham, immediately after the battle of Sedgemoor, and while the soldiers were yet fatigued with slaughter, ordered above twenty of the insurgents to be hanged, without any form of trial. But this instance of illegal severity was forgotten in the superior inhumanity of colonel Kirk, whose military executions were attended with circumstances of wanton cruelty and barbarity. On his first entry into Bridgewater, he not only hanged nineteen prisoners without the least inquiry into the nature of their guilt, but ordered a certain number to be executed while he and his company should drink the king's health; and observing their feet to quiver, in the agonies of death, he commanded the drums to beat and the trumpets to sound, saying he would give them music to their dancing! (4)

Even the inhumanities of Kirk were exceeded by the violence of lord chief justice Jefferys; who shewed the astonished nation, that the rigours of law may equal, if not exceed, the ravages of military tyranny. A special

(1) Burnet, book iv.

(2) Ibid. See also James II. 1685.

(3) Touched with pity, or unmanned by terror, at the noble presence of Monmouth, and the part he was to perform, the executioner struck him three times, without effect; and then threw aside the axe, declaring that he was unable to finish the bloody office. The sheriff obliged him to renew the attempt, and the duke's head was at last severed from his body.

(4) Burnet. Kennet. Ralph.—One story, commonly told of Kirk, is memorable in the history of human treachery and barbarity. A beautiful young maiden, bathed in tears, threw herself at his feet, and pleaded for the life of her brother. The brutal tyrant, inflamed with desire, but not softened into pity, promised to grant her request, provided she would yield to his wishes. She reluctantly complied with the cruel request, without reflecting that the wretch who could make it was unworthy of credit or confidence. But she had soon reason to know it. After passing the night with him, the wanton and perfidious savage shewed her in the morning, from the bed-room window, that beloved brother, for whom she had sacrificed her innocence, hanging on a gibbet, which he had secretly ordered to be erected for the purpose! Rage, indignation, and despair took at once possession of her soul, and deprived her for ever of her senses.

commission being issued to this man, whose disposition was brutal and arbitrary, and who had already given several specimens of his character, he set out, accompanied by four other judges, with a savage joy, as to a full harvest of death. He opened his commission first at Winchester, whence he proceeded to Dorchester, Exeter, Taunton, and Wells, carrying every where along with him terror and consternation. The juries, struck with his menaces, gave their verdict with hurry and precipitation; so that many innocent persons are supposed to have suffered. About five hundred prisoners were tried and condemned, in all: of these two hundred and fifty were executed: the rest were transported, condemned to cruel whippings, or permitted, as is said, to purchase their pardon of the tyrannical and prostituted chief-justice.(1)

As if desirous to take upon himself the odium of these severe executions, the king rewarded the inhumanity of Jefferys with a peerage and the office of chancellor; and he took care, on the meeting of parliament, more fully to open the eyes of the nation, and to realize all those apprehensions which had excited the violence of the Exclusionists. He plainly told the two houses, That the militia, in which the nation trusted, having been found, during the late rebellion, altogether insufficient for the safety of government, he had increased the regular forces to double their former number; and he demanded a fresh supply for the support of this additional force. He also took notice, That he had *dispensed* with the *Test Act*, in favour of some Roman-catholic officers; and, in order to cut short all opposition, he declared, That having employed them to advantage in the time of need and danger, he was determined neither to expose them afterward to disgrace, nor himself to the want of their service.(2)

Had James used his dispensing power without declaring it, no opposition would probably have been made to this dangerous exercise of prerogative by the present obsequious parliament. But to invade at once the civil constitution, to threaten the established religion, to maintain a standing army, and to require the concurrence of the two houses to all these measures, exceeded the bounds of their patience. The commons took into consideration his majesty's speech: they proceeded to examine the dispensing power of the crown; and they voted an address to the king against it. The lords appointed a day for taking the speech into consideration; and James, afraid that they also would make an application against his dispensing power, immediately proceeded to a prorogation: so imperious was his temper, so lofty the idea which he had entertained of his own authority, and so violent the measures suggested by his own bigotry and that of his priests!(3) By four more prorogations, he continued the parliament during a year and a half; but having in vain tried, by separate applications, to break the firmness of the leading members, he at last dissolved that assembly; and as it was evidently impossible for him to find among his Protestant subjects a set of men more devoted to royal authority, it was universally concluded, that he intended thenceforth to govern wholly without a parliament.

The king's disappointment in England did not divert him from pursuing the same design in Scotland: and the implicit submission exhibited by the Scottish parliament at its first meeting flattered him with the most pleasing hopes of success. But experience soon convinced him, that those men who had resigned their political freedom with so much seeming indifference, were not to be persuaded to endanger the Protestant faith. Though he demanded, in the most soothing expressions, some indulgence for the Roman-catholics, and supported this request with proposals of advantage to the Scottish nation, the parliament showed no inclination to repeal any of the Penal Laws. It was therefore prorogued by the commissioner, and soon after dissolved by the king.(4)

(1) Burnet. Kennet. Ralph. What rendered these severities less excusable, was, That most of the prisoners were persons of low condition, who could never have disturbed the tranquillity of government. Burnet, book iv.

(2) *Journals*, Nov. 9, 1685.

(3) Hume, vol. viii.

(4) Burnet. Wodrow.

Resolute, however, in his purpose, this misguided monarch, in contempt of the general voice of the legislative body of the two kingdoms, determined to support his prerogative of dispensing with the penal statutes against sectaries, by the authority of Westminster-hall. With that view, four judges were displaced, and men of more compliant tempers substituted in their room. A case in point was produced; and sir Edward Herbert, lord chief-justice of the King's Bench, upon the issue declared, That there was *nothing* whatever with which the King, as *supreme Lawgiver*, might not *dispense*. This decision was confirmed by eleven out of the twelve judges. But the arguments of lawyers, founded upon ancient precedents, had no influence upon the sentiments of the nation. Men in general could not distinguish between a dispensing and a repealing power in the crown; and they justly deemed it unreasonable, that less authority should be necessary to repeal than to enact any statute. If one penal law was dispensed with, any other might undergo the same fate; and by what principle could even the laws that define property, be afterward secured from violation?—The Test Act had ever been considered as the great barrier of the national religion under a popish successor. As such it had been insisted on by the parliament, as such granted by the late king; and as such, during the debates concerning the Exclusion Bill, it had been recommended by the lord-chancellor. By what magic then, it was asked, by what *violation* of law, is it now annihilated, and rendered of no validity? (1)

Fortified, however, with the opinion of the judges in favour of his dispensing power, James thought himself now authorized to countenance ~~more~~ openly his religious friends. They earl of Powis, with the lords Arundel, Bellasis, and Dover, all zealous Catholics, and who had long managed in private the affairs of the ~~king~~ nation, in conjunction with Sunderland, were publicly received at the council-board. Bellasis, soon after, was placed at the head of the treasury, and Arundel succeeded Halifax in the office of privy-seal. The king's apostolical enthusiasm, in a word, which seemed to have divested him of common prudence, made him so desirous of making proselytes, that all men plainly saw the only way to acquire his favour and confidence was to embrace the Catholic faith. Sunderland affected such a change; and, in Scotland, the earls of Murray, Perth, and Melford, were brought over to the religion of the court. (2)

These were bold advances; but it was yet only in Ireland, where the majority of the people were already attached to the Romish communion, that the king thought himself at liberty wholly to pull off the mask, and proceed to the full extent of his zeal and violence. Immediately after the accession of James, the duke of Ormond had been recalled from the government of that kingdom; and, on the suppression of Monmouth's rebellion, orders were sent to the lords-justices, under colour of preventing a like insurrection, to recall the arms of the Irish militia, who were all Protestants, and to deposit them in different magazines. Nor did the vigilance of government stop here. Talbot, a violent papist, having been created earl of Tyrconnel, and appointed lieutenant-general of the king's forces in Ireland, dismissed near three hundred Protestant officers, and a great number of private men, under pretence of new modelling the army. The earl of Clarendon went over as lord-lieutenant; but as he had refused to oblige the king, by changing his religion, he soon found that he possessed ~~no credit~~ no credit or authority. He was even a kind of prisoner in the hands of the general; and as he gave all the opposition in his power to the violent measures of the Catholics, he was soon recalled, and Tyrconnel substituted in his place. (3) The unhappy Protestants now saw all the civil authority, as well as the military force, transferred into the hands of their inveterate enemies, and dreaded a renewal of the recent massacres. Great numbers, filled with such apprehensions, left their habitations, and came over to England; where the horror against popery was already roused to the highest pitch, by the frightful tales of the French

(1) Sir Robert Atkins. Burnet. Hume.

(2) Burnet, book iv. James II. 1686.

(3) Clarendon's *Letters*, Kennet, vol. iii.

refuge, who, in consequence of the revocation of the Edict of Nantz, had fled from the persecutions of Lewis XIV.

All the more moderate Catholics were sensible that these extravagant measures would ruin the cause they were meant to serve. But the king was so entirely governed by the violent counsels of his queen, an Italian and popish princess, and by those of father Petre his confessor, that the boldness of any measure seems to have been with him a sufficient reason for adopting it. He now not only re-established the Court of High-commission, which had been abolished, as we have seen, by act of parliament, in the reign of his father Charles I. but issued a Declaration of general Indulgence, or liberty of conscience, "by his sovereign authority, and *absolute power*," to his subjects of all religions.(1) Such an indulgence, though illegal, might have been considered as liberal, if the king's private purpose, the more ready introduction of popery, had not been generally known. Yet so great was the satisfaction arising from present ease, and so violent the animosity of the Protestant sectaries against the established church, that they every where received the royal proclamation with expressions of joy and exultation.(2)

If the dissenters were ever deceived in regard to James's views, he took care soon to open their eyes, and to display his bigotry and imprudence to all Europe. He publicly dispatched the earl of Castlemain ambassador extraordinary to Rome, in order to express his ~~obedience~~ to the pope, and to reconcile his kingdoms, in form, to the Holy See; and although Innocent XI. very justly concluded, that a scheme conducted with so much indiscretion could not possibly be successful, he sent a nuncio to England, in return for the embassy. All communication with the pope had been made treason by act of parliament: but so little regard did James pay to the laws, that he gave the nuncio a public audience at Windsor; and the duke of Somerset being then in waiting, as one of the lords of the bed-chamber, was deprived of all his employments, because he refused to assist at the illegal ceremony.(3) The nuncio afterwards resided openly in London. Four Catholic bishops were publicly consecrated at the king's chapel, and sent out under the title of *vicars apostolical* to exercise the episcopal function in their respective dioceses. The Jesuits were permitted to erect a chapel and form a college in the Savoy; the Recollects built a chapel in Lincoln's Inn Fields; the Carmelites formed a seminary in the city; fourteen monks were even settled at St. James's; in different parts of the country, places of public worship were erected by the papists: and the religious of the Romish communion appeared at court in the habits of their respective orders.(4)

Nothing now remained for James, who had already transferred almost every great office, civil and military, in the three kingdoms, from the Protestants, to their spiritual enemies, but to throw open the doors of the church and universities to the Catholics: and this attempt was soon made. The king sent a letter to the vice-chancellor of Cambridge, commanding the university to admit one Francis, a monk of the order of St. Benedict, to the degree of master of arts, without exacting the usual oaths. The university refused; and the king, after suspending the vice-chancellor, desisted from any farther attack upon that seminary.(5) But, the compliant temper of the university of Oxford, which had, in a formal decree, made profession of *passive obedience*, gave James hopes of better success there, though he carried still higher his pretensions.

The presidency of Magdalen college, one of the richest foundations in Europe, having become vacant, a day was appointed for a new election; and one Farmer, a recent convert to popery, was recommended by a royal mandate, accompanied with a *dispensation* from the usual oaths. The fellows of the college entreated the king to recall his mandate, or recommend some person of a less exceptionable character than Farmer; but the day of election

(1) Burnet, book iv.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Kennet. Ralph. Hume.

(4) James II. 1686 and 1687.

(5) Kennet. Ralph.

arriving before they received any answer, they chose as their president Dr. Hough, a man of learning, virtue, and spirit, who braved the threatening danger.

A citation was issued for the members of the college to appear before the Court of High-commission, in order to answer for their disobedience. The matter came to a regular hearing; and such articles of folly and vice were proved against Farmer, as justified the fellows in rejecting him, without having recourse to the legal disqualifications under which he laboured. The commissioners, however, proceeded to the deprivation of Dr. Hough, and a new mandate was issued in favour of Parker, lately created bishop of Oxford; a man of dissolute morals, but who, like Farmer, had atoned for all his vices by his willingness to embrace the Romish religion. The college replied, that no new election could be made till the former should be *legally* annulled. A new ecclesiastical commission was issued for that purpose; and the commissioners, attended by three troops of horse, repaired to Oxford; expelled the refractory president and all the fellows, except two, who had uniformly adhered to the king's mandate, and installed Parker in the presidency of Magdalen college.(1)

Of all the acts of violence committed during the tyrannical reign of James II. this may perhaps be considered as the most illegal and arbitrary. It accordingly occasioned universal discontent, and gave a general alarm to the clergy. The church, the chief pillar of the throne, and which, during the two last reigns, had supported it with such unshaken firmness; the church, which had carried the prerogative so high, and which, if protected in her rights, would have carried it still higher; the church, now seeing those rights invaded, and her very fountains in danger of being poisoned, took refuge in the generous principles of liberty, and resolved to preserve that constitution which her complacency had almost ruined.

The king, however, was determined to adhere to his arbitrary measures; and as a balance to this reverend body, whose opposition he had wantonly roused, he endeavoured to gain the Protestant dissenters, and to form an unnatural coalition between them and the Roman-catholics. With that view, he took occasion frequently to extol the benefits of toleration, and to exclaim against the severities of the church of England. He commanded an inquiry to be made into all the oppressive prosecutions which the dissenters had suffered, as a prelude to yielding them security or redress; and by means of that ascendancy which the crown had acquired over the corporations, he every where thrust them into the magistracy, under various pretences, in hopes of being able to procure a parliament that would give its sanction to the repeal of the Test Act and the penal laws against non-conformity.(2) He affected to place them on the same footing with the Catholics; and, in order to widen the breach between them and the church, whose favour he despaired of recovering, but whose loyalty he never suspected, he issued anew his Declaration of Indulgence, and ordered it to be read in the pulpit by all the established clergy.(3)

This order was considered, by the whole ecclesiastical body, as an insult on the hierarchy, and an insidious attempt to drag them to disgrace; for as the penal laws against non-conformists had, in a great measure, been procured by the church, the clergy were sensible, that any countenance which they might give to the dispensing power would be regarded as a deserting of their fundamental principles. They determined, therefore, almost universally, rather to hazard the vengeance of the crown, by disobedience, than to fulfil a command they could not approve, and expose themselves, at the same time, to the certain hatred and contempt of the people.

Conformable to this resolution, and with a view to encourage every one to persevere in it, six bishops, namely, Lloyd of St. Asaph, Ken of Bath and Wells, Turner of Ely, Lake of Chichester, White of Peterborough, and

(1) Burnet, book iv. MS. Account by Dr. Smith, ap. Macpherson, *Hist. Brit.* vol. i. Hume, vol. viii.

(2) Burnet, book iv.

(3) Ibid. See also Kennet. Ralph. Echard.

Trelawney of Bristol, met privately with Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury, in his palace at Lambeth, and concerted the form of a petition to the king; beseeching him not to insist upon their reading the Declaration of Indulgence, as being founded on a prerogative repeatedly declared illegal by parliament.(1) Enraged at this unexpected opposition to his favourite measure, James not only refused their request, but ordered them to be committed to the Tower, on their refusing to give bail for their appearance before the court of King's Bench, to answer for what was denominated an *high misdemeanour*, and afterward prosecuted as a *LIBEL*.

James was not insensible of the danger of pursuing this tyrannical prosecution, though his pride would not allow him to desist. But the circumstances attending the commitment of the bishops ought still farther to have opened his eyes, and made him perceive the dreadful precipice upon which he was rushing. Though they were carried by water to the Tower, multitudes of anxious spectators crowded the banks of the river, and at once implored the blessing of those venerable prelates, and offered their petitions to Heaven for the safety of the persecuted guardians of their religion. Even the soldiers, seized with the contagion of the same spirit, are said to have flung themselves on their knees, and craved the benediction of the holy prisoners, whom they were appointed to guard.(2)

A like scene was exhibited, when the bishops were conducted to trial. Persons of all conditions were affected with the awful crisis to which affairs were reduced, and considered the decision of the cause depending, as of the last importance to both king and people. Twenty-nine temporal peers attended the prisoners to Westminster-hall; and such crowds of gentry joined in the procession, that little room was left for the populace to enter. The trial, which lasted near ten hours, was managed with ability by the counsel on both sides, and listened to with the most eager attention. Though the judges held their seats only during pleasure, two of them had the courage to declare against a dispensing power in the crown, as inconsistent with all law: and if the dispensing power was not legal, it followed of course, that the bishops could not be criminal in refusing obedience to an illegal command. The jury at length withdrew; and when they brought in their verdict, "Not Guilty," the populace, who filled Westminster-hall and all Palace-yard, shouted thrice with such vehemence, that the sound reached the city.(3) The loudest acclamations were immediately echoed from street to street, bonfires were lighted, and every other demonstration given of public joy.(4) Nor were the rejoicings on account of this legal victory confined to the capital: they rapidly spread over the whole kingdom, and found their way even into the camp;(5) where the triumph of the church was announced to the king in the shouts of his mercenary army.(6)

If James had made use of that naturally sound, though narrow, understanding, with which he was endowed, he would now have perceived, that the time was come for him to retract, unless he meant seriously to sacrifice his crown to his religious prejudices. But so blinded was he by bigotry, and so ob-

(1) See the petition itself, ap. Hume, vol. viii. p. 266. *

(2) Burnet. Ralph. Hume.

(3) Price to Beaufort, June 30, 1688, MS. ap. Macpherson, *Hist. Brit.* vol. i.

(4) Burnet, book iv.

(5) *Ibid.*

(6) In order to convince the people, that he was determined to support his authority by force of arms, if necessary, and to over-awe them by a display of his power, the king had, for two summers past, encamped his army, to the number of fifteen thousand men, on Hounslow-heath. He spent much of his time in training and disciplining these troops; and a popish chapel was openly erected in the midst of the camp, with a view of bringing over the soldiers to that communion. But the few converts that the priests made, were treated with such contempt and ignominy by their companions, as deterred others from following the example. The king had reviewed his army on the same morning that the jury gave in their verdict in favour of the prosecuted prelates; and having afterward retired into the tent of lord Feversham, the general, he was suddenly alarmed with a great uproar in the camp, attended with the most extravagant expressions of tumultuous joy. He anxiously inquired the cause, and was told by Feversham, "it was nothing but the rejoicing of the soldiers for the acquittal of the bishops." "And do you call that nothing?" exclaimed James, ready to burst with rage and indignation. Hume, vol. viii.

stinate in his arbitrary measures, that although he knew they were execrated by all orders of men in the state, a handful of Roman-catholics excepted; yet was he, by a singular infatuation, incapable of so much as remitting his violence in the pursuit of them!—He immediately displaced the two judges, who had given their opinion in favour of the bishops, and supplied their seats with men of more accommodating principles. He issued orders to the ecclesiastical commissioners to prosecute all the clergy who had not read his Declaration of Indulgence; that is, the whole body of the church of England, except about two hundred; and even these obeyed his command but imperfectly. He sent a mandate to the new fellows, whom he had obtruded on Magdalen College after expelling the former, to elect for president, in the room of Parker, lately deceased, one Gifford, a doctor of the Sorbonne; and he is said to have nominated the same person to the see of Oxford! (1)

Such violent and repeated infringements of the constitution could not fail to alarm the whole nation. The most moderate-minded men could ascribe the king's measures to nothing less than a settled system to introduce his own religion and an unlimited power in the crown; and the only consolation to all men was the advanced age of the king, and the prospect of a protestant successor, who would replace every thing on ancient foundations. This consideration, together with the great naval and military force of James, kept the more ardent spirits from having immediate recourse to arms; and the prince of Orange, who still maintained a secret correspondence with the English malecontents, and was ready on any emergency to obey the call of the nation, seemed to have laid aside all thoughts of an open rupture, and to wait patiently for an event that could not be very distant,—the death of the king.

But these hopes, both at home and abroad, were suddenly blasted, by the unexpected birth of a prince of Wales. From a son, educated by such a father, nothing could be expected but a continuance of the same unconstitutional measures. People of all ranks took the alarm, as if a regular plan had been formed for entailing popery and arbitrary power on them and their descendants to the latest posterity. Calumny went even so far, though the queen's delivery was as public as the laws of decency would permit, as to ascribe to the king the design of imposing upon the nation a supposititious child, who might support, after the death of James, the Catholic religion in his dominions. And the prince of Orange did not fail to propagate the improbable tale; which, in the present state of men's minds, was greedily received by the populace both in England and Holland.

Under these apprehensions, many of the English nobility and gentry, and some of the principal clergy, invited the prince to come over and assist them with his arms, in the recovery of their constitutional rights. In this invitation men of all parties, civil and ecclesiastical, concurred. The Whigs, conformable to those patriotic principles which had led them to urge with so much violence the Exclusion Bill, were zealous to expel from the throne a prince, whose conduct had fully justified all that their fears had predicted of his succession: the Tories, enraged at the preference shewn to the Catholics, and the church inflamed by recent injuries, resolved to pull down the idol that their own hands had made, and which they had blindly worshipped. Their eyes being now opened, they saw the necessity of restoring and securing the constitution. And the Protestant non-conformists, whom the king had gained by his indulgence, judged it more prudent to look forward for a general toleration, to be established by law, than to rely any longer on the insidious caresses of their theological adversaries.—Thus, my dear Philip, by a wonderful coalition, was faction for a time silenced; all parties sacrificing, on this occasion, their former animosities, to the apprehension of a common danger, or to the sense of a common interest. (2) The Revolution, even in its beginning, was a national work; and patriotism, under the guidance of political wisdom, suggested the glorious plan.

(1) Burnet. *Ralph. Hume.

(2) For a more full account of this coalition, see Bolingbroke's *Dissertation on Parties*, Let. vii. and Hume, vol. viii.

Not satisfied with a formal invitation, several English noblemen and gentlemen went over to Holland, and in person encouraged the prince of Orange to attempt their deliverance from poverty and arbitrary power. The request was too flattering to be alighted. William, from the moment of his marriage with the lady Mary, had always kept his eye on the crown of England; though he had a complicated scheme of policy to conduct, and many interfering interests to reconcile on the continent. Happily all these interests conspired to promote his proposed enterprise. The league of Augsburg, formed to break the power of France, could not accomplish its object without the accession of England. The house of Austria, therefore, in both its branches, and even Innocent XI. who then filled the papal chair, preferring their political views to their zeal for the Catholic faith, countenanced the projected expulsion of James who had refused to take part in the league, as the only means of humbling Lewis XIV. their common enemy. All the German princes were in the same interest; and the prince of Orange held conferences, not only with Castanaga, governor of the Spanish Netherlands, but with the electors of Brandenburg and Saxony, with the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and with the whole house of Lunenburg. It was agreed that these princes should protect the United Provinces during the absence of William.(1)

Other circumstances contributed to facilitate the designs of the prince of Orange. The elector of Cologne, who was also bishop of Leige and Munster, and whose territories almost surrounded the United Provinces, having died about this time, a violent contest arose for that rich succession. The candidates were prince Clement of Bavaria, supported by the house of Austria, and the cardinal de Furstemberg, a prelate dependent on France. The former at length prevailed, through the partiality of the pope; but as Lewis threatened to recover by force what he had lost by intrigue, the prince of Orange formed a camp, between Grave and Nimeguen, of twenty thousand men, under pretence of guarding against danger on that side. Under other pretences, he forwarded his preparations by sea; and had equipped for service twenty ships of the line, without having recourse to the States.(2) But the States, though not formally admitted into the secret counsels of William, could not be ignorant of his real views; and the body of the people, being highly irritated against France, exhibited the utmost eagerness for every preparation for war. The confidence of the Dutch with that kingdom had lately been diminished one fourth by unusual restrictions: their religious rage was kindled by the cruelties inflicted on the Protestants by Lewis, in consequence of the revocation of the Edict of Nantz: the terrors raised by the bigotry of James in England had also spread to Holland; and the enthusiastic zeal of these two potent monarchs for the Catholic faith was represented, in both countries, as the certain ruin of the Protestant cause, unless restrained by the most vigorous exertions—by the united efforts of all the members of the reformed communion.(3)

While one half of Europe thus combined against the king of England, while many of his own subjects were determined to oppose his power, and more to divest him of his authority, James, as if blinded by destiny, reposed himself in the most supine security, and disregarded the repeated accounts of the preparations conveyed to his ears. In vain did Lewis XIV. who had early received certain information of the designs of the prince of Orange, attempt to rouse the infatuated monarch to a sense of his danger: in vain did he offer his aid. Deceived by his ambassador in Holland, and betrayed by his minister the earl of Sunderland, James had the weakness to believe, that the rumour of an invasion was only raised by his enemies, in order to frighten him into a closer connexion with France, and to complete, by that means, the defection of his subjects.(4) Nor was this jealousy, though carried to an imprudent height, utterly without foundation; for when Lewis

(1) Burnet, book iv. D'Avaux, tom. iv.

(2) *Id. ibid.*

(3) Burnet. D'Avaux, ubi sup.

(4) D'Avaux, tom. iv. James II. 1688.

took the liberty to remonstrate with the States, by his ambassador D'Avaux, against their preparations to invade England: not only the Dutch but the English took the alarm. Their apprehensions of a league between the two monarchs, for the destruction of the Protestant religion, seemed now to be confirmed, and the wildest stories were propagated to that purpose. (1)

Had the defection occasioned by these fears been confined to the English populace, or merely to men in a civil capacity, James might still have bid defiance to the designs of his son-in-law. But, unhappily for that misguided monarch, both the fleet and army were infected with the same spirit of disloyalty. Of this he had received some mortifying proofs, when certain advice was brought him, from his minister in Holland, that he must soon expect a formidable invasion, as the States had at last acknowledged, that the purpose of all their naval preparations was to transport forces into England.

Though James could reasonably expect no other intelligence, he was much affected with the news: he grew pale, and the letter dropt from his hand. (2) His delirium of power vanished; and he found himself on the brink of a frightful precipice, which had hitherto been concealed from his view by the illusions of superstition. He now saw the necessity of providing for his safety, as well as of endeavouring to conciliate the affections of his people. He immediately ordered his fleet to be assembled, and his army to be recruited with new levies. He sent for troops from Scotland and Ireland; and to his no small satisfaction, found his land forces amount to forty thousand men. (3)

Nor was the king less liberal of his civil concessions than vigorous in his military preparations. He had already issued writs for the meeting of parliament on the 27th of the ensuing November. He followed these with a declaration, 'That it was his fixed purpose to endeavour to establish a LEGAL settlement of an universal liberty of conscience for all his subjects; that he had resolved to preserve inviolate the church of England: and he protested, that it was his intention, Roman-catholics should remain incapable of sitting in the house of commons. He gave orders to the lord-chancellor, and the lord-lieutenants of the several counties, to replace all the deputy-lieutenants and justices, who had been deprived of their commissions for their adherence to the Test and the penal laws against non-conformists: he restored the charter of London, and the charters of all the corporations in the kingdom: he annulled the court of ecclesiastical commission: he reinstated the expelled president and fellows of Magdalen college; and he invited again to his councils all the bishops, whom he had lately persecuted and insulted, assuring them, that he was ready to do whatever they should think necessary for the security of the Protestant religion and the civil rights of his subjects. (4)

But these concessions, though important in themselves, were made too late to be allowed much merit; and being generally supposed to be extorted by fear, they were coldly received by the nation. Nor was the conduct of the king, in other respects, answerable to such conciliating measures. He recalled the writs for the meeting of parliament, without issuing any new ones; a step which created universal suspicion of his sincerity, and begot a belief that all his concessions were no more than temporary expedients. He shewed, however, a laudable zeal for his own honour, in obtaining a legal proof of the birth of the prince of Wales; but by an imprudence approaching to insanity, the heir of the crown was baptized in the Romish communion, and the pope, represented by his nuncio, stood godfather to the boy. (5)

Meanwhile the prince of Orange continued his preparations. A powerful fleet was ready to put to sea: the troops fell down the Maese from Nimeguen: the transports, which had been hired at different ports, were speedily assembled: the artillery, arms, ammunition, provisions, horses, and men, were embarked; and William, after taking formal leave of the States, and

(1) D'Avaux, tom. iv. James II. 1688. See also Hume, vol. viii.

(2) Hume, vol. viii.

(3) James II. 1688.

(4) *Gazette*, passim.

(5) Burnet, book iv. James II. 1688.

calling God to witness, that he had not the least intention to invade, subdue, or make himself master of the Kingdom of England, went himself on board. (1) His whole armament, which consisted from the Brille and Helvoetaluys, on the 19th of October, consisted of fifty stout ships of war, twenty-five frigates, and an equal number of fire-ships; with five hundred transports, carrying about fifteen thousand land forces, including five hundred and fifty-six officers. Admiral Herbert, who had left the service of James, led the van; the Zealand squadron, under vice-admiral Evertzen, brought up the rear; and the prince of Orange in person commanded in the centre, carrying a flag with English colours, and his own arms surrounded with these popular words—"THE PROTESTANT RELIGION and the LIBERTIES of ENGLAND." Under this inscription was placed the apposite motto of the house of Nassau:—*Je maintiendrai*, "I will maintain!" (2)

This great embarkation, the most important which had, for some ages, been undertaken in Europe, was scarce completed, when a dreadful tempest arose at south-west, and drove the Dutch fleet to the northward. The storm raged for twelve hours, and the prince was obliged to return to Helvoetaluys. But he soon repaired his damages, and again put to sea. An east wind carried him down the Channel; where he was seen from both shores, between Dover and Calais, by vast multitudes of anxious spectators, who felt alternately the extremes of hope and fear, mingled with admiration, at such a magnificent spectacle. After a prosperous voyage, he landed his army in Torbay, without the smallest opposition either by sea or land. (3)

The same wind, which favoured the enterprise of the prince of Orange, confined the English fleet to its own coast. Lord Dartmouth, who was inviolably attached to James, lay near Harwich with thirty-eight ships of the line, and twenty-three frigates; a force sufficient to have disconcerted the designs of William, if it could possibly have put to sea; so that the success of the glorious Revolution may be said to have depended upon the winds! The destruction of the Dutch fleet, even after the landing of the prince, would have discouraged his adherents, and proved fatal to his undertaking. Sensible of this, Dartmouth came before Torbay, with a fixed resolution to attack the Hollanders, as they lay at anchor. But his fleet was dispersed by a violent storm, and forced to return to Spithead, in such a shattered condition, as to be no more fit for service than a broken reed. (4) Little wonder, if, after such singularly fortunate circumstances, William's followers began to consider him and themselves as the peculiar favourites of Heaven; and that even the learned Dr. Burnet could not help exclaiming, in the words of Claudian,

*O nimium dilecta Deo, cui militat æther,
Et conjuncti veniunt ad classica venti.*

"Heaven's deity charge to aid whose great design,
"The fighting seas and friendly winds combine."

The prince of Orange, immediately on his landing, dispersed a printed Declaration, which had been already published in Holland, and contributed not a little to his future success. In that elaborate performance, written originally in French by the pensionary Fagel, and translated into English by Dr. Burnet, the principal grievances of the three British kingdoms were enumerated; namely, The exercise of a dispensing and suspending power; the revival of the court of ecclesiastical commission; the filling of all offices with Catholics; the open encouragement given to popery, by building every where places of worship, colleges, and seminaries for that sect; the displacing of judges, if they gave sentence contrary to the orders or the inclinations of the court; the annulling the charters of all the corporations, and thereby subjecting elections to arbitrary will and pleasure; the treating of

(1) Neuville, 40th. i.

(2) Burnet, book iv. D'Avaux, tom. iv. Rapin, vol. ii. fol. edit.

(3) Id. ibid.

(4) Burnet, book iv. Torrington's Mem.

petitions to the throne, even the most modest, and from persons of the highest rank, as criminal and seditious; the committing of the whole authority in Ireland, civil and military, into the hands of papists; the assuming of an absolute power over the religion and laws of Scotland, and openly exacting in that kingdom an obedience without reserve. He concluded with protesting, that the sole object of his expedition was to procure a redress of these grievances; to get a legal and free parliament summoned, that might provide for the liberty and security of the nation, and examine the proofs of the legitimacy of the prince of Wales, in regard to which he expressed the most violent suspicions.(1)

Though this declaration was received with ardour by the nation, the prince, for some time after his landing, could not boast of his good fortune. A great deal of rain having fallen, the roads were rendered almost impassable; and he possessed neither cattle nor carriages sufficient to convey the baggage of his army. He directed, however, his encumbered march to Exeter; but without being joined by any person of eminence, either on his way, or for eight days after his arrival at that place. His troops were discouraged: he himself began to think of abandoning his enterprise; and actually held a council of his principal officers, to deliberate whether he should not re-imbark.(2) Impatient of disappointment, he is said even to have publicly declared his resolution to permit the English nation to settle their own differences with their king; and to direct his father-in-law where to punish, by transmitting to him the secret correspondence of his subjects.(3)

The friends of the court exulted mightily at the coldness of William's reception; but their joy was of short duration. One Burrington having shewn the example, the prince was speedily joined by the gentry of the counties of Devon and Somerset, and an association was signed for his support. The earl of Abingdon, Mr. Russel, son of the earl of Bedford, lord Wharton, Mr. Godfrey, Mr. Howe, and a number of other persons of distinction, repaired to Exeter. All England was soon in commotion. Lord Delamere took arms in Cheshire; the city of York was seized by the earl of Danby; the earl of Bath, governor of Plymouth, declared for the Prince; and the earl of Devonshire made a like declaration in Derby. Every day discovered some new instance of that general confederacy, into which the nation had entered against the measures of the king. But the most dangerous symptom, and that which rendered his affairs desperate, was the defection of the army. Many of the principal officers were inspired with the prevailing spirit of the nation, and disposed to prefer the interests of their country to their duty to their sovereign. Though they might love James, and have a due sense of the favours he had conferred upon them, they were startled at the thought of rendering him absolute master, not only of the liberties, but even of the lives and properties of his subjects; and yet this,

(1) The proofs produced by James, in support of the birth of his son, before an extraordinary council, to which the lords both spiritual and temporal were summoned, and at which the lord mayor and aldermen of London, and all the judges were present, were as strong as any that can perhaps be produced to establish such a fact. But if any doubts in regard to this matter could still remain in the most prejudiced mind, the declaration of the duke of Berwick, the king's natural son, and a man of unimpeached veracity, would be sufficient to remove them. "I could speak knowingly on the subject," says he, "for I was present; and, notwithstanding my respect and attachment to the king, I could never have consented to so detestable an action, as that of introducing a supposititious child, in order to deprive the true heirs of the crown. Much less should I have continued, after the king's death, to support the pretensions of an impostor: honour and conscience would have restrained me." (*Mem. of the Duke of Berwick*, written by himself, vol. i. p. 40.) The answer of Anne princess of Denmark (July 1688) to the questions of her sister Mary, princess of Orange, relative to the birth of the prince of Wales, is still more satisfactory. Though seemingly disposed to favour the idea of an imposture, she estimates so particularly, even to indelicacy, the circumstances attending the queen's delivery, and the persons of both sexes present at it (who were many, and of high rank) that it is truly astonishing William should afterward have assigned the illegitimacy of the prince of Wales as one of his reasons for landing in England. (Dalrymp. *Append.* part ii.) See farther, on this much contested subject, a *Letter from Dr. Hugh Chamberlayne to the Princess Sophia*, ubi sup.

(2) Duke of Berwick's, *Mem.* vol. i.

(3) *Dalrymple's Append.*

they saw, must be the consequence of suppressing the numerous insurrections, and obliging the prince of Orange to quit the kingdom. They therefore determined rather to bear the reproach of infidelity, than to run the hazard of becoming the instruments of despotism.

The example of desertion among the officers was set by lord Colchester, son of the earl of Rivers, and by lord Cornbery, son of the earl of Clarendon. The king had arrived at Salisbury, the head-quarters of his army, when he received this alarming intelligence; but as the soldiers in general seemed firm in their allegiance, and the officers in a body expressed their abhorrence of such treachery, he resolved to advance upon the invaders. Unfortunately however for his affairs, the Dutch had already taken possession of Axminster. A sudden bleeding at the nose, with which he was seized, occasioned a delay of some days; and farther symptoms of defection appearing among the officers, he judged it prudent to retire toward London. Lord Churchill, afterward the great duke of Marlborough, and the duke of Grafton, natural son of Charles II. who had given their opinion for remaining at Salisbury, fled under cover of the night to the prince of Orange. Successive misfortunes poured in on the unfortunate monarch. Trelawney, who occupied an advanced post at Warminster, deserted with all his captains, except one. Prince George of Denmark, the king's son-in-law, and the young duke of Ormond, left him at Andover. Every day diminished the number of his officers; and to increase his accumulated misfortunes, he found on his arrival in London, that his favourite daughter, Anne, princess of Denmark, had secretly withdrawn herself the night before, in company with lady Churchill.⁽¹⁾ All his firmness of mind left him: tears started from his eyes; and he broke out into sorrowful exclamations, expressive of his deep sense of his now lost condition. "God help me!" cried he, in the agony of his heart; "my own children have forsaken me!"

Henceforth, the conduct of the infatuated James is so much marked with folly and pusillanimity, as to divest his character of all respect, and almost his sufferings of compassion. Having assembled, as a last resource, a council of the peers then in London, he issued, by their advice, writs for a new parliament, and appointed the marquis of Halifax, the earl of Nottingham, and lord Godolphin, his commissioners to treat with the prince of Orange. Thinking the season for negotiation past, William continued to advance with his army, at the same time that he amused the commissioners. Though he knew they were all devoted to his cause, he long denied them an audience. Meanwhile James, distracted by his own fears, and alarmed by the real or pretended apprehensions of others, sent the queen and the prince of Wales privately into France, and embraced the extraordinary resolution of following them in person. He accordingly left his palace at midnight, attended only by Sir Edward Hales; and, in order to complete his imprudence and despair, he commanded the earl of Feversham to disband the army, recalled the writs for the meeting of the parliament, and threw the great seal into the Thames!⁽²⁾

If James had deliberately resolved to place the prince of Orange on the throne of England, he could not have pursued a line of conduct more effectual for that purpose. Besides the odious circumstances of seeking refuge with the heir of the crown in a country distinguished for popery and arbitrary power, and recalling the writs for a free parliament, the anarchy and disorder, which ensued on the sudden dissolution of government, made all men look up to William as the saviour of the nation. The populace rose in London, and not only destroyed all the popish chapels, but even rifled the houses of the ambassadors of Catholic princes and states, where many of the papists had lodged their most valuable effects. Riot and devastation every where prevailed. The whole body of the people, released from the restraints of law, felt one general movement; and new violences

(1) Burnet, book iv. Duke of Berwick's *Mém.* vol. i. James II. 1688.

(2) *Id.* *ibid.*

were apprehended from the licentious soldiers, whom Feversham had disbanded without either disarming or paying them (1).

In order to remedy these evils, and restore public tranquillity, an office which seemed now beyond the power of the civil magistrate, such of the bishops and peers as were in London assembled in Guildhall; and erecting themselves into a supreme council, executed all the functions of royalty. They gave directions to the mayor and aldermen for keeping the peace of the city: they issued their commands, which were readily obeyed, to the fleet, to the neglected army of James, and to all the garrisons in England. They ordered the militia to be raised; and they published a declaration, by which they unanimously resolved to apply to the prince of Orange to settle the affairs of the nation, deserted by the king, through the influence of evil counsellors.

William was not backward in assuming that authority, which the imprudence of James had devolved upon him. He exercised, in his person, many acts of sovereignty; and, in order to make his presence more welcome in London, he is said to have propagated a report, that the disbanded Irish had taken arms, and begun a general massacre of the Protestants. Such a rumour at least was spread all over the kingdom, and begot universal consternation. The alarm bells were rung, the beacons fired; and men fancied they saw at a distance the smoke of the burning cities, and heard the dying groans of those who were slaughtered by the enemies of their religion (2). Nothing less than the approach of the prince of Orange and his Protestant army, it was thought, could save the capital from ruin.

William had advanced to Windsor, when he received the unwelcome news, that the king had been seized in disguise, by some fishermen, near Feversham in Kent, on supposition that he was some popish priest, or other delinquent, who wanted to make his escape. This intelligence threw all parties into confusion. The prince of Orange sent orders to James, not to approach nearer to London than Rochester. But the messenger missed him on the way, and he once more entered his capital amid the loudest acclamations of joy. The people forgot his misconduct in his misfortunes, and all orders of men seemed to welcome his return (3).

This, however, was only a transient gleam before a new storm. Scarce had the king retired to his bed-chamber, when he received a message from the prince, desiring him to remove to Ham, a house belonging to the duchess of Lauderdale; and the following night, as he was going to rest, the Dutch guards, without further notice, took possession of his palace, and displaced the English, to the great disgust of the army, and no inconsiderable part of the nation. James set out next morning, by permission, for Rochester; in preference to Ham, under a Dutch guard; and although convinced, that he could not do a more acceptable service to his rival, and that he had underrated the loyalty of his subjects, he still resolved to make his escape to France.

The earls of Arran, Dumbarton, Aylsbury, Litchfield, and Middleton, the gallant lord Dundee, and other officers of distinction, who had assembled at Rochester, argued strenuously against his resolution. They represented to the king, that the opinion of mankind began already to change, and that events would daily rise in favour of his authority. "The question, Sir," urged Dundee, with all his generous ardour, "is whether you will stay in England, or fly to France? Whether you shall trust the returning zeal of your native subjects, or rely on a foreign power?—Hare you ought to stand. Keep possession of a part, and the whole will submit by degrees. Resume the spirit of a king; summon your subjects to their allegiance: your army, though disbanded, is not annihilated. Give me your commission, and I will collect ten thousand of your troops: I will carry your standard at their head through England, and drive before you the Dutch and their

(1) Ralph. Hume.

(2) Hist. Devert. p. 91. Rapin, vol. ii. fol. edit.

(3) Burnet, book iv.

"prince." James replied, that he believed it might be done, but that it would occasion a civil war; and he would not do so much mischief to a people who would soon return to their senses. Middleton, who saw the fallacy of this opinion, pressed him to stay, though in the remotest part of his kingdom. "Your majesty," said he, "may throw things into confusion by your departure, but it will be only the anarchy of a month: a new government will soon be settled; and then you and your family are ruined for ever."⁽¹⁾

But these animated remonstrances could not inspire with new firmness a mind broken by apprehension and terror. Afraid of being taken off either by poison or assassination,⁽²⁾ and mortified at his present abject condition, James continued to meditate his escape; and as the back-door of the house in which he lodged was intentionally left without any guard, he found no difficulty in accomplishing his design. He privately withdrew at midnight, accompanied by his natural son, the duke of Berwick, and went on board a large sloop, which waited for him in the river Medway. After some obstructions, he safely arrived at Ambleuse, in Picardy; whence he hastened to St. Germain, where the queen and the prince of Wales had arrived the day before.⁽³⁾

Thus, my dear Philip, ended the reign of James II. a prince not destitute of virtue or abilities, but who, as you have seen, was so enslaved by the Romish superstition, and blinded with the love of arbitrary power, that he obstinately violated the civil and religious constitution of his country; and was, therefore, justly deprived of the throne. Who had a right to fill that throne? is a question which we shall afterward have occasion to discuss. In the mean time, I must carry forward the progress of the prince of Orange; observing, by the way, that whatever restraints might have been imposed on the regal authority which had been abused, the king's desertion of his people, though in some measure deserted by them, could only have occasioned the utter loss of his crown, or have changed the line of succession.

The same day that James left Whitehall, William arrived at St. James's. It happened to rain very heavily, and yet great numbers came to see him. But, after they had stayed long in the wet, he disappointed them. Being an enemy to show and parade, perhaps from a consciousness of his ungraceful figure, and dead to the voice of popular joy, he went through the park to the palace.⁽⁴⁾ Even this trifling incident helped to alter the sentiments of the people; and being now cool, they judged more impartially. They considered it as an unnatural thing for the prince of Orange to waken his father-in-law out of his sleep, and force him from his own palace, when he was ready to submit to every thing: they began even to suspect, that this *specious undertaking* would prove to be only a *disguised and designed usurpation*.⁽⁵⁾ The public bodies, however, waited upon the prince, and expressed their zeal for his cause: and, among others, the gentlemen of the law, with old serjeant Maynard at their head; who, when William took notice of his great age, and said he must have outlived all the lawyers of his time; wittily replied, "I should have outlived the law itself, if your highness had not come over!"⁽⁶⁾

The only thing that now remained for all parties was the settlement of the kingdom. With this view, the peers met in their own house; and the prince laid before them his Declaration, as the foundation of their deliberations. In the course of debate it was urged, That the king, by withdrawing, had divested himself of his authority, and that government itself had suffered a demise in law.⁽⁷⁾ A free parliament was, therefore, declared to be the only means of obtaining a legal settlement; and the result of the whole was, that

(1) Macpherson's *Original Papers*, 1688.

(2) James II. 1688.

(3) Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. i. James II. 1688.

(4) Burnet, book iv.

(5) *Ibid.*

(6) *Ibid.*

(7) Clarendon's *Diary*, Dec. 26. 1688.

an address should be presented to the prince of Orange, desiring him to assume the administration of government, and to summon a convention. The offer was too alluring to be rejected; but William, cautious in all his proceedings, judged it still necessary to strengthen the resolution of the lords with the authority of the commons. For that purpose, a judicious expedient was fallen upon. All the members of the three last parliaments, who were in London, were invited to meet, together with the lord mayor, the court of aldermen, and fifty members of the common-council. This mixed assembly, which was regarded as the most equal representation of the people that could be obtained in the present emergency, unanimously voted an address, the same in substance with that of the lords; and the prince, supported by so great a part of the nation, dispatched his circular letters to the various boroughs, counties, and corporations in England, for a general election of representatives. (1)

While the Revolution thus approached to maturity in England, the people of Scotland were not idle spectators. The Presbyterians in that kingdom, who had long been persecuted and oppressed, composed the bulk of the nation; and as the prince of Orange was of their persuasion, the most fervent prayers were offered up for his success, as soon as his designs were known. He had undertaken to deliver Scotland as well as England; and, in order to facilitate his views, the popular party, on receiving his Declaration, dissolved the few regular troops that remained in the kingdom, and assumed the reins of government. Thirty noblemen, and about eighty gentlemen, repaired to London; and forming themselves into a kind of convention, requested the Prince to take into his hands the administration of Scotland. He thanked them for the trust they had reposed in him, and summoned a general convention to meet at Edinburgh. This assembly being regarded as illegal by the more zealous Royalists, they took little share in the elections; so that the popular party, or the Whigs, were returned for most places. The proceedings of the members of the Scottish convention were accordingly bold and decisive. They ordered, by proclamation, all persons between the age of sixteen and sixty to be ready to take arms; they gave the command of the militia to Sir Patrick Hume, one of their most active leaders: they raised eight hundred men for a guard, under the earl of Leven; they impowered the duke of Hamilton, their president, to secure all disaffected and suspected persons; and without amusing themselves with nice distinctions, and the latent meaning of the words, they resolved, "That king James, by mal-administration, and by his abuse of power, had forfeited his right of the crown." They therefore declared the throne *vacant*, and invited the Prince and Princess of Orange to take possession of it, though not without due attention to their civil and religious rights. (2)

In the mean time, the English convention had met; and after a long debate, the commons came to the following memorable resolution:—"That king James II. having endeavoured to subvert the constitution, by breaking the original contract between King and People; and having violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himself from the kingdom, has abdicated the government; and that the throne is thereby become *vacant*." (3) This resolution was carried up to the house of peers, where it met with much opposition, and many warm debates ensued. The most curious of these was, "Whether any original contract subsisted between the king and the people?"—a question more fit for the schools than a national assembly, but which the vote of the commons had rendered necessary. Arguments may surely be produced from reason, to prove a kind of tacit compact between the sovereign and the subject; but such a compact has seldom had any actual existence. The English national charters, however, seemed to realise such a compact: and these charters had all been recognised and confirmed by the Bill of Rights, a solemn and recent transaction between the

(1) Burnet, ubi sup. Echard; vol. iii.

(2) Balcarras's *Minutes of the Convention*. Burnet, book. iv. v.

(3) *Journals*, Jan. 28, 1689.

king, the nobles, and the representatives of the people. The majority of the lords, therefore, declared for an Original Contract; and the house almost instantly resolved, That James had broken that contract.(1)

The opposition, however, did not end here. The lords proceeded to take into consideration the word *abdicated*, contained in the vote of the commons; and, after some debate, agreed that *deserted* was more proper. The next and concluding question was, "Whether king James, having broken the 'original contract, and deserted the government, the throne is thereby vacant?" The question was debated with more warmth than any of the former; and, on a division, it was carried by eleven voices against a vacancy. The vote of the commons, was sent back with these amendments; and as they continued obstinate, a free conference was appointed between the two houses, in order to settle the controversy.

Never perhaps was there a national debate of more importance, or managed by more able speakers. The leaders of the commons contended, that although the word *deserted* might be more significant and intelligible, as applied to the king's withdrawing himself, it could not, with any propriety, be extended to his violation of the fundamental laws. The managers for the lords, changing their ground, insisted, That, admitting the king's abuse of power to be equivalent to an abdication, it could operate no otherwise than his voluntary resignation, or natural death, and could only make way for the next heir; who, though they did not name him, they insinuated, being yet an infant in the cradle, could have committed no crime: and no just reason, they thought, could be assigned, why, without any default of his own, he should lose a crown to which he was entitled by his birth. The leaders of the commons replied, That the oath of allegiance, which binds the subject to the heirs of the king as well as to himself, regarded only a natural demise, and that there was no provision in law for a civil demise, which seemed equivalent to an attainder; that although upon the death of a king, whose administration had been agreeable to the laws, many and great inconveniences would be endured, rather than exclude the lineal successor; yet when, as in the present case, the people, on the principle of self-preservation, had been obliged to have recourse to arms, in order to dethrone a prince who had violated the constitution; that the government reverted, in some measure, to its first principles, and the community acquired a right of providing for the public welfare by the most rational expedients.

The members of the convention might surely establish a new precedent, as well as their ancestors. Never could a more fair representation of the people be obtained; and the people, it must be allowed, though they cannot deliberate in a body, have a right, on every revolution, and whenever their constitutional liberties are invaded, to choose their own governors, as well as the form of government under which they desire to live, unless the monstrous doctrine of MANY made for ONE should be revived. The two houses, however, parted without coming to any conclusion; but as it was impossible for the nation to remain long in its present state, the majority of the lords, in consequence of the desertion of some parties to the Whig party, at last agreed to pass the vote of the commons, without any alteration or amendment.(2)

This grand controversy being got over, the next question was, "Who should fill the vacant throne?"(3) The marquis of Halifax, in order to recommend himself to the future sovereign, moved that the crown should be immediately conferred upon the Prince of Orange. The earl of Danby, his political rival, proposed to confer it solely on the Princess; and others con-

(1) *Journals of the Lords*, Jan. 30.

(2) *Journals of the Lords*, Feb. 8.

(3) During all these debates, it seems somewhat extraordinary, that no inquiry was made concerning the birth of the prince of Wales; more especially as such an inquiry had been expressly mentioned by the prince of Orange in his Declaration. The reasons assigned for the neglect of this neglect, though plausible, are by no means conclusive. (*Hist. of the Revolution*, book iv.) The only substantial reason for such omission seems to be, That the Whigs, finding it impracticable to prove an imposture even by presumptive evidence, judged it prudent to let the matter rest in obscurity.

tended for a regency. William, who had hitherto behaved with great moderation and magnanimity, avoiding to interfere in the debates of either house, and disdaining even to bestow caresses on those members whose influence might be useful to him, now perceiving that he was likely to lose the great object of his ambition, broke through that mysterious reserve, and seeming apathy, in which he had been so long wrapped. He called together Halifax, Shrewsbury, Danby, and some other leading men, and told them that he had heard some were for placing the government in the hands of a regent. He would not, he said, oppose the measure; but he thought it necessary to inform them, that he would not be THAT regent. Others, he added, seemed disposed to place the Princess singly on the throne, and that he should reign by her counsel. This he also declined; declaring, that he could not accept of an authority, which should depend on the will or the life of another; that no man could esteem a woman more than he did the Princess Mary, but he could not "think of holding any thing by apron-strings;" and therefore, if they did not think fit to make a different settlement, that he would return to Holland, and concern himself no more in their affairs. (1)

This threat, though not deemed to be altogether sincere, had its weight. Both houses voted, "That the Prince and Princess of Orange should be declared King and Queen of England;" and a bill was brought in for that purpose. In this bill, or Instrument of Settlement, it was provided, That the Prince and Princess should enjoy the crown of England during their natural lives and the life of the survivor, the sole administration to be in the prince; that, after the death of both, the throne should be filled by the heirs of the body of the princess; and that, in default of such issue, Anne, princess of Denmark, and the heirs of her body, should succeed, before those of the prince of Orange, by any other wife but the princess Mary. (2) The Instrument of Settlement, besides regulating the line of succession, also provided against the return of those grievances, which had driven the nation to the present extremity; and, although it ought to have been more full on this head, it declared, and effectually secured from the future encroachments of the sovereign, the most essential rights of the subject.

Thus, my dear Philip, was happily terminated the great struggle between Privilege and Prerogative, between the crown and the people; which commenced, as you have seen, with the accession of the family of Stuart to the throne of England, and continued till their exclusion, when almost a century had elapsed. The Revolution forms a grand era in the English constitution. By bringing on the decision of many important questions in favour of liberty, and yet more by the memorable precedent of deposing one king and establishing another, with a new line of succession, it gave such an ascendant to popular principles, as has put the nature of our government beyond all controversy. A king of England, or of Britain, to use the words of my lord Bolingbroke, is now strictly and properly what a king should be; a member, but the supreme member or head, of a political body; distinct from it, or independent of it, in none. He can no longer move in a different orbit from his people; and, like some superior planet, attract, repel, and direct their motions by his own. He and they are parts of the same system, intimately joined, and co-operating together; acting and acted upon, limiting and limited, controlling and controlled, by one another; and when he ceases to stand in this relation to them, he ceases to stand in any. The settlements, by virtue of which he governs, are plainly *original contracts*; his institution is plainly *conditional*; and he may forfeit his right to *allegiance*, as undeniably and effectually, as the subject his right to *protection*. (3)

But these advantages, so much and so deservedly praised, and which can never be too highly valued, serve at present only to convince us of the imper-

(1) *Journal of the Lords*, Feb. 7, 1689.

(2) *Journal of the Lords*, Feb. 7, 1689. See also the Instrument, or act itself. In the act was inserted a clause, disabling all papists, or such as should marry papists, from succeeding to the crown; and another, absolving the subjects, in that case, from their allegiance.

(3) *Dissertation on Parties*, Let. ix.

fection of all human institutions. Happily poised as our government is, and although the people of this island have enjoyed, since the Revolution, the most perfect system of liberty ever known among mankind, the spirit of patriotism (which, as it gave birth to that system, can alone preserve it entire) has continued to decline; and the freedom, though not the form of our constitution, is now exposed to as much danger from the enslaving influence of the crown, as ever it was from the invasions of prerogative or the violence of arbitrary power. The nature of this influence, and the mode of its operations, as well as its rise and progress, I shall afterward have occasion to explain.

We should now return to the affairs on the continent; but, for the sake of perspicuity, it will be proper first to relate the efforts made by James II. for the recovery of his crown.

LETTER XVII.

Great Britain and Ireland, from the Revolution in 1688, till the Assassination Plot in 1696.

THOUGH the Revolution, as we have already seen, my dear Philip, was brought about by a coalition of parties, not by a faction; though Whig and Tory, united by the tyrannical proceedings of James, contributed with their joint efforts to that event, the most glorious in the annals of liberty; yet this union was but the union of a day. No sooner were the Tories freed from the terror of arbitrary power, than their high monarchical principles began to return. It was the prevalence of these principles in the English convention, which occasioned those warm and contentious disputes in regard to the vacancy of the throne and the original contract; and which, but for the ascendancy of the Whigs, and the firmness of the prince of Orange, would have retarded the great work, in which the nation was engaged, imperfect.

Though disposed to nothing less, as a body, than the restoration of James, the Tories, enslaved by their political prejudices, were startled at the idea of breaking the line of succession. Hence the ridiculous proposal of a regency. And a party, since properly distinguished by the reproachful appellation of *Jacobites*, secretly lurked among the Tories; a party, who from their attachment to the person or the family of the dethroned monarch, and an adherence to the monstrous doctrines of passive obedience and of divine indefeasible hereditary right, wished to bring back the king, and invariably held, that ~~some~~ but a STUART could justly be invested with the regal authority. Of this opinion were all the bigoted high-churchmen and Catholics in the three kingdoms. Among the Whigs, or moderate churchmen and dissenters, in like manner, lurked many enthusiastic Republicans; who hoped, in the national ferment, to effect a dissolution of monarchy.

The contest between these parties, fomented by the ambitious views of individuals, which long distracted the English government, and is not yet fully composed, began immediately after the Revolution, and threatened the sudden subversion of the new establishment. The silent reserved temper, and solitary disposition of William, early disgusted the citizens of London; (1) and the more violent Tories, who had lost all the merit which their party might otherwise have claimed with the king, by opposing the change in the succession, were enraged at seeing the current of court favour run chiefly toward the Whigs. The hope of retaining this favour, and with it the principal offices of the state (of which they had been so long in possession, and to which they thought themselves entitled, by the antient rights of their families, and their superiority in landed property) was probably their leading motive for concurring in a revolution which they were sensible they

(1) Burnet, book v.
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could not prevent. But, whatever their motives might be for such co-operation, they had justly forfeited all title to royal favour, by their subsequent conduct, not only in the estimation of William, but of all the zealous lovers of their country. They reverted to ancient prejudices and narrow principles, at a crisis when the nation was ready to embrace the most enlarged way of thinking, with respect both to religion and government.

The church also was enraged at the general toleration which William, soon after his accession, very prudently as well as liberally, granted to all his Protestant subjects; and still more by an attempt which he made toward a comprehension in England; while the whole episcopal body in Scotland took part with the Jacobites, in consequence of the re-establishment of the Presbyterian religion in that kingdom. This establishment, the Scottish convention, which consisted chiefly of Presbyterians, had demanded. They connected it intimately with the settlement of the crown; (1) and their spirit, in so doing, deserves to be admired. But William had little to fear from that quarter. The Presbyterians, who composed about three-fourths of the inhabitants of Scotland, were not only able to defend the new settlement, but willing to do it at the hazard of their lives. The state of Ireland was very different.

The great body of the people in that kingdom were Roman-catholics. The earl of Tyrconnel, a violent papist, was lord-lieutenant; and all employments, civil and military, were in the hands of the same sect. Yet this man, who had induced the infatuated James, by working on his civil and religious prejudices, to invade the privileges of the Irish corporations, in the same manner as those of England had been attacked by Charles II. and who, under the plausible pretence of relieving some distressed and really injured papists, had prepared a bill for destroying the whole settlement of the kingdom, as established at the Restoration, and which would have given to the crown the disposal of almost all the lands in Ireland; this apparently zealous Catholic, and piously loyal subject, is said to have traitorously made an offer of his government to the prince of Orange; (2) and William is said to have politically refused it, that he might have a decent pretext for keeping up an army, in order to secure the obedience of England, and that he might be enabled, by Irish forfeitures, to gratify his English and foreign favourites. (3)

But one who lived at the time, who was no friend to William, and who had every opportunity of knowing the character and examining the administration of Tyrconnel, declares that his *firmness* preserved Ireland in the interest of James, and that he *nobly* rejected all the *advantageous offers* which were made to induce him to submit to the prince of Orange: (4) and the general tenor of his conduct, as well as the testimony of other contemporary writers, seems to prove, That the proposals which he sent to the prince were only intended to gain time, that he might be enabled to put his government in a better state of defence, and procure assistance from France. (5)

(1) Bugnet, ubi sup.

(2) Dalrymple's *Append.*

(3) Macpherson's *Hist. of Brit.* vol. i.

(4) Duke of Berwick's *Mém.* j.

(5) In reasoning so circumstantially on this subject, I am less influenced by any desire of vindicating the conduct of William or of Tyrconnel, than of shewing the insufficiency of those *original papers*, which have been so liberally produced of late years, to alter our opinion of the established characters of men: for, as, in the present case, Tyrconnel's offer to negotiate with William is no *proof* of his being a *traitor* to James; so, in most other cases, our ignorance of the motives of the parties ought to make us suspend our judgment of such doubtful or suspicious evidence. At any rate, these *abortive intrigues*, and insidious anecdotes, which have been brought as a charge against so many otherwise unsullied reputations, are fitter for the chronicle of scandal, or the memoirs of individuals, than the page of general history, which they can serve only to contaminate and perplex. Little farther attention shall, therefore, be paid to them in the body of this work; which has chiefly for its object *important events*, with their causes and consequences.

To throw a shade over the brightest characters, cannot surely be a desirable employment for a liberal mind; yet have some men of talents undertaken this invidious task, and prosecuted it with unwearied industry. They who love to contemplate human nature on the dark side, will find sufficient food for their passion in Dalrymple's *Appendix*, and Macpherson's *Original Papers*. Happily, however, these papers, contrary to the apparent purpose of the compilers, furnish arguments for the advocates of freedom, as well as the abettors of despotism. I have accordingly used them as a counter-poison.

William, however, though somewhat suspicious of his sincerity, did not alight the advances of the lord-lieutenant: he dispatched general Hamilton, his countryman and friend, to treat with him. Hamilton betrayed his trust: (1) Tyrconnel, in conformity with his real views, levied a great body of troops, which having no regular pay, were left to live upon the plunder of the Protestants; and these unhappy people, roused by oppression, and fearing a general massacre, flew to arms, and throwing themselves into Londonderry, Inniskilling, and other places of strength, hoped to be able to hold out till they should obtain relief from England. (2)

In the mean time James, who had been received with marks of the most cordial affection by Lewis XIV. either from a sympathy of religious sentiments, or with a view of making him subservient to his ambition, was preparing to make a descent in Ireland. Pressed by the solicitations, and encouraged by the favourable representations of Tyrconnel, he accordingly embarked at Brest, early in the spring, and landed safely at Kinsale, with only twelve hundred men, all his native subjects, one hundred French officers, and some gentlemen of distinction. Seven battalions of French troops were afterwards sent over. (3) But these, and all his Irish forces, were by no means sufficient to oppose the veteran army of William.

James and his adherents, however, had other ideas of the matter. Elated at the presence of a prince, who had lost two kingdoms from his predilection for their religion, the Irish Catholics every where received him with the highest demonstrations of joy. But this rage of loyalty, by involving him in measures subversive not only of the Protestant interest, but of all the laws of justice and humanity, has disgraced his character, and proved highly injurious to his cause. Having assembled a parliament, consisting chiefly of Catholics, a bill was passed for repealing the Act of Settlement, by which the Protestants were secured in the possession of their estates; and, in order to complete the ruin of the whole sect, an act of attainder was afterward passed against all Protestants, male and female, who were absent from the kingdom; who did not acknowledge the authority of king James, or who had been any way connected with rebels from the first day of August in the preceding year. (4) The number of Protestants attainted by name in this act amounted to about three thousand. Another violent act was passed, declaring Ireland independent of the English parliament. (5)

While James was thus attempting to establish his authority in Ireland, by flattering the prejudices of the natives, William was engaged in managing the English parliament, and in conducting that great system of continental policy, of which he had been so long the centre. To both these ends the violence of the Irish Catholics, their influence with the dethroned monarch, and his throwing himself into their hands, contributed not a little; and William, in order still farther to quiet and unite the minds of men, as well as to promote his own views, recommended to the parliament an act of general indemnity, and procured an address for a declaration of war against France. Both proposals were readily embraced. Inflamed with ancient and hereditary hate, and roused by recent jealousy, the English nation had long been desirous of turning its arms against Lewis XIV. and the supposed attachment of James to the French interest, his bigotry not excepted, had been the principle cause of his ruin. Had he acceded to the league of Augsburg, he would never have lost his crown. Threatened by that league, and willing to strike the first blow, Lewis had sent an army into Alsace, and made himself master of Philipsburg in 1688. This violence, which was immediately succeeded by others, alarmed the emperor, Spain, Holland, and all the confederate powers on the continent. They saw the necessity of

(1) This treachery was attended with a very striking circumstance. Sir William Temple's son, who was secretary at war to king William, having engaged himself for the fidelity of Hamilton, was so much mortified at his defection, that he put an end to his own life, by leaping out of a boat into the Thames. *Clarendon's Diary*.

(2) Burnet. King.

(3) Duke of Berwick's *Mém.* vol. i.

(4) Burnet. Ralph. King.

(5) *Id. ibid.*

having immediate recourse to arms; and the interposition of France in the affairs of Ireland furnished William with a good pretence for throwing the whole weight of England into the hostile scale. The confederacy was now complete.

But the critical state of his new dominions called off the attention of William, for a time, from the continental system. The duke of Gordon still held out the castle of Edinburgh for James; and the viscount Dundee, the soul of the Jacobite party in Scotland, having collected a small but gallant army of Highlanders, threatened with subjection the whole northern part of the kingdom. Dundee, who had publicly disavowed the authority of the Scottish convention, had been declared an out-law by that assembly; and general Mackay was sent against him with a body of regular troops. Lord Murray, son to the marquis of Athol, had laid siege to the castle of Blair, which was held by some of the adherents of James. Sir Alexander Maclean, by Dundee's order, marched against Murray, and forced him to raise the siege. But this event did not decide the contest. Mackay, who had hitherto contented himself with obstructing the progress, or watching the motions of the Highlanders, resolved to reduce the disputed castle, and put himself in motion for that purpose.

Apprized of the design of his antagonist, Dundee summoned up all his enterprising spirit, and by forced marches arrived in Athol before him. Next morning he was informed that Mackay's vanguard, consisting of four hundred men, had cleared the pass of Killicranky; a narrow defile, formed by the steep side of the Grampian Hills, and a dark, rapid, and deep river. Though chagrined at this intelligence, Dundee was not disconcerted. He immediately dispatched sir Alexander Maclean to attack the enemy's advanced party with an equal number of his clan, while he himself should approach with the main body of the Highlanders. But before Maclean had proceeded a mile, Dundee received information that Mackay had marched through the pass with his whole army. He commanded Maclean to halt, and boldly advanced with his faithful band, determined to give battle to the enemy.

Mackay's army, consisting of four thousand five hundred foot, and two troops of horse, was formed in eight battalions, and ready for action, when Dundee came in view. His own brave, but undisciplined followers, of all ranks and conditions, did not exceed three thousand three hundred men. These he instantly ranged in hostile array. They stood inactive for several hours in sight of the enemy, on the steep side of a hill, which faced the narrow plain where Mackay had formed his line, neither party choosing to change their ground. But the signal for battle was no sooner given, than the Highlanders rushed down the hill in deep columns; and having discharged their muskets with effect, they had recourse to the broadsword, their proper weapon, with which they furiously attacked the enemy. Mackay's left wing was instantly broken, and driven from the field with great slaughter by the Macleans, who formed the right of Dundee's army. The Macdonalds, who composed his left, were not equally successful: colonel Hastings's regiment of English foot repelled their most vigorous efforts, and obliged them to retreat. But sir Alexander Maclean and sir Evan Cameron, at the head of part of their respective clans, suddenly assailed this gallant regiment in flank, and forced it to give way, or cut it in pieces.

The victory was now complete. Two thousand of Mackay's army were slain; and his artillery, baggage, ammunition, provisions, and even king William's Dutch standard, fell into the hands of the Highlanders. But their joy, like a smile upon the cheek of death, delusive and insincere, was of short duration. Dundee was mortally wounded, in the pursuit, by a musket shot. He survived the battle, but expired soon after, and with him perished the hopes of James in Scotland. The castle of Edinburgh had already surrendered to the convention; and the Highlanders, discouraged by the loss of a leader whom they loved and almost adored, gradually dispersed themselves, and returned to their savage mountains, to bewail him in their

songs.(1) His memory is still dear to them : he is considered as the last of their heroes ; and his name, even to this day, is seldom mentioned among them without a sigh or a tear.(2) Dundee, indeed, appears to have been a very extraordinary man. Beside great knowledge of the military art, the talent of seizing advantages, and the most perfect recollection in battle, he possessed, in no common degree, that distinguishing feature of the heroic character, the power of influencing the opinions of others, and of inspiring them with his own ardour.

Fortune did not prove more favourable to the affairs of James in Ireland. His most important enterprise was the siege of Londonderry. Before this town he appeared in person, with a large army, commanded by the maréchal de Rosen, de Maumont, general Hamilton, the duke of Berwick, and other officers of distinction. But so bold was the spirit of the inhabitants, that instead of tamely surrendering, they gallantly repelled all attempts to reduce the place, and even annoyed the besiegers with their sallies. At length, however, weakened and distressed by famine, and diminished in number by pestilence, its too common attendant, they were reduced almost to despair. In order finally to complete their depression, in this frightful extremity, maréchal de Rosen, in the absence of James, collected all the Protestants in the neighbouring country, to the number of four or five thousand, without distinction of age, sex, or condition, and cruelly placed them between his lines and the walls of the town ; where many of them were suffered to perish of hunger, from a persuasion that the besieged would either relieve their friends or surrender the place. But this barbarous expedient had no such effect ; it served only to confirm the inhabitants in their resolution of holding out to the last man. Happily, before their perseverance utterly failed, a reinforcement arrived from England with ammunition and provisions, and the besiegers thought proper to abandon the undertaking.(3)

The difficulties of James now crowded fast upon him. Soon after the failure of this enterprise, the maréchal, created duke of Schomberg, landed in Ireland with ten thousand men. But the impracticable nature of the country, his inacquaintance with it, and the declining season, prevented that able and experienced general from making any progress before the close of the campaign. During the winter, however, though his troops suffered greatly by disease, he gained some advantages over the Irish ; and William, in order to quicken his operations, and put at once an end to the war, came over in person, with a fresh army, the beginning of next summer.

James, on this occasion, embraced a resolution that has been considered as rash, but worthy of a sovereign contending for his lost kingdom. Though his army was inferior in numbers as well as in discipline, to that of his rival, he determined to put all to the hazard of a battle. He accordingly took post on the southern bank of the Boyne, and extended his troops in two lines, opposed to the deep and dangerous fords of that river. No position could be more advantageous. A morass defended him on the left, and in his rear lay the village of Dunore, where he had entrenched a body of troops. But all these circumstances, so favourable to James, did not discourage William from seeking an engagement. After having reconnoitred the situation of the enemy, he resolved, contrary to the advice of Schomberg, to attack them next morning, though under no necessity of running such a risk. His army accordingly passed the river in three divisions, one of which he headed in person. Schomberg, who lead another, was killed soon after reaching the opposite bank, but not before he had broken the Irish infantry. The Irish cavalry, commanded by general Hamilton and the duke of Berwick, behaved with more spirit, charging and re-charging ten times. But even they were at last obliged to yield to superior force. General Hamilton was made prisoner ; and James, who had shewn some courage, but no conduct, thought proper to retreat toward Dublin, under cover of the French auxi-

(1) MS. *Accounts* in Dalrymple and Macpherson. Those of Macpherson are chiefly followed in this narration.

(2) Macpherson.

(3) King. Burnet. Duke of Berwick. James II. 1689.

liaries, who had never been put into disorder. His loss was but small, not exceeding fifteen hundred men; yet was the victory complete, as many of the Irish troops deserted their officers during the following night, and returned to their several homes.(1)

The subsequent conduct of James was more blamable than either his precipitancy in risking a battle, or his behaviour during the engagement, allowing both to be deserving of censure. No sooner was he informed of the dispersion of his army than he despondingly gave up Ireland as lost; and, leaving the inhabitants of Dublin to make their own conditions with the victor, immediately embarked for France, though he had still many resources left. By bravely collecting his scattered, but not annihilated forces, and drawing troops from his different garrisons, independent of new levies, he might have appeared in the field more formidable than ever; whereas his pusillanimous flight, by disheartening his friends, and encouraging his enemies, left but a melancholy prospect to his generals.

But these new resources, and the consequences of neglecting them, did not occur to a mind broken by accumulated misfortunes. Besides, the fugitive monarch tells us, that he had hopes of being able to recover the English crown, by means of an armament from France, during the absence of William and his veteran troops. These hopes however, suddenly disappeared; though, on his arrival at Brest, the prospect seemed to brighten. He was there informed, that the French navy had gained a signal victory over the combined fleet of England and Holland, commanded by the earl of Torrington and admiral Evertzen, and that Tourville was riding triumphant in the Channel. All this was nearly true; and a descent in England, in favour of James, might certainly have been made to great advantage, while it was in the power of the French fleet to have prevented the return of William. But the flight of that unfortunate prince from Ireland, had so discouraging an aspect, and Lewis XIV. placed so little faith in the perpetual rumours of insurrections and discontents in England, that he was resolved not to risk an army in such an enterprise. He, therefore, lent a deaf ear to all James's proposals for an invasion. He even refused him a small supply of ammunition for the remains of the army in Ireland, saying, that whatever should be sent thither would be so much lost.(2) As a proof of his sincerity, he dispatched transports to bring off his own troops. And James, labouring under the deepest mortification and self-condemnation, was made severely sensible, when too late, That a prince, who deserts his own cause, will soon see it deserted by all the world.

The Irish, however, though abandoned by their king and his grand ally, did not resign themselves to despondency, or attempt by submissions to conciliate the clemency of their invaders. Seeming ashamed of their misbehaviour at the passage of the Boyne (for it does not deserve the name of a battle) and anxious to vindicate their reputation, they every where made a gallant resistance; a circumstance which contributed not a little to aggravate the tormenting reflections of James, by convincing him, that his adverse fortune was more to be ascribed to his own imprudence than to the disloyalty of his subjects, or their want of zeal in his service.

After visiting Dublin, William advanced with his whole army to invest Limerick; into which the remains of James's infantry had thrown themselves, whilst the cavalry, under the command of Berwick and Tyrconnel, kept the field, in order to convey supplies to the garrison. Limerick is situated on the Shannon, where that river is broad, deep, and rapid. Part of the town stands on the Munster side, part on an island in the Shannon, and the castle on the side of Clare. These three divisions were united by two bridges. William, not daring to cross the Shannon in the face of the enemy's cavalry, invested Limerick only on the south side; so that it was in no danger of being distressed for want of provisions. Aware of this disadvantage, he attempted to carry the place by storm, after having made a practi-

(1) Ralph. King. Duke of Berwick. James II. 1690.

(2) James II. 1690.

cable breach in the walls. But although ten thousand men, by a kind of surprise, made their way into the town, the Irish charged them with such fury in the streets, that they were driven out with great slaughter.(1) Chagrined at his failure in that assault, which cost him near two thousand men, William raised the siege in disgust, and returned soon after to England.(2)

But this repulse though inglorious to the British monarch, afforded short relief to the adherents of the dethroned prince. Lord Churchill, created earl of Marlborough, who may justly be denominated the evil genius of James, arrived soon after in Ireland, with five thousand fresh troops. More active and enterprising than William, and even, perhaps, already more deeply skilled in the whole machinery of war, he reduced in a few weeks Cork and Kinsale, though both made a vigorous defence; and having put his army into winter-quarters, he returned to England covered with glory at the close of the campaign.(3)

Ireland, however, was by no means yet subdued. Athlone, Galway, Limerick, and other places, still held out. Athlone was besieged in the beginning of next campaign by baron Ginckle, who commanded the forces of William. And by an effort of boldness and vigour, to which history scarce furnishes a parallel, the place, though strongly garrisoned, was carried by storm and surprise between two and three in the afternoon; and although the Irish army lay encamped behind it, and the assailants, who had the Shannon to ford, were breast-high in water when they advanced to the breach!—St. Ruth, who commanded the Irish army, and whom Lewis XIV. had sent over for that purpose, at the request of James, filled with shame at his own fatal negligence, determined to hazard a battle with the enemy; and to recover his reputation, or lose the kingdom and his life in the attempt. He accordingly took post at Aghrim, where he waited the approach of Ginckle. An obstinate engagement ensued, in which the fortune of the day remained long doubtful, but at last declared against St. Ruth. He was killed by a cannon-ball, in bringing forward his body of reserve, and his army was totally routed.(4)

The remains of the Irish forces, and the garrison of Galway, took refuge in Limerick, which was a second time besieged by a great army of English and foreign troops; and Tyrconnel being dead, the duke of Berwick recalled, and the impossibility of supporting the war evident, the place capitulated, after a siege of six weeks, and all Ireland submitted to the arms of William.(5) The terms granted to the garrison were highly favourable, not only to the besieged but to all their countrymen in arms. It was agreed that they should receive a general pardon; that their estates should be restored, their attainders annulled, and their outlawries reversed; that Roman-catholics should enjoy the same toleration, with respect to religion, as in the reign of Charles II. that they should be restored to all the privileges of subjects, on merely taking the oaths of allegiance; and that such as chose to follow the fortunes of James, should be conveyed to the continent at the expense of government.(6)

Between twelve and twenty thousand men took advantage of this last article, and were regimented by the dethroned monarch, but paid by the king of France. Among the most distinguished of these refugees was major-general Sarsfield, whom James had created earl of Lucan. He had rendered himself very popular in Ireland by opposing the moderate counsels of Tyrconnel, and was highly exalted in his own opinion, as well as in that of his

(1) Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. i.

(2) *Ibid.* "He gave out, through Europe," says the duke of Berwick, "that continual rains had been the cause of his abandoning the enterprise, but I can affirm that not a drop of rain fell for above a month before, or for three weeks after."

Mem. vol. i.

(3) Ralph. King. Duke of Berwick.

(4) *Ibid.* "The Duke of Berwick is by no means of opinion, that, 'the crown of Ireland depended on the opportune fall of St. Ruth.' On the contrary, he declares, that the battle was already lost, and thinks it impossible for St. Ruth to have restored it with his body of reserve, which consisted only of six squadrons. *Mem.* vol. i.

(5) Burnet. Ralph. Duke of Berwick.

(6) Articles of Capitulation.

countrymen, by his success in seizing a convoy on its way to the English camp before Limerick. He was, says the duke of Berwick, a man of an amazing stature, utterly void of sense, very good natured, and very brave.(1) We must now return to the affairs of England.

William, whose first care it had been to get the Convention converted into a Parliament, was soon disgusted with that assembly, to which he owed his crown. The obligations on one side, and the claims of gratitude on the other, were indeed too great to afford any rational prospect of a lasting harmony: and other causes conspired to excite discord. The Convention Parliament, which consisted chiefly of Whigs, the ever watchful guardians of liberty, refused to settle on William the revenue of the crown for life. Notwithstanding their good opinion of his principles, they were unwilling to render him independent: they, therefore, granted the revenue only for one year. The Tories took advantage of this patriotic jealousy, to render their rivals odious to the king; who, although educated in a republic, was naturally imperious and fond of power. They represented the Whigs as men who were enemies to kingly government, and whom the circumstances of the times only had thrown into the scale of monarchy. And William, who had publicly declared, That a king without a permanent revenue was no better than a pageant, and who considered so close a dependence on his subjects as altogether inconsistent with the regal authority, readily listened to such insinuations; and, in order to emancipate himself, dissolved the parliament.(2)

The new parliament, which consisted almost wholly of Tories, not only settled the revenue of the crown on William for life, but granted liberal supplies for carrying on the war in Ireland, and on the continent. In those votes the Whigs concurred, that they might not seem to destroy the work of their own hands. But the heads of the party were highly dissatisfied; at seeing that favour, and those offices, to which they thought themselves entitled by their past services, bestowed chiefly upon the Tories. They entered into cabals with the Jacobites, and even held a secret correspondence with the dethroned monarch.(3) The Presbyterians in Scotland, offended at the reservation of patronage, or the power of presenting ministers to the vacant Kirks, made by the king, in the proposed establishment of their religion, also joined in the same intrigues. But William, by permitting his commissioner to agree to any law, relative to their ecclesiastical government, that should to the majority of the general assembly seem most eligible, entirely quieted their discontents; and, in some measure, disconcerted the design of the disgusted Whigs in England, with whom they had entered into the most intimate connexions, and who hoped to make use of the fanatical fury of the Scots, in disturbing that settlement which they had so lately founded.(4)

The adherents of James, however, were still numerous in the north of Scotland; and William, by a frightful example of severity, seemed determined to awe them into allegiance, or to rouse them to some desperate act of hostility, which might justify a general vengeance.

In consequence of a pacification with the Highlanders, a proclamation of indemnity had been issued to such insurgents as should take the oaths to the king and queen before the last day of December, in the year 1691. The heads of all the clans, who had been in arms for James, strictly complied with the terms of the proclamation, except Macdonald of Glenco:—and his neglect, in suffering the time limited to elapse, was occasioned rather by accident than design. His submission was afterward received by the sheriff, though not without scruple. This difficulty, however, being got over, he considered himself as under the protection of the laws, and lived in the most perfect security. But ruin was ready to overtake him for his unpardonable delay in tendering his allegiance. William, at the instigation of sir John Dalrymple, his secretary for Scotland, signed a warrant of military

(1) *Mem. vpl. i.*

(2) Burnet. *Ralph.*

(3) Dalrymple's *Append. James II. 1691.*

(4) Burnet. *Balcarras. Macpherson.*

execution against Macdonald and his whole clan. And it was put in force by his countryman Campbell, of Glenlyon, with the most savage barbarity, accompanied with a breach of hospitality. Macdonald himself was shot dead with two bullets in the back part of the head, by one Lindsay, an officer whom he had entertained as his guest: his tenants were murdered by the soldiers to whom they had given free quarters: women were killed in defending their tender offspring; and boys, in imploring mercy, were butchered by the officers to whose knees they clung! (1)—Near forty persons were massacred, and many of those who escaped to the mountains perished of hunger or cold. All the houses in the valley of Glenco were reduced to ashes; the cattle were driven away, and with the other moveables divided as spoil among the officers and soldiers. (2) Never was military execution more complete.

This cruel massacre, which shocked all Europe, could not fail to rouse the resentment of the Jacobites in general, but more especially of the Highlanders; and the dissatisfied Whigs made use of it, in order to render odious the government of William. An insurrection, in favour of the dethroned monarch, was projected both in England and Scotland. James himself had taken all the steps, which his own prudence or the advice of his friends could suggest, to render his return agreeable to his former subjects; and Lewis XIV. encouraged by favourable accounts from Britain, began seriously to think of an invasion. An army of twenty thousand Irish and French troops, under the mareschal de Bellafons, fell down toward the coast of Normandy; James, attended by the duke of Berwick, arrived in the camp, between Cherbourg and La Hogue. Three hundred transports were assembled at Brest; and every thing was ready for the intended embarkation, when an unfortunate concurrence of circumstances defeated the whole enterprise. (3)

Lewis, victorious by sea as well as land, had appointed a powerful naval force to support this invasion. But the Toulon squadron, consisting of thirty sail, commanded by d'Estrees, was prevented, by contrary winds, from joining the Brest fleet, under Tourville. Meanwhile the alarm of an invasion had spread to England, and the earl of Marlborough, and several other persons of less note, were sent to the Tower, on suspicion of holding a treasonable correspondence with their dethroned sovereign. (4) Admiral Russell was ordered out with the English fleet; and having formed a junction with the Dutch squadron, he directed his course for La Hogue. Off that place, about four o'clock in the morning, he discovered Tourville; who, though sensible of the superiority of the enemy, resolved to hazard an engagement, in order to vindicate himself from an aspersion that had been thrown on his courage by M. de Seignelay, minister for the marine. He accordingly bore down in the Royal Sun, of one hundred and four guns, upon Russell, in the Britannia, of one hundred guns. The rest of the French fleet fell in with the English line, and a hot engagement ensued, in which the Dutch had little

(1) *Enquiry into the Massacre of Glenco. State Tracts*, vol. iii.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) *Stuart Papers*, 1692. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. i.

(4) The earl of Marlborough certainly held a secret correspondence with James; but that unfortunate monarch never believed him to be sincere: he suspected him of a design to betray his sovereign a second time. Admiral Russell seems also to have entered into these intrigues: and James had no better opinion of his sincerity. He was apprehensive that Russell, as a man of republican principles, wanted only to unbind the government, and to debase the crown in the person of fallen majesty. James II. 1692. See also Dalrymple's *Append.* and Macpherson's *Original Papers*.

But whatever opinion Russell might hold, or whatever views he might secretly entertain, his conduct proves him to have been an able and faithful servant to his country. Nor does any one feature in his character or circumstance in his life, afford us the smallest room to believe, whatever we may be told by the assassins of public virtue, that he could ever seriously intend to betray that country, and his trust as an English admiral, by carrying over the fleet under his command to the dethroned monarch, while a papist and pensioner of Lewis XIV. The ambitious and intriguing genius of Marlborough, his original treachery to James, and his long and intimate correspondence with his former master and benefactor whom he had betrayed, leave us more in the dark with respect to his ultimate designs. He appears to have had neither moral nor political principles, when they interfered with his avarice or ambition; and it seems certain that, from zeal for the service of James, or an aversion against William, he defeated, by his secret intelligence, an expedition against Brest, under admiral Russell, in 1694. *Stuart Papers*, May 1694. James II. 1694.

share. The two admirals plied their guns very warmly from eleven till one; when Tourville, being disabled, was towed off by his boats, and five fresh ships, with a furious fire, covered his retreat.(1)

A fog, which fell about four in the afternoon, preserved the French fleet from instant and inevitable ruin. But they were not suffered to escape without loss. Four of Tourville's ships, which had been set on fire during the engagement, blew up during the night. Next morning the chase was renewed; and the Royal Sun, the Admirable, another first rate, and the Conqueror, an eighty-gun ship, were destroyed near Cherbourg. The day following, thirteen line of battle ships, which had sought safety by running ashore at La Hogue, were burnt, together with twenty transports, laden with military stores.(2) James, to the utter confusion of his hopes, beheld from the shore this destruction, which it was not in his power to prevent, and which totally broke the force of the French navy.(3)

The adherents of James in England, however, were not discouraged. They considered the failure of the invasion as an accident, which might soon be repaired, and continued to disturb the government with their intrigues. These intrigues, the perpetual opposition between the Whigs and Tories, and the necessity of large supplies to support the war on the continent, gave rise to two great and growing evils, intimately connected with each other; the national debt, and the corruption of the house of commons. At the same time that William, by a pernicious funding system, was loading the state with immense sums, borrowed to maintain his continental connexions, he was liberal of the public money to his servants at home; and employed it with little ceremony, to bring over his enemies, or to procure a majority in parliament.

In order to put a stop to this corruption, so far as it affected the representatives of the people, a bill was brought in for Triennial Parliaments; and William found himself under the necessity of passing it, or of losing the vote of supply, with which it was made to go hand in hand. He was beside afraid to exert the influence of the crown, in defeating a bill of so much consequence to the nation; more especially as the queen, whose death he was sensible would weaken his authority, was then indisposed.(4) A similar bill, as we have already seen, was extorted from Charles I. but repealed, soon after the Restoration, in compliment to Charles II. To this imprudent compliance may be ascribed the principal disorders during that and the subsequent reign. A house of commons, elected every three years, would have formed such a strong bulwark to liberty, as must have baffled and discouraged all the attacks of arbitrary power. The more honest and independent part of the community, therefore, zealously promoted the present law; which, while it continued in force, certainly contributed to stem the tide of corruption, and to produce a more fair representation of the people. How it came to be repealed, I shall afterward have occasion to notice.

The queen, as William had apprehended, died soon after the passing of this important bill. Mary was a woman of great equality of temper, and no small share of understanding. She was a sincere Protestant; and by her exemplary piety, the purity of her manners, and even by her notable industry, she contributed much to reform the court, which had been extremely licentious during the two former reigns. Nor was she destitute of political address; which, in the absence of her husband, she employed in such a manner as to conciliate the affections of all parties. But here her praise must cease. She possessed few shining virtues, or elegant accomplishments. And the character of an obedient wife, so justly her due, is shaded by the reproach of being a cruel sister, and an unfeeling daughter; who entered the palace of her father, soon after he had been forced to leave it, and ascended his throne

(1) Russell's *Letter to Nottingham*, June 2, 1692.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) "Ah!" exclaimed the unfortunate monarch, with a mixture of admiration and regret, at seeing the French fleet set on fire,—"none but my brave English tars could have performed so gallant an action!" Dalrymple's *Memoirs*.

(4) Burette, book v.

with as much gaiety as if he had been an enemy to her existence, instead of an indulgent parent, and the fountain of her blood.(1)

William appeared to be very much afflicted at the death of the queen: and, however little regard he might have for her engaging person, from the coldness of his own disposition, his grief was possibly sincere. Her open and agreeable deportment, and her natural alliance to the throne, had chiefly contributed to reconcile the minds of men to his government. The Whigs could forgive her every breach of filial duty, on account of her adherence to the Protestant religion and the principles of liberty; and even the Tories were ready to ascribe her seeming want of sympathy with her father's misfortunes, to an obsequious submission to the will of her husband. With her, all natural title to the English crown expired, on the part of William; and although his authority, supported by the act of Settlement, was too firmly established to be immediately shaken, the hopes of the Jacobites began daily to rise, and conspiracies were formed against his life, as the only bar to the restoration of James, and the succession of his son, the titular prince of Wales, whose legitimacy seemed now to be put beyond all question, by the queen's undisputed delivery of a daughter.(2)

The most dangerous of these conspiracies, conducted by sir George Barclay and other violent Jacobites, was intimately connected with a plan for an insurrection in England, and an invasion from France. The duke of Berwick was sent over to forward the insurrection. But the English nobility and gentry in the interest of James, though warmly disposed to serve him, very prudently refused to take arms until a body of troops should be landed to support them. Finding them obstinate in this resolution, and being informed of the conspiracy against the life of William, the duke immediately returned to France, that he might not be confounded with men, whose atrocious purpose had no connexion with his commission; though he thought himself bound in honour, he tells us, not to dissuade them from it.(3)

In the mean time the troops intended for the invasion were assembled at Dunkirk and Calais. Four hundred transports were collected, and eighteen men of war were ready to escort them. James himself was on his way to join the army, when he was met by the duke of Berwick, after his return from England. Though he could not blame the caution of his friends, he was not a little mortified at it, as Lewis XIV. had positively declared, that he would not allow his troops to embark before an insurrection had actually taken place. The disconsolate prince, however, proceeded to Calais, in anxious expectation of the issue of the assassination plot; from which, though undertaken without his authority, he hoped to derive advantage in his present distressing circumstances. Like a drowning mariner, he caught at a slippery rope, and rested his desperate fortune on the point of a ruffian's sword. But his suspense and embarrassment were soon removed. The plot was discovered; several of the conspirators were seized and executed, and all England was thrown into a ferment. The current of public opinion was suddenly changed. Even many of those, who hated the person, and disliked the government of William, were shocked at the idea of a barbarous attempt upon his life; and his throne, which seemed lately to shake to its base, was now more firmly established than ever.(4)

Admiral Russell, on the first certain intelligence of the projected invasion, was ordered to repair to the Downs. Having hoisted his flag on board the Victory, he collected with incredible diligence and dispatch, a fleet of fifty

(1) Burnet, book iv. v.

(2) As the princess of Denmark had long held a secret correspondence with her father, and obtained his pardon for her undutiful conduct, it was presumed she would not oppose his restoration, by pleading her parliamentary title to the succession.

(3) *Mem.* vol. i.

(4) Burnet, book v. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. i. James II. 1696. Amid all these conspiracies against his person and government, William discovered a cool courage, which does great honour to his memory. On some occasions he displayed even a generous magnanimity that claims admiration. He not only pardoned but continued in employment some of his principal servants, after making them sensible that he was acquainted with their intrigues!—And he was rewarded with that fidelity which such heroic confidence deserved.

sail, with which he appeared before Calais : and although he found it impracticable, to destroy the French shipping, or greatly to injure the town, he spread terror all along the coast, and convinced the enemy of the necessity of attending to their own safety, instead of ambitiously attempting to invade their neighbours.(1) Thus were all the hopes of James and his adherents blasted, by what the French termed his *MALIGNANT STAR*. Covered with shame and confusion, and overwhelmed with disappointment and despair, he returned to St. Germain; where, laying aside all thoughts of an earthly crown, he turned his views solely toward heaven. Lewis XIV. who was an accomplished gentleman as well as a magnificent king, treated the dethroned monarch, on every occasion, with much tenderness and respect. But some of the French courtiers were less polite than their sovereign. "There," said one of them, in the hearing of James, "is a simpleton, who has lost "three kingdoms for a mass!"(2)

We shall see, in the course of events, Lewis himself obliged to abandon the cause of this royal refugee, and to acknowledge the right of William to his dominions.

LETTER XVIII.

The Military Transactions on the Continent, from the Beginning of the War that followed the League of Augsburg, to the Peace of Ryswick, in 1697, and of Carlowitz, in 1699.

I HAVE already had occasion to observe, that Lewis XIV. threatened by the powerful confederacy formed in consequence of the league of Augsburg, made himself master of Philipsburg, and other places, in 1688, as a prelude to more vigorous exertions ; and that the alliance against him was completed, by the accession of England, in 1689. I have also had occasion to notice, that the emperor Leopold, the supposed head of this alliance, having subdued the malecontents in Hungary, had got his son, Joseph, proclaimed king of that country, and the Hungarian crown declared hereditary in the house of Austria.

That revolution was not accomplished without the shedding of much blood, both in the field and on the scaffold. Leopold, the protector of Christendom, and the assertor of the rights of nations, was himself a tyrant and a persecutor. He was still engaged in hostilities with the Turks ; but the taking of Belgrade by assault, joined to his other successes, enabled him to take part in the war against Lewis, whose vain-glorious ambition had alarmed all Europe. Beside a jealousy for the liberties of Germany, Leopold had other motives for entering into this war. He was sensible, that the *Most Christian King*, while persecuting his own Protestant subjects, for not conforming to the church of Rome, had supported the Protestants in Hungary ! that he had incited them to take arms in defence of those heretical opinions, which he abhorred ! and that, by his intrigues, he had even encouraged the Infidels to invade the *Holy Roman Empire*, the great bulwark of the Christian world !

The French monarch, trusting to his great resources, prepared himself to repel the storm which his ambition had raised, with a vigour proportioned to the occasion. He assembled two armies in Flanders : he opposed a third to the Spaniards in Catalonia ; and in order to form a barrier on the side of Germany, he laid waste the Palatinate with fire and sword, after having made himself master of its principal towns. This barbarous policy, which has been justly, and severely blamed, can never be held in too much detestation. Men, women and children, were driven, in a severe season, out of their

(1) Burnet, book v. *Duke of Berwick's Mem.* vol. i. James II. 1686.

(2) Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xiv

habitations, to wander about the fields, and to perish of hunger and cold; while they beheld their houses reduced to ashes, their goods seized, and their possessions pillaged by the rapacious soldiery. The terrible execution began at Manheim, the seat of the electors; where not only the palaces of those princes were razed to the ground, but their very tombs opened in search of hidden treasures, and their venerable dust scattered in the air.(1) Twice, during the reign of Lewis XIV. was this fine country desolated by the arms of France; but the flames lighted by Turenne, however dreadful, were only like so many torches, compared with the present frightful conflagration, which filled all Europe with horror.

Nor did that cruel expedient, so disgraceful to the character of the French monarch, answer the end proposed: it served only to increase the number and the rancour of his enemies. Though Lewis had near four hundred thousand men in the field, he found himself inferior to the allies. Eleven thousand English troops, commanded by the earl of Marlborough, augmented the army of Spain and the United Provinces, in Flanders, to near fifty thousand men. The Germanic body, united under the emperor, assembled three formidable armies, beside that opposed to the Turks; namely, one under the elector of Bavaria, who commanded on the Upper Rhine; another, and the main army, led by the duke of Lorrain, who acted on the Middle Rhine; and a third, conducted by the elector of Brandenburg, appeared on the Lower Rhine.

The duke of Lorrain, passing the Rhine at Coblentz, and the Moselle at Alcken, pursued his march through the forest of Saon, and laid siege to Mentz; while the elector of Brandenburg, with his own troops, and those of Westphalia, invested Bonne. Both places were taken: and the French, under the mareschal d'Humieres, though determined to remain on the defensive in Flanders, were brought to an engagement by the prince of Waldec, and worsted at Walcourt.(2) Nor was Lewis more successful in Catalonia, where his troops were driven back to their own frontiers by the duke de Villa Hermosa; who pursuing mareschal de Noailles, laid Rousillon under contribution, and obliged him to abandon Campredon, which he had taken in the beginning of the campaign.(3) The same bad fortune that seemed to persecute France, fell still with greater weight upon the Grand Seigneur, her ally. The prince of Baden, who commanded for the emperor on the side of Hungary, defeated the Turks in three successive engagements. He forced their entrenchments on the banks of the Morava, he routed them at Nissa, and he obtained a complete victory at Widdin:(4) so that the Most Christian king, who had expected a great diversion of the Imperial forces by the Infidels, now found himself obliged to rely on his own arms.

The enemies of France were still more numerous during the next campaign, but her generals were better chosen. The duke of Savoy having joined the allies, it became necessary for Lewis to send an army into Italy. This army was committed to the mareschal de Catinat, who united the fire of a hero to the coolness of a philosopher. Bred to the law, in which he would have excelled, he had quitted that profession in disgust, and risen to the highest military rank by the mere force of merit. He every where shewed himself superior to his antagonist Victor Amadeus, though reputed an able general, and completely defeated him at Staffarada. In consequence of this victory, Saluces fell into the hands of the French; Suza, which commanded the passes between Dauphiné and Piedmont, was taken; and all Savoy, except the fortress of Montmelian, was soon reduced.(5)

The same success attended the arms of France on the frontiers of Spain, where all Catalonia was thrown into confusion; and Luxemburg, who united the conduct of Turenne to the intuitive genius of Condé, gave a new turn to her affairs in Flanders. Being suddenly joined by the mareschal de Boufflers,

(1) Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. xv. Henault, 1689.

(2) *Id. ibid.*

(3) *Mém. de Noailles*, tom. i.

(4) Barre, tom. x.

(5) Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. xv. Henault, 1689.

he advanced against the Dutch and Spaniards under the prince of Waldec: and an obstinate battle ensued, at Fleurus, near Charleroy; where, by a bold and decisive motion of his cavalry, he gained a complete but bloody victory. Covered from the view of the enemy by a rising ground, the French horse fell upon the flank of the Dutch, while engaged in front with the infantry. The Dutch cavalry were broken, and fled at the first shock; but their infantry stood firm, and performed signal feats of valour. Seven thousand were killed on the spot, before they gave way; and Luxemburg declared, that the Spanish infantry did not behave with more gallantry at Rocroy.(1)

Nothing memorable happened during the campaign on the French side of Germany. The inaction of the allies in that quarter may partly be ascribed to the death of the duke of Lorraine. This gallant prince, whose high spirit induced him to abandon his dominions, and become a soldier of fortune, rather than submit to the hard conditions offered him by Lewis XIV. at the peace of Nimeguen, had greatly distinguished himself on many occasions, and was become a consummate general. His injuries seem always to have been uppermost in his mind, except while engaged against the Infidels, when religion was predominant. He threatened to enter Lorraine at the head of forty thousand men before the end of the summer; a circumstance which appears to have given rise to the report of his having been poisoned by the emissaries of France. His letter to the emperor Leopold, his brother-in-law, written on his death-bed, strongly marks his character. "I am going," says he, "to give an account to a more powerful Master, of a life which I have devoted chiefly to your service. Remember that I leave behind me a wife, who is nearly related to you; children, who have no inheritance but my sword, and subjects who are in oppression!"(2)

The Turks were no less successful this campaign than the French. Exasperated at the loss of their armies in Hungary and the neighbouring provinces, they had demanded the head of the grand vizier, which was granted them; and the new vizier, being a man of an active disposition, as well as skilful in the military art, made great preparations for carrying on the war with vigour. Nor did he neglect the arts of policy. The Vaivode of Transylvania having died lately, he prevailed with the Grand Seignior to declare Tekeli, the chief of the Hungarian malecontents, his successor. This revolution, and the successes of Tekeli, obliged the prince of Baden, who commanded the Imperial army in Hungary, to march into Transylvania. During his absence the Turks took Nissa, Widdin, and even Belgrade; which was carried by assault, after a bloody siege, in consequence of the blowing up of the powder magazine. All Upper Hungary, beyond the Tibiscus, fell into their hands; and they took winter-quarters in that country, with every prospect of improving their advantages, as soon as the season would permit.(3)

Amid the misfortunes of the allies during this campaign, we ought not to omit the defeat of the combined fleet of England and Holland, by the French; an event which, in speaking of the affairs of Great Britain, I have already hinted at, but found no opportunity to describe. The scene of action lay off Beachy-head, where the fleet of France, under Tourville, was with diffidence attacked by two maritime powers, who had long contended singly for the sovereignty of the ocean. So great, indeed, had the exertions of Lewis been in raising his navy, that the allies were inferior to Tourville, both in the size and the number of their ships; but their skill in seamanship, and the memory of their former exploits, it was hoped, would make up for their deficiency in force. It happened, however, otherwise.

After the hostile fleets had continued five days in sight of each other, the earl of Torrington, who commanded in chief for the allies, bore down upon the enemy; in consequence of express orders to hazard a battle, which he had hitherto carefully avoided. The Dutch squadron, which formed the

(1) Voltaire, *Sicéle*, chap. xv. Henault, 1699.

(2) Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. i.

(3) Barre, tom. x. Heiss, lib. iii.

van of the combined fleet, was engaged with the van of the French about eight o'clock in the morning; and the blue division of the English, before nine, attacked the rear of the enemy with great vigour. But the red division, which formed the centre, and which Torrington conducted in person, did not come into action, till an hour latter; and even then at such a distance from the Dutch, as to permit their whole division to be surrounded by the French. Though the Dutch fought with great courage, most of their ships were disabled; three of the line were sunk in the engagement, and three burnt in the flight. Besides many brave seamen, two of their admirals, and several captains, were slain. The English, who were in the action, suffered extremely. The French ships were well manned; their fire was regular and rapid, and their management of the sails during the action skilful and expeditious. Their ignorance of the course of the tides, and their pursuing in a line, only could have prevented them from totally breaking the naval force of England and Holland.(1) In this unfortunate battle, the allies lost eight ships of the line, and several others were rendered utterly unfit for service.(2) But was attended with no farther consequences of any importance.

The progress of the French, during the next campaign, was not equal to what might have been expected from their victories in the foregoing; nor was the success of the allies answerable to their hopes. Though Lewis in person took Mons, in the beginning of April, in defiance of king William, who had placed himself at the head of the confederate army, the summer was spent in a state of inactivity, and passed without any memorable event on the side of Flanders. On the frontiers of Germany the war languished; and although the French were successful in Catalonia, they had no reason, on the whole to boast of their good fortune. The conquests of Catinat in Italy were checked by prince Eugene and the young duke of Schomberg; who repulsed him at Coni, in Piedmont, and obliged him soon after to repass the Po. Meanwhile the Turks, on the side of Hungary, lost all the advantage which they had acquired in the preceding campaign. They were totally routed, by the prince of Baden, at Salankeman, with the loss of twenty thousand men; and the grand vizier, the seraskier, and most of their principal officers being slain, the remains of their army found it necessary to seek shelter beyond the Saave.(3)

William and Lewis, the following spring, set out on the same day to join their respective armies, and the highest hopes were formed on both sides. Lewis suddenly sat down before Namur, with an army of forty-five thousand men; while Luxemburg, with another army, covered the siege of that important place, which is situated at the conflux of the Sambre and the Maese. The town was strong, the citadel was deemed impregnable: the garrison consisted of ten thousand men, under the prince of Barbason; and the famous Cohorn defended in person a new fort, which bore his name, while Vauban directed the attack. The eyes of all Europe were turned toward Namur, where two great kings contended for glory and conquest. William advanced to the relief of the place, with an army of eighty thousand men; but the strong position of Luxemburg, on the banks of the Mehaighn, which ran between the two armies, and the unexpected rains, which had not only swelled the stream, but formed into morasses the adjoining fields, deterred him from hazarding an engagement. Meanwhile Lewis, having taken the town, pressed with vigour the siege of the new fort; and Cohorn, after an obstinate defence, was obliged to capitulate. The fate of the citadel was soon after decided, and Lewis returned in triumph to Versailles.(4)

In order to recover that reputation, which he had lost by not succouring Namur, William endeavoured to surprise the French army, under Luxemburg, at Steinkirk. The attack was chiefly made by the British troops, in columns. They pressed with amazing intrepidity upon the right wing of the

(1) Torrington's *Letter to Carmarthen*, July 1, 1690. Kennet. Ralph. Burnet.

(2) *Id. ibid.*

(3) Voltaire, *Sicéle*, chap. xv. Henault, 1691. Barre, tom. x.

(4) *Id. ibid.*

enemy, notwithstanding the disadvantage of ground; broke their line, took their artillery, and, if properly supported, would have gained an undisputed victory. But William and his Dutch generals not only failed to second the efforts of those brave battalions with fresh troops, but to charge the enemy's left wing, when their right was thrown into disorder.(1) In consequence of these mistakes, the battle was totally lost. The English, neglected by their allies, and left to sustain alone the whole shock of the household troops of France, led by Luxemburg, and encouraged by the presence of the princes of the blood, were at length obliged to give ground, and almost all cut in pieces. Nor was the loss of the French less considerable. Partial as the engagement proved, above ten thousand men fell on both sides, in the space of two hours; and the veteran Luxemburg declared, that he was never in so hot an action.(2) William's military character suffered greatly by this battle, and the hatred of the English against the Dutch became violent in the highest degree.(3) "Let us see what sport these English bull-dogs 'will make!'" was the cool sarcastical reply of count Solmes, when ordered to advance to the support of the British troops.

The allies were less unfortunate in other quarters. The French, by exerting their whole force in Flanders, left their own country exposed. The army under the mareschal de Catinat, being too weak to resist the duke of Savoy, that prince entered Dauphiné, and sufficiently revenged himself for the insults which he had received in his own dominions, during the two preceding campaigns. He ravaged the country, he reduced the fortified towns, and sickness only prevented him from acquiring very important conquests.(4) Nothing of any consequence happened on the Rhine, though there the French had rather the advantage. The affairs of the allies went better on the borders of Hungary. Great Waradin, after a long blockade, was taken by the Imperialists; and those disorders which usually attend the misfortunes of the Turks, involved the court of Constantinople in blood.

Elated with his past successes, Lewis XIV. opened the next campaign with great pomp in Flanders. He went thither in person, attended by his whole court, and appeared at the head of an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men. Nothing less was expected from such a force than the entire conquest of that fine country. But Lewis, influenced by motives which have never yet been sufficiently explained, suddenly disappointed the hopes of his friends, and quieted the fears of his enemies. He sent part of his army into Germany, under the Dauphin: and leaving to Luxemburg the conduct of the military operations in Flanders, returned to Versailles with his court.(5)

This unexpected measure has been ascribed to the strong position of the allies at Parks, near Louvain, where king William had judiciously encamped his army, in order to cover Brussels, and by which he is supposed to have disconcerted the designs of the French monarch. But William, who had only fifty thousand men, would not have dared, as the duke of Berwick very justly observes, to wait the approach of so superior a force as that under Lewis; or, if he had, he must have been overwhelmed; and Brussels, Liege, and even Maestricht, must have fallen.(6) This, adds the duke, makes the king's departure, and the division of his army, the more unaccountable. A slight indisposition, and the anxiety of Madame de Maintenon (his favourite mistress, who accompanied him,) for the health and safety of her royal lover, probably saved Flanders; though Lewis himself, in a letter to the mareschal de Noailles, ascribes his sudden change of measures to a desire of peace, and a conviction that it could only be procured by vigorous exertions in Germany.(7)

The duke of Luxemburg, with the main body of the French army, after

(1) Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. i.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) Burnet, book v.

(4) *Theat. Europe*, 1692. Henault, sub an.

(5) Burnet, book v. Duke of Berwick, vol. i.

(6) Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. i.

(7) *Mem. de Noailles* tom. i.

having attempted in vain, by a variety of movements, by taking Huy and threatening Liège, to bring the allies to an engagement, resolved to attack them in their camp, when they were weakened by detachments. He accordingly quitted his post at Hellicheim, suddenly crossed the Jaar, and advanced toward them by forced marches. His van was in sight before they were advised of his approach; but as it was then almost evening, William might have retired in the night with safety, had he not depended upon the strength of his position and the bravery of his troops. The river Geete bounded his right, and ran winding along his rear. On the left, and in the front of the left, was the brook of Landen. A thick hedge covered part of the front of his right wing. The village of Neerwinden, with entrenchments before it, was situated between the left end of the hedge and his centre, the right joining the Geete. The village of Romsdorff stood farther advanced, opposed to the front of the left wing, and the entrenchments before it stretched to the brook of Landen. A line of entrenchments extended themselves behind the two villages, and behind these the army of the allies was formed. Their whole front was covered with one hundred pieces of cannon; which, by being advantageously placed on an eminence, commanded all the approaches to their line.⁽¹⁾

The duke of Luxemburg, on the evening of his arrival, dislodged a detachment of the allies, posted in the village of Landen, which stood advanced before the brook of that name. Between this village and that of Romsdorff he placed forty battalions in the night: he formed his centre of eight lines of horse and foot intermixed; and his horse, on the left wing, were ordered to extend themselves to the Geete, opposite their line to the thick hedge which covered the enemy's right. About five in the morning this arrangement was completed: a cannonading took place on both sides, and the duke of Berwick, with two other lieutenant-generals, Rubantel and Montchevreuil, were ordered to begin the attack; Rubantel, on the entrenchments to the right of Neerwinden, with two brigades; Montchevreuil, on the left, with the same number; and the duke of Berwick on the village, with other two brigades. The village projected out beyond the plain; so that the duke of Berwick, who was in the centre, attacked first. He forced the allies to abandon their post: he drove them from hedge to hedge, as far as the plain, at the entrance of which he formed again in order of battle. But the troops destined to attack on his right and left, instead of following their instructions, thought they would be less exposed to the enemy's fire by throwing themselves into the village; in consequence of which attempt, they got at once into his rear; and the allies, perceiving this blunder, re-entered Neerwinden by the right and left, now entirely unguarded. A terrible conflict ensued. The four brigades under Rubantel and Montchevreuil were thrown into confusion, and driven out of the village; and the duke of Berwick, attacked on all sides, and unsupported, was taken prisoner.⁽²⁾

Luxemburg, however, was not intimidated by this disaster. He made a second attempt upon Neerwinden, and succeeded. His troops were again expelled, and a third time took possession of the village. The battle now raged with fury on both sides. William twice led the English infantry up to his entrenchments, which the enemy endeavoured to force; but nothing could resist the impetuosity of the French. Their centre being reinforced by the right wing, opened a way for their cavalry into the very lines of the allies. They flanked the English, they broke the German and Spanish horse; and William, when bravely advancing to the charge, with part of his left wing, had the mortification to see his right driven headlong into the Geete. All was now tumult and confusion. Terror and flight every where prevailed; and beside those who sunk in the general slaughter, many were drowned in the river. Twelve thousand of the allies lay dead on the field; two thousand were made prisoners; and sixty pieces of cannon, and eight mortars, with about fourscore standards, and colours, fell into the hands of the

(1) *Mem. de Fouquieres. Berwick's Mem.* ubi sup.

(2) *Id. ibid.*

French.(1) Yet Luxemburg, after all, gained little but glory by the victory at Neerwinden. Eight thousand of his best troops were slain in battle, and his army was so much weakened by the number of the wounded, that he could take no advantage of the consternation of the enemy. During six weeks he continued in a state of inaction, and Charleroy was the only conquest he afterward made, before the close of the campaign.(2)

* On the side of Germany, the French stained the glory of their arms by acts of cruelty and barbarity. Chamilly having taken Heidelberg by storm, put the soldiers and citizens promiscuously to the sword; and when the massacre ended, rapine began. The houses were burnt, the churches pillaged, the inhabitants stripped naked, and the persons of the women exposed to violation, without respect to age or condition.(3) This shocking tragedy excepted, nothing memorable happened in that quarter. The Germans, sensible of their inferiority, studiously avoided a battle; and the Dauphin, after crossing the Neckar, and dispersing a vain manifesto, containing humiliating terms of peace, returned without laurels to Versailles.(4) The war in Hungary produced no signal event. In Catalonia, the mareschal de Noailles took Roses in sight of the Spanish army, and would have acquired more important conquests, had he not been obliged to send a detachment into Italy.(5)

The military operations, on the side of Piedmont, after having languished throughout the summer, were terminated by a decisive action, toward the end of the campaign. The duke of Savoy, at the head of the confederates, had invested Pignerol. Meanwhile the mareschal de Catinat, being reinforced with ten thousand men, descended from the mountains, and seemed to threaten Turin. Alarmed for the safety of his capital, the duke raised the siege of Pignerol, and advanced to the small river Cisola, where it passes by Marsaglia. Resolving to engage Catinat, he sent away his heavy baggage. The two armies were soon in sight of each other, and the French general did not decline the combat. The Imperial and Piedmontese cavalry, commanded by the duke in person, composed the right wing of the confederates; their infantry, consisting of the troops of Savoy, and those in the pay of Great Britain, were stationed in the centre, under the famous prince Eugene; and the Spaniards, led by their native officers, formed the left wing. The French acted in an unusual manner. They received, as they advanced, the fire of the Spaniards; then fired, charged them with fixed bayonets, and afterward sword in hand. The whole left wing of the allied army was instantly broken, and thrown in confusion on the centre, which sustained the battle with great obstinacy. The centre, however, was at length obliged to give way, and a complete victory remained to the French. Beside their cannon and light baggage, with a great number of colours and standards, the allies lost eight thousand men in the action.(6) Among many persons of distinction who fell or were taken, the young duke of Schomberg was mortally wounded and made prisoner.

Nor were the French less successful in maritime affairs. Though the shock which their navy had sustained off La Hogue, the foregoing summer, rendered them unable to face the combined fleet of England and Holland, they made up in diligence what they wanted in force. The English nation had, with reason, complained of the little attention paid to commerce ever since the beginning of the war. Though powerful fleets were sent to sea, and some advantages gained on that element, trade had suffered much on the frigates and privateers of the enemy. The merchants, therefore, resolved to keep the richest ships in their several harbours, till a sufficient convoy could be obtained: and so great was the negligence of government, that many of them had been, for eighteen months, ready to sail!(7) Their

(1) Burnet. Ralph. P. Daniel. Duke of Berwick. Henault. Voltaire.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Barre. Heiss. Voltaire.

(4) Ibid.

(5) *Mém. de Noailles*, tom. i.

(6) *Mém. de Fouquieres*. *Europ. Hist.* tom. ii. a l'An. 1693.

number accumulated daily. At length the whole combined fleet was ordered to conduct, as far as might be requisite, four hundred merchantmen, consisting of English, Dutch, and Hamburgers, bound for the different ports of the Mediterranean, and generally known by the name of the *Smyrna Fleet*. They accordingly put to sea, and proceeded fifty leagues beyond Ushant; where they left Sir George Rooke, with a squadron of twenty-three sail, to convoy the traders to the Straits.

Meanwhile the French fleet, under Tourville, had taken station in the bay of Lagos, and lay in that place till Rooke and the multitude of rich vessels under his conduct appeared. Deceived by false intelligence concerning the strength of the enemy, the English admiral prepared to engage; but suddenly perceiving his mistake, he stood away with an easy sail, ordering the merchantmen to disperse and shift for themselves. The French came up with the sternmost ships, and took three Dutch men of war. About fourscore merchantmen were taken or destroyed in the different ports of Spain, into which they had run, in order to avoid falling into the hands of the enemy. The object of the voyage was totally defeated, and the loss in ships and cargo amounted to twelve hundred thousand pounds.(1)

But Lewis XIV. amid all his victories, had the mortification to see his subjects languishing in misery and want. France was afflicted with a dreadful famine, partly occasioned by unfavourable seasons, partly by the war, which had not left hands sufficient to cultivate the ground; and notwithstanding all the provident attention of her ministry in bringing supplies of corn from abroad, in regulating the price and furnishing the markets, many of the peasants perished of hunger, and the whole kingdom was reduced to poverty and distress.(2)

William, apprized of this distress, and still thirsting for revenge, rejected all advances toward peace, and hastened his military preparations. He was accordingly enabled to appear early in Flanders at the head of a great and finely appointed army; but the superior genius of Luxemburg, with an army much inferior, prevented him from gaining any considerable advantage. The retaking of Huy was the only conquest he made during the campaign. On the Upper Rhine, in Hungary, in Piedmont, no event of any consequence happened.(3) On the side of Spain, the war was carried on with more vigour. The mareschal de Noailles, having forced the passage of the river Ter, in Catalonia, defeated the Spanish army entrenched on the farther bank. Gironne and Ostalric fell successively into his hands; and he would have made himself master of Barcelona, had not admiral Russel, with the combined fleet, arrived in the neighbouring seas, and obliged the French fleet to take shelter in Toulon.(4) While Tourville and d'Estrees were blocked up in that harbour, the French seaports upon the Channel were bombarded, though with no great effect.(5)

The glory and greatness of Lewis XIV. were now not only at their height, but verging toward a decline. His resources were exhausted: his minister Louvois, who knew so well how to employ them, was dead; and Luxemburg, the last of those great generals, who had made France the terror of Europe, died before the opening of next campaign. Lewis determined, therefore, to act merely on the defensive in Flanders, where the allies had assembled an amazing force. After some hesitation, he placed mareschal de Villeroy at the head of the principal army, and entrusted the second to Boufflers. Namur on the right, and Dunkirk on the left, comprehended between them the extent of country to be defended by the French. Tournay on the Scheldt, and Ypres, near the Lys, formed part of the line. Boufflers was ordered to assemble his army near Mons, to cover Namur; and

(1) Burchet's *Naval Hist.* Burnet. Ralph.

(2) Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. xv.

(3) Daniel. Burnet. Ralph. Duke of Berwick.

(4) *Mém. de Noailles*, tom i.

(5) Burnet. Ralph. Burchet. Voltaire.

Villeroy posted himself between the Scheldt and the Lys, to protect Tournay, Ypres, and Dunkirk.(1)

King William, who took the field in the beginning of May, found himself at the head of an army much superior to that of France. In order to amuse the enemy, and conceal his real design upon Namur, he made some artful movements, which distracted the attention of Villeroy, and rendered him uncertain where the storm would first fall. At length having completed his preparations, and formed his army into three bodies, he ordered the elector of Bavaria, with one division, to invest Namur. He himself, at the head of the main body, was encamped behind the Meuse, and in a position to pass that river, and sustain the siege, if necessary; while the prince of Vaudemont, with an army of observation, lay between the Lys and the Mandel, to cover those places in Flanders which were most exposed.(2) Namur, into which marshal Boufflers had thrown himself with seven regiments of dragoons, in order to reinforce the garrison, made a vigorous defence; but it was at last obliged to surrender; and the citadel, which Villeroy attempted in vain to relieve, was also taken.(3) Lewis XIV. in order to wipe off this disgrace, and to retaliate on the confederates for the attacks made by the English on the coast of France, commanded Villeroy to bombard Brussels; and the prince of Vaudemont had the mortification to see great part of that city laid in ruins, without being able either to prevent or avenge the wanton destruction.(4)

The military reputation of William, which had suffered greatly during the three foregoing campaigns, was much raised by the retaking of Namur. But the allies had little success in other quarters. No event of any importance happened on the side of Italy, on the Upper Rhine, or in Catalonia. On the side of Hungary, where peace had been expected by the confederates, the accession of Mustapha II. to the Ottoman throne, gave a new turn to affairs. Possessed of more vigour than his predecessor, Achmet II. Mustapha resolved to command his troops in person. He accordingly took the field; passed the Danube; stormed Lipa; seized Itul; and falling suddenly on a body of Imperialists, under Veterani, he killed that officer, dispersed his forces, and closed with success a campaign which promised nothing but misfortune to the Turks.(5)

The next campaign produced no signal event any where. France was exhausted by her great exertions: and, the king of Spain and the emperor excepted, all parties seemed heartily tired of the war. Lewis XIV. by his intrigues, had detached the duke of Savoy from the confederacy: he tampered with the other powers; and a congress for a general peace, under the mediation of Charles XI. of Sweden, was at last opened, at the castle of Ryswick, between Delft and the Hague. The taking of Barcelona, by the duke of Vendome, induced the king of Spain to listen to the proposals of France; and the emperor, after reproaching his allies with deserting him, found it necessary to accede to the treaty.

The concessions made by Lewis XIV. were very considerable; but the pretensions of the house of Bourbon to the Spanish succession were left in full force. Though the renunciation of all claim to that succession, conformable to the Pyrenean treaty, had been one great objection of the war, no mention was made of it in the articles of peace. It was stipulated, That the French monarch should acknowledge William to be lawful sovereign of Great Britain and Ireland, and make no farther attempt to disturb him in the possession of his kingdoms;(6) that the duchy of Luxemburg, the

(1) *Mém. de Fouquieres.*

(2) *Kane's Campaigns. Mém. de Fouquieres.*

(3) *Id. ibid.*

(4) *Duke of Berwick's Mém. vol. i.*

(5) *Barre. Heiss.*

(6) Lewis, we are told, discovered much reluctance in submitting to this article; and that he might not seem altogether to desert the dethroned monarch, proposed that his son should succeed to the crown of England, after the death of William; that William with little hesitation, agreed to the request; that he even solemnly engaged to procure the repeal of the Act of Settlement, and to obtain another act, declaring the pretender

That James, it is added, rejected the offer; protesting, The

county of Chiny, Charleroy, Mons, Aeth, Courtray, and all places united to France by the Chambers of Metz and Brisac, as well as those taken in Catalonia, during the war, should be restored to Spain; that Friburg, Brisgaw, and Philippsburg, should be given up to the emperor; and that the duchies of Lorrain and Bar should be rendered back to their native prince.(1)

Scarcely had the emperor acceded to the treaty of Ryswick, which re-established tranquillity in the North and West of Europe, when he received intelligence of the total defeat of the Turks, by his arms, at Zenta, a small village on the western bank of the Theise, in the kingdom of Hungary. The celebrated prince Eugene of Savoy had succeeded the elector of Saxony in the command of the Imperialists, and to his consummate abilities they were indebted for their extraordinary success. Mustapha II. commanded his army in person. The battle was of short duration, but uncommonly bloody. About twenty thousand Turks were left dead on the field; and ten thousand were drowned in the river, in endeavouring to avoid the fury of the sword. The magnificent pavillion of the sultan, the stores, ammunition, provisions, and all the artillery and baggage of the enemy, fell into the hands of prince Eugene. The grand vizier was killed, the seal of the Ottoman empire taken, and the Aga of the Janizaries, and twenty-seven bashaws, were found among the slain.(2)

This decisive victory, though followed by no striking consequences, by reason of the declining season, broke the spirit of the Turks; and the haughty Mustapha, after attempting in vain, during another campaign, to recover the laurels he had lost at Zenta, agreed to listen to proposals of peace. The plenipotentiaries of the belligerent powers accordingly met at Carlowitz, and signed a treaty; in which it was stipulated, that all Hungary, on this side the Saave, with Transylvania and Sclavonia, should be ceded to the house of Austria; that the Russians should remain in possession of Azoph, on the Palus Maotis, which had been taken by their young sovereign Peter I. afterward styled the Great; that Kaminiec should be restored to the Poles; and that the Venetians, who had distinguished themselves during the latter years of the war, should be gratified with all the Morea, or ancient Peloponnesus, and with several places in Dalmatia.(3)

Thus, my dear Philip, was general tranquillity again restored to Europe. But the seeds of future discord, as we shall soon have occasion to notice, were already sown in every corner of Christendom. It was but a delusive calm before a more violent storm. It will however afford us leisure to carry forward the Progress of Society.

LETTER XIX.

The Progress of Society in Europe from the Middle of the Sixteenth to the End of the Seventeenth Century.

ABOUT the middle of the the sixteenth century, as we have formerly seen,(4) Society had attained a very high degree of perfection in Italy. Soon after that era, the Italian states began to decline, and the other European nations, then comparatively barbarous, to advance towards refinement. Among these, the French took the lead: for although the Spanish nobility during the reign of Charles V. and those of his immediate successors, were perhaps the most polished and enlightened set of men on this side of the Alps,

should he himself be capable of consenting to such a disgraceful proposal in favour of his son, he might justly be reproached with departing from his avowed principles, and with ruining monarchy, by rendering elective an hereditary crown. *Depêches d'Affaires Etrangères à Versailles*. James II. 1687. Macpherson, *Hist. Brit.* vol. ii.

(1) Duhaumont, *Corp. Diplom.* tom. viii.

(2) Barre, *Hist. d'Allemagne*, tom. x. *Life of Prince Eugene.*

(3) Duhaumont, *Corp. Diplom.* tom. viii. Voltaire, *Hist. Russia*, vol. i.

(4) Part I. Letter iv.

the great body of the nation then was, as it still continues, sunk in ignorance, superstition, and barbarism. And the secluded condition of the women, in both Spain and Italy, was a farther barrier against true politeness. That grand obstruction to elegance and pleasure was effectually removed, in the intermediate kingdom, by the gallant Francis I. Anne of Brittany, wife of Charles VIII. and Lewis XII. had introduced the custom of ladies appearing publicly at the French court: Francis encouraged it; and by familiarizing the intercourse of the sexes, in many brilliant assemblies and gay circles, threw over the manners of the nation those bewitching graces that have so long attracted the admiration of Europe.

But this innovation, like most others in civil life, was at first attended with several inconveniences. As soon as familiarity had worn off that respect, approaching to adoration, which had hitherto been paid to the women of rank, the advances of the men became more bold and licentious. No longer afraid of offending, they poured their lawless passion in the ear of beauty; and female innocence, unaccustomed to such solicitations, was unable to resist the seducing language of love, when breathed from the glowing lips of youth and manhood. Not only frequent intrigues, but a gross sensuality was the consequence; and the court of France, during half a century, was little better than a common brothel. Catharine of Medicis encouraged this sensuality, and employed it as the engine for perfecting her system of Machiavelian policy. By the attractions of her fair attendants, she governed the leaders of the Hugonot faction, or by their insidious caresses obtained the secrets of her enemies, in order to work their ruin; to bring them before a venal tribunal, or to take them off by the more dark and common instruments of her ambition, poison, and the stiletto. Murders were hatched in the arms of love, and massacre planned in the cabinet of pleasure.

On the accession of Henry IV. and the cessation of the religious wars, gallantry began to assume a milder form. The reign of sensuality continued, but it was a sensuality mingled with sentiment, and connected with heroism. Henry himself, though habitually licentious, was often in love, and sometimes foolishly intoxicated with that passion, but he was always a king and a soldier. His courtiers, in like manner, were frequently dissolute, but never effeminate. The same beauty that served to solace the warrior after his toils, contributed also to inspire him with new courage. Chivalry seemed to revive in the train of libertinism; and the ladies acquiring more knowledge and experience, from their more early and frequent intercourse with our sex, became more sparing of their favours.

Gallantry was formed into a system during the reign of Lewis XIII. and love was analysed with all the nicety of metaphysics. The faculties of the two sexes were whetted, and their manners polished, by combating each other. Woman was placed beyond the reach of man, without the help of grates or bars. In the bosom of society, in the circle of amusement, and even in the closet of assignation, she set him at defiance; and while she listened to his fond request, she was deaf to his suit, unless when presented under the sanction of virtue, and recommended by sentiment.

This tender sentiment, so much talked of in France, so little felt was admitted to an enthusiastic passion, during the regency of Anne of Austria, and the civil wars that disfigured the beginning of the reign of Lewis XIV. When all things were conducted by women. The usual time for deliberation was midnight; and a lady in bed, or on a sofa, was the soul of the council. There she determined to fight, to negotiate, to embroil, or to accommodate matters with the court; and as love presided over all those consultations, secret aversions or attachments frequently prepared the way for the greatest events. A revolution in the heart of a woman of fashion, almost always announced a change in public affairs.(1)

(1) Every one had her department and her dominion. Madame de Montbazou, fair and showy, governed the duke of Beaufort; Madame de Longueville, the duke of Rochefort; Madame de Chatillon, Nemours and Condé; Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, the Coadjutor, afterward Cardinal de Retz; Mademoiselle de Saujon, devout and ten-

The ladies often appeared openly at the head of factions, adorned with the ensigns of their party; visited the troops, and presided at councils of war, while their lovers spoke as seriously of an assignation, as of the issue of a campaign. Hence the celebrated verses of the philosophical duke de Rochefoucault to the duchess of Longueville:

*Pour mériter son cœur, pour plaire à ses beaux yeux,
J'ai fait la guerre aux rois, je l'aurois fait aux dieux !*

"To merit that heart, and to please those bright eyes,
"I made war upon kings; I'd have warr'd 'gainst the skies!"

Every thing connected with gallantry, how insignificant soever in itself, was considered as a matter of importance. The duke de Bellegard, the declared lover of the queen-regent, in taking leave of her majesty to take upon him the command of an army, begged as a particular favour that she would touch the hilt of his sword. And M. de Chatillon, who was enamoured of Mademoiselle de Guerchi, wore one of her garters tied round his arm in battle.(1)

But this serious gallantry, which Anne of Austria had brought with her from Spain, and which was so contrary to the genius of the French nation, vanished with the other remains of barbarism on the approach of the bright days of Lewis XIV. when the glory of France was at its height, and the French language, literature, arts, and manners, were perfected. Ease was associated with elegance, taste with fashion, and grace with freedom. Love spoke once more the language of nature, while decency drew a veil over sensuality. Men and women became reasonable beings, and the intercourse between the sexes a school of urbanity; where a mutual desire to please gave smoothness to the behaviour; and mutual esteem, delicacy to the mind and sensibility to the heart.(2)

Nor was the refinement in manners during the reign of Lewis XIV. confined merely to the intercourse between the sexes, or to those habits of general politeness produced by a more rational system of gallantry. Duels, as we have frequently had occasion to observe, were long permitted by the laws of all the European nations, and sometimes authorised by the magistrate, for terminating doubtful questions. But single combats, in resentment of private or personal injuries, did not become common till the reign of Francis I. who, in vindication of his character as a gentleman, sent a cartel of defiance to his rival, the emperor Charles V. The example was contagious. Thenceforth every one thought himself entitled to draw his sword, and to call on his adversary to make reparation for any affront or injury that seemed to touch his honour. The introduction of such an opinion among men of fierce courage, lofty sentiments, and rude manners, was productive of the most fatal consequences. A disdainful look, a disrespectful word, or even a haughty stride, was sufficient to provoke a challenge. And much of the best blood in Christendom, in defiance of the laws, was wantonly spilt in these frivolous contests, which, toward the close of the sixteenth century, were scarcely less destructive than war itself. But the practice of duelling, though alike pernicious and absurd, has been followed by some beneficial effects. It

der, the duke of Orleans; and the duchess of Bouillon, her husband. At the same time Madame de Chevreuse, lively and warm, resigned herself to her lovers from time to time, and to politics occasionally; and the princess Palatine, in turns the friend and the enemy of the great Condé, by means of her genius more than her beauty, subjected all whom she desired to please, or whom she had either a whim or an interest to persuade. *Essai sur le Caractère, les Mœurs, et l'Esprit des Femmes dans les différens Siècles*, par M. Thomas de l'Académie Française.

(1) *Mém. de Mad. Motteville*.

(2) That gallantry which, roving from object to object, finds no gratification but in variety, and which characterises the present French manners, was not introduced till the minority of Lewis XV. "Then," says M. Thomas, "a new court and new ideas changed all things. A bolder gallantry became the fashion. Shame was mutually communicated, and mutually pardoned; and levity joining itself to excess, formed a corruption at the same time deep and frivolous, which laughed at every thing, that it might blush at nothing." *Essai sur le Caractère, &c. des Femmes dans les différens Siècles*, p. 190.

has made men more respectable in their behaviour to each other, less ostentatious in conversation, and more tender of living characters, but especially of female reputation; and the gentleness of manners introduced by this restraint, at the same time that it has contributed to social happiness, has rendered duels themselves less frequent, by removing the causes of offence.

The progress of arts and literature, in France, kept pace with the progress of manners. As early as the reign of Francis I. who is deservedly styled the *Father of the French Muses*, a better taste in composition had been introduced. Rabelais and Montaigne, whose native humour and good sense will ever make them be ranked among the greatest writers of their nation, gave a beginning to the French prose; and French verse was gradually polished by Marot, Ronsard, and Malherbe, while prose received new graces from Voiture and Balzac. At length Corneille produced the *Cid*, and Pascal the *Provincial Letters*. The former is still justly admired as a great effort of poetical genius, both with regard to style and matter; and the latter continues to be universally regarded as a model of prose composition, as well as of delicate raillery and sound reasoning.

The *Observations* of the French Academy on the *Cid*, are a striking proof of the rapid progress of taste in modern times, as the *Cinna* of the same author is of the early perfection of the French stage. These observations were made at the desire of cardinal Richelieu, who had established, in 1635, that *Academy of Sciences and Belles Lettres*; and who, not satisfied with being reputed, what he certainly was, the most penetrating statesman in Europe, was also ambitious of being thought what he was not, the most elegant poet in France. He was more jealous of the fame of Corneille, than of the power of the house of Austria, and affairs stood still while he was concerting the criticism on the *Cid*.(1)

That criticism contributed greatly to the improvement of polite literature in France. Corneille was immediately followed by Moliere, Racine, Quinault, Boileau, la Fontaine, and all the fine writers who shed lustre over the early part of the reign of Lewis XIV. The language of the tender passions, little understood even by Corneille, was successfully copied by madame De la Fayette in her ingenious novels, and afterward no less happily introduced on the stage by Racine; especially in his two pathetic tragedies, *Phædra* and *Andromache*. The glaring figures of discourse, the pointed antithesis, the jingle of words, and every species of false wit and false refinement, which prevailed during the former reign, were banished with the romantic gallantry that had introduced them: and composition, like manners, returned in appearance to the simplicity of nature, adorned but not disguised by art. This elegant simplicity is more particularly to be found in the tragedies of Racine, the fables of La Fontaine, and the comedies of Moliere, whose wonderful talent for ridiculing whatever is affected or incongruous in behaviour, as well as of exposing vice and folly, contributed not a little to that happy change which now took place in the manners of the French nation.

The same good taste extended itself to all the fine arts. Several magnificent edifices were raised in the most correct style of architecture; sculpture was perfected by Gerardon, of whose skill the mausoleum of cardinal Richelieu is a lasting monument; Poussin equalled Raphael in some branches of painting, while Rubens and Vandyke displayed the glories of the Flemish school; and Lulli set to excellent music the simple and passionate operas of Quinault. France, and the neighbouring provinces, toward the latter part of the seventeenth century, were what Italy had been a century before, the favourite abodes of classical elegance.

The progress of taste and politeness were less rapid in the north of Europe, during the period under review. Germany and the adjoining countries, from the league of Smalkalde to the peace of Westphalia, was a perpetual scene either of religious wars or religious disputes. But these disputes tended to enlighten the human mind, and those wars to invigorate the human character, as well as to perfect the military science; an advantage in

(1) Fontenelle, *Mem. de l'Acad. France*.

itself by no means contemptible, as that science is not only necessary to protect ingenuity against force, but intimately connected with several others conducive to the happiness of mankind. All the powers of the soul were roused, and all the emotions of the heart called forth. Courage ceased to be an enthusiastic energy or rapacious impulse: it became a steady effort in vindication of the dearest interests of society. No longer the slaves of superstition, of blind belief, or blind opinion, determined and intelligent men firmly asserted their civil and religious rights. And Germany produced consummate generals, sound politicians, deep divines, and even acute philosophers, before she made any advances in the *Belles Lettres*. The reason is obvious.

The revival of learning in Europe had prepared the minds of men for receiving the doctrines of the reformation, as soon as they were promulgated; and instead of being startled when the daring hand of Luther drew aside, or rather rent the veil that covered established errors, the genius of the age, which had encouraged the attempt, applauded its success. Even before the appearance of Luther, Erasmus had confuted, with great eloquence and force of reasoning, several tenets of the Romish church (though it does not appear that he had any intention of overturning the established system of religion), and exposed others, as well as the learning of the schools, with much wit and pleasantry, to all the scorn of ridicule. Luther himself, though a stranger to elegance or taste in composition, zealously promoted the study of ancient literature, as necessary to a right understanding of the scriptures, which he held up as the standard of religious truth. A knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages became common among the reformers: and though in general little capable of relishing the beauties of the classics, they insensibly acquired, by perusing them, a clearness of reasoning and a freedom of thinking, which not only enabled them to triumph over their antagonists, but to investigate with accuracy several moral and political subjects.

These, instead of polite literature, employed the thoughts of those, who were not altogether immersed in theological controversy; and the names of Grotius and Puffendorf are still mentioned with respect. They delineated, with no small degree of exactness, the great outlines of the human character, and the laws of civil society: it was reserved for latter writers, for Smith and Ferguson, Montesquieu and Helvetius, to complete the picture. Their principles they derived partly from general reasoning, and partly from the political situation of Europe in that age. In Germany and the United Provinces, Protestants and Catholics were every where blended; and the fatal experience of the destructive effects of persecution, not any profound investigation, seems first to have suggested the idea of mutual toleration, the most important principle established by the political and controversial writers of the seventeenth century. This subject demands particular attention.

In the present age it may seem incredible, and more especially in England, where the idea of toleration is become familiar, and where its beneficial effects are felt, that men should ever have been persecuted for their speculative opinions; or that a method of terminating their differences, so agreeable to the mild and charitable spirit of Christianity, did not immediately occur to the contending parties. But in order to be able to judge properly of this matter, we must transport ourselves back to the sixteenth century, when the sacred rights of conscience and of private judgment, obvious as they now appear, were little understood; and when not only the idea of toleration, but even the word itself in the sense now affixed to it, was unknown among Christians. The cause of such singularity deserves to be traced.

Among the ancient Heathens, whose deities were all local and tutelary, diversity of sentiments concerning the object or rites of religious worship seems to have been no source of animosity; because the acknowledging of veneration to be due to any one God, did not imply a denial of the existence or power of any other God. Nor were the modes and rites of worship established in one country, incompatible with those of other nations. Therefore the errors in their theological system were of such a nature as to be consistent with concord; and notwithstanding the amazing number of their divini-

ties, as well as the infinite variety of their ceremonies, a sociable and tolerating spirit subsisted almost universally in the Pagan world. But when the preachers of the gospel declared one Supreme being to be the sole object of religious veneration, and prescribed the form of worship most acceptable to him, whosoever admitted the truth of it, consequently held every other mode of religion to be absurd and impious. Hence the zeal of the first converts to the Christian faith, in propagating its doctrines, and the ardour with which they endeavoured to overturn all other forms of worship. That ardour, and not, as commonly supposed, their religious system, drew upon them the indignation of the civil power. At length, as formerly observed, christianity ascended the throne of the Cæsars, and the Cross was exalted in the capitol. (1) But although numbers, imitating the example of the court (which confined its favours chiefly to the followers of the new religion), crowded into the church, many still adhered to the ancient worship. Enraged at such obstinacy, the ministers of Jesus forgot so far the nature of their own mission, and the means which they ought to have employed for making proselytes, that they armed the imperial power against those unhappy men; and as they could not persuade, they endeavoured to compel them to believe. (2)

In the mean time, controversies, concerning articles of faith, multiplied among the Christians themselves; and the same compulsive measures, the same punishments, and the same threatenings, which had been directed against infidels and idolaters, were also made use of against heretics, or those who differed from the established church in matters of worship or doctrine. Every zealous disputant endeavoured to interest the civil magistrate in his cause, and several employed, in their turn, the secular arm to crush or extirpate their opponents. (3) In order to terminate these discussions, which every where desolated the Christian world, as well as to exalt their own consequence, the bishops of Rome put in their claim to infallibility in explaining articles of faith, and deciding finally on all points of controversy: and, bold as the pretension was, they so far imposed on the credulity of mankind, as to get it recognised. Perhaps a latent sense of the necessity of universal freedom, or of some fixed standard in matters of religion, might assist the deceit. But however that may have been, it is certain that the remedy was worse than the disease. If wars and bloodshed were the too common effects of the diversity of opinions arising from different interpretations of scripture, and of hereditary princes sometimes embracing one opinion, sometimes another, a total extinction of knowledge and inquiry, and of every noble virtue, was the consequence of the papal supremacy. It was held not only a resisting of truth, but an act of rebellion against the sacred authority of that unerring tribunal, to deny any doctrine to which it had given the sanction of its approbation; and the secular power, of which, by various arts, the popes had acquired the absolute direction in every country, was instantly exerted to avenge both crimes. A despotism more complete was established than that of the Romish dominion, and more debasing as we have seen, than any species of civil tyranny.

To this spiritual despotism had Europe been subjected for several centuries, before any one ventured to call in question the authority on which it was founded. Even after the æra of the reformation, a right to extirpate error by force was universally allowed to be the privilege of those who possessed the knowledge of truth; and as every sect of Christians believed that was their peculiar gift, they all claimed and exercised, as far as they were able, the prerogatives which it was supposed to convey. The Roman-catholics, as their system rested on the decisions of an infallible judge, never doubted but truth was on their side, and openly called on the civil power to repel the impious and heretical innovators, who had risen up against it. The Protestants, no less confident that their doctrine was well founded, acquired, with equal zeal, the princes of their party to crush such as presumed to dis-

(1) Part I. Let. i.

(2) Mosheim, *Hist. Eccles.* vol. i. Robertson, *Hist. Charles V.* book xi.

(3) *Id. ibid.*

credit or oppose it; and Luther, Calvin, Cranmer, Knox, the founders of the reformed church in their respective countries, inflicted, as far as they had power and opportunity, the same punishments that were denounced against their own disciples by the church of Rome, on such as called in question any article in their several creeds.(1) Nor was it till toward the close of the seventeenth century, when the lights of philosophy had dispelled the mists of prejudice, that toleration was admitted under its present form; first into the United Provinces, and then into England. For although, by the Pacification of Passau, and the Recess of Augsburg, the Lutherans and Catholics were mutually allowed the free exercise of their religion in Germany, the followers of Calvin yet remained without any protection from the rigour of the laws denounced against heretics. And after the treaty of Munster, concluded in more liberal times, had put the Calvinists on the same footing with the Lutherans, the former sanguinary laws still continued in force against other sects. But that treaty, which restored peace and tranquillity to the north of Europe, introduced order into the empire, and prepared the way for refinement, proved also the means of enlarging the sentiments of men, by affording them leisure to cultivate their mind; and Germany, alike free from civil and ecclesiastical tyranny, beheld, in process of time, taste and genius flourish in a climate deemed peculiar to lettered industry and theological dulness, and her fame in arts and sciences as great as her renown in arms.

Even before this æra of public prosperity the lamp of liberal science had illuminated Germany, on subjects the most remote from religious controversy. Copernicus had discovered the true theory of the heavens, which was afterwards perfected by our immortal Newton; that the sun, by far the greatest body, is the centre of our planetary system, dispensing light and heat, and communicating circular motion to the other planets, Mercury, Venus, the Earth, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn, which move around him. And Kepler had ascertained the true figure of the orbits, and the proportions of the motions of those planets; that each planet moves in an ellipsis, which has one of its foci in the centre of the sun; that the higher planets not only move in greater circles, but also more slowly than those that are nearer; so that, on a double account, they are longer in performing their revolutions.

Nor was that bold spirit of investigation, which the reformation had roused, confined to the countries that had renounced the pope's supremacy, and the slavish doctrines of the Romish church. It had reached even Italy; where Galileo, by the invention, or at least the improvement, of the telescope, confirmed the system of Copernicus. He discovered the mountains in the moon, a planet attendant on the earth; the satellites of Jupiter; the phases of Venus; the spots in the sun, and its rotation, or turning on its own axis. But he was not suffered to unveil the mysteries of the heavens with impunity. Superstition took alarm at seeing her empire invaded. Galileo was cited before the inquisition, committed to prison, and commanded solemnly to abjure his *heresies* and *absurdities*; in regard to which, the following decree, an eternal disgrace to the brightest age of literature in modern Italy, was passed in 1633: "To say that the sun is in the centre, and without local motion, is a proposition absurd and false in sound philosophy, and even heretical, being expressly contrary to the Holy Scripture; and to say that the earth is not placed in the centre of the universe, nor immovable, but that it has so much as a diurnal motion, is also a proposition false and absurd in sound philosophy, as well as erroneous in the faith!"

The influence of the reformation on government and manners, was no less conspicuous than on philosophy. While the sovereigns of France and Spain rose into absolute power at the expense of their unhappy subjects, the people in every Protestant state acquired new privileges. Vice was depressed by the regular exertions of law, when the sanctuaries of the church were abolished, and the clergy themselves made amenable to punishment. This happy influence extended itself even to the church of Rome. The desire of

(1) *Rebaction*, ubi sup.

equalling the reformers in those talents which had procured them respect ; the necessity of acquiring the knowledge requisite for defending their own tenets, or refuting the arguments of their opponents, together with the emulation natural between two rival churches, engaged the popish clergy to apply themselves to the study of useful science, which they cultivated with such assiduity and success, that they gradually grew as eminent in literature as they were formerly remarkable for ignorance. And the same principle, proceeding from the same source, hath occasioned a change no less salutary in their manners.

Various causes, which I have had occasion to enumerate in the course of my narration, had concurred in producing great licentiousness, and even a total dissoluteness of manners among the Romish ecclesiastics. Luther and his adherents began their attacks upon the church with such vehement invectives against these, that, in order to remove the scandal, and silence those declamations, more decency of conduct was found necessary. And the principal reformers were so eminent, not only for the purity but even austerity of their manners, and had acquired such reputation among the people on that account, that the popish clergy must have soon lost all credit, if they had not endeavoured to conform, in some measure, to the standard held up to them. They were beside sensible, that all their actions fell under the severe inspection of the Protestants, whom enmity and emulation prompted to observe, and to display the smallest vice or impropriety in their conduct, with all the cruelty of revenge and all the exultation of triumph. Hence they became not only cautious to avoid such irregularities as must give offence, but studious to acquire the virtues that might merit praise.

Nor has the influence of the reformation been felt only by the inferior members of the Romish church : it has extended to the sovereign pontiffs themselves. Violations of decorum, and even trespasses against morality, which passed without censure in those ages, when neither the power of the popes, nor the veneration of the people for their character had any bounds ; when there was no hostile eye to observe the errors in their conduct, nor any adversary jealous to inveigh against them, would now be liable to the severest animadversion, and excite general indignation and horror. The popes, aware of this, instead of rivalling the courts of temporal princes in gaiety, or surpassing them in licentiousness, have studied to assume manners more suitable to their ecclesiastical character ; and by their humanity, their love of literature, their moderation, and even their piety, have made some atonement to mankind for the crimes of their predecessors.

The head of the church of Rome, however, not willing to rest what remained of his spiritual empire, merely on the virtues and talents of its secular members, instituted a new monastic order, namely that of the Jesuits ; who, instead of being confined to the silence and solitude of the cloister, like other monks, were taught to consider themselves as formed for action ; as chosen soldiers who, under the command of a general, were bound to exert themselves continually in the service of Christ, and of the pope, his vicar on earth. To give more vigour and concert to their efforts, in opposing the enemies of the Holy See, and in extending its dominion, this general or head of the order was invested with the most despotic authority over its members ; and that they might have full leisure for such service, they were exempted from all monastic observances. They were required to attend to the transactions of the great world, to study the dispositions of persons in power, and to cultivate their friendship.(1)

In consequence of these primary instructions, which infused a spirit of intrigue into the whole fraternity, the Jesuits considered the education of youth as their peculiar province ; they aimed at being spiritual guides and confessors : they preached frequently, in order to attract the notice of the people ; and they set out as missionaries, with a view to convert unbelieving nations. The novelty of the institution, as well as the singularity of its objects, procured the society many admirers and patrons. The generals and

(1) *Compte Rendu*, par M. de Monclar. D'Alembert, *sur le Destruct. des Jesuites*.

other officers had the address to avail themselves of every circumstance in its favour; and, in a short time, the number, as well as the influence of its members, was very considerable. Both increased wonderfully; and before the beginning of the seventeenth century, only sixty years after the institution of the order, the Jesuits had obtained the chief direction of the education of youth in every Catholic country in Europe. They had become the confessors of most of its monarchs; a function of no small importance in any reign, but under a weak prince, superior even to that of minister. They were the spiritual guides of almost every person eminent for rank or power, and they possessed the highest degree of confidence and interest with the papal court, as the most zealous and able assertors of its dominion.

The advantages which an active and enterprising body of priests might derive from these circumstances, are obvious. As they formed the minds of men in youth, they retained an ascendant over them in their more advanced years. They possessed, at different periods, the direction of the most considerable courts in Europe; they mingled in all public affairs, and took part in every intrigue and revolution. Together with the power, the wealth of the order increased. The Jesuits acquired ample possessions in every popish kingdom; and under pretext of promoting the success of their missionaries, they obtained a special licence from the court of Rome to trade with the nations which they laboured to convert.(1) In consequence of this permission, they engaged in an extensive and lucrative commerce, both in the East and West Indies, and they opened warehouses in different parts of Europe, where they vended their commodities. Not satisfied with trade alone, they imitated the example of other commercial societies, and aimed at obtaining settlements. They accordingly acquired possession of a large and fertile province of South America, well known by the name of Paraguay, and reigned as sovereigns over three or four hundred thousand subjects.

Unhappily for mankind, the vast influence which the Jesuits acquired by all these different means, was often exerted for the most pernicious purposes. Every Jesuit was taught to regard the interest of the order as his principal object, to which all other considerations were to be sacrificed; and as it was for the honour and advantage of the society, that its members should possess an ascendant over persons of rank and power, the Jesuits, in order to acquire and preserve such ascendant, were led to propagate a system of relaxed and pliant morality, which accommodating itself to the passions of men, justifies their vices, tolerates their imperfections, and authorizes almost every action that the most audacious or crafty politician could wish to commit.(2)

In like manner, as the prosperity of the order was intimately connected with the preservation of the papal authority, the Jesuits, influenced by the same principle of *attachment* to the *interests* of their *society*, which may serve as a key to the genius of their policy, have been the most zealous patrons of those doctrines which tend to exalt ecclesiastical power on the ruins of civil government. They have attributed to the court of Rome a jurisdiction as extensive and absolute as was claimed by the most presumptuous pontiffs during the dark ages: they have contended for the entire independence of ecclesiastics on the civil magistrate; and they have published such tenets, concerning the duty of opposing princes who were enemies to the Catholic faith, as countenance the most atrocious crimes, and tend to dissolve all the ties which connect subjects with their rulers.(3)

As the order derived both reputation and authority, from the zeal with which it stood forth in defence of the Romish church, against the attacks of the champions of the reformation, its members, proud of this distinction, have considered it as their peculiar function to combat the opinions, and to check the progress of the Protestants. They have made use of every art, and employed every weapon against the reformed religion: they have set themselves in opposition to every gentle and tolerating measure in its fa-

(1) *Hist. des Jesuits*, tom. iv.

(2) *M. de Monclar*, ubi sup.

(3) *Ibid.*

vour; and they have incessantly stirred up against its followers all the rage of ecclesiastical and civil persecution. But the Jesuits have at length felt the lash of that persecution, which they stimulated with such unfeeling rigour; and, as we shall afterward have occasion to see, with a severity which humanity must lament, notwithstanding their intolerant spirit.

While Paul III. was instituting the order of Jesuits, and Italy exulting in her superiority in arts and letters, England, already separated from the Holy See, and, like Germany, agitated by theological disputes, was groaning under the civil and religious tyranny of Henry VIII. This prince was a lover of letters, which he cultivated himself, and no less fond of the society of women than his friend and rival Francis I. but his controversies with the court of Rome, and the sanguinary measures which he pursued in his domestic policy, threw a cloud over the manners and the studies of the nation, which the barbarities of his daughter Mary rendered yet darker, and which was not dispelled till the middle of the reign of Elizabeth. Then the muse, always the first in the train of literature, encouraged by the change in the manners, which became more gay, gallant, and stately, ventured once more to expand her wings; and Chaucer found a successor worthy of himself, in the celebrated Spenser.

The principal work of this poet is named the *Fairy Queen*. It is of the heroic kind, and was intended as a compliment to queen Elizabeth and her courtiers. But instead of employing historical, or traditional characters, for that purpose, like Virgil, the most refined flatterer, if not the finest poet of antiquity, Spenser makes use of allegorical personages; a choice which has contributed to consign to neglect one of the most truly poetical compositions that genius ever produced, and which, notwithstanding the want of unity in the fable, and of probability in the incidents, would otherwise have continued to command attention. For the descriptions in the *Fairy Queen* are generally bold and striking, or soft and captivating; the shadowy figures are strongly delineated; the language is nervous and elegant, though somewhat obscure, through an affectation of antiquated phrases; and the versification is harmonious and flowing. But the thin allegory is every where seen through; the images are frequently coarse; and the extravagant manners of chivalry, which the author has faithfully copied, conspired to render his romantic fictions little interesting to the classical reader, whatever pleasure they may afford the antiquary; while an absurd compound of Heathen and Christian mythology complete the disgust of the critic. He throws aside the poem with indignation, considered in its whole extent, after making every allowance for its not being finished, as a performance truly Gothic; but he admires particular passages: he adores the bewitching fancy of Spenser, but laments his want of taste, and loaths his too-often filthy and ill-wrought allegories.

Shakspeare, the other luminary of the virgin-reign, and the Father of our Drama, was more happy in his line of composition. Though unacquainted, as is generally believed, with the dramatic laws, or with any model worthy of his imitation, he has, by a bold delineation of general nature, and by adopting the solemn mythology of the North, witches, fairies, and ghosts, been able to effect the human mind more strongly than any other poet. By studying only the heart of man, his tragic scenes come directly to the heart; and by copying manners, undisguised by fashion, his comic humour is for ever new. Let us not however conclude that the Three Unities, time, place, and action or plot, dictated by reason and Aristotle, are unnecessary to the perfection of a dramatic poem, because Shakspeare, by the mere superiority of his genius, has been able to please, both in the closet and on the stage, without observing them.

Theatrical representation is perfect in proportion as it is natural; and that the observance of the Unities contributes to render it so, will be disputed by no critic who understands the principles on which they are founded. A dramatic performance, in which the Unities are observed, must therefore be best calculated for representation; and consequently for obtaining its end, if otherwise well constructed, by provoking mirth or awakening sorrow.

Even Shakspeare's scenes would have acquired double force, had they proceeded in an unbroken succession, from the opening to the close of every act. Then indeed the scene may be shifted to distance consistent with probability, and any portion of time may elapse, not destructive of the unity of the fable, without impairing the effect of the representation, or disturbing the dream of reality; for as the modern drama is interrupted four times, which seem necessary for the relief of the mind, there can be no reason for confining the scene to the same spot during the whole piece, or the time exactly to that of the representation, as in the Grecian theatre, where the actors, or at least the chorus, never left the stage.

The reign of James I. was distinguished by the labours of many eminent authors, both in prose and verse, but mostly in a bad taste. That propensity to false wit and superfluous ornament, which we have so frequently occasion to regret in the writings of Shakspeare, and which seems as inseparably connected with the revival, as simplicity is with the origin of letters, infected the whole nation. The pun was common in the pulpit, and the quibble was propagated from the throne. Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, however, Camden's *Annals of Queen Elizabeth*, Raleigh's *History of the World*, and the translation of the Bible now in use, are striking proofs of the improvement of our language, and of the progress of English prose.

Fairfax's translation of Tasso, and some of the tragic scenes of Fletcher excepted, the style of none of the poets of this reign can be mentioned with entire approbation. Jonson, though born with a vein of genuine humour, perfectly acquainted with the ancient classics, and possessed of sufficient taste to relish their beauties, is a rude mechanical writer. And the poems of Drayton, who was endowed with a fertile genius, with great facility of expression, and a happy descriptive talent, are thickly bespangled with all the splendid faults in composition.

As an example of Drayton's best manner, which is little known, I shall give an extract from the sixth book of his *Barons' Wars*.

- " Now waxing late, and after all these things,
 " Unto her chamber is the queen withdrawn;(1)
 " To whom a choice-musician plays and sings,
 " Reposing her upon a state of lawn,
 " In night-attire divinely glittering,
 " As the approaching of the cheerful dawn;
 " Leaning upon the breast of Mortimer,
 " Whose voice more than the music pleas'd her ear.
 " Where her fair breasts at liberty are let,
 " Where violet-veins in curious branches flow;
 " Where Venus' swans and milky doves are set
 " Upon the swelling mounts of driven snow;(2)
 " Where Love, whilst he to sport himself doth get,
 " Hath lost his course, nor finds which way to go,
 " Inclosed in this labyrinth about,
 " Where let him wander still, yet ne'er get out.

(1) Isabella of France, widow of Edward II. of England.

(2) Perhaps the ingenious tracers of *Poetical Imitation* may discover a resemblance between those glowing verses and two lines in Mr. Hayley's justly admired sonnet, in the *Triumphs of Temper*:

" A bosom, where the blue meand'ring vein
 " Sheds a soft lustre through the lucid snow."

And it will not require microscopic eyes to discover whence Mr. Gray caught the idea of the great image in his celebrated historic ode, after reading the following lines of Drayton.

" Berkley, whose fair seat hath been famous long,
 " Let thy fair buildings shriek a deadly sound,
 " And to the air complain thy grievous wrong,
 " Keeping the figure of king Edward's wound."

Barons' Wars, book v.

- " Her loose gold hair, O gold thou art too base !
 " Were it not sin to name those silk threads hair,
 " Declining as to kiss her fairer face ?
 " But no word's fair enough for thing so fair.
 " O what high wond'rous epithet can grace
 " Or give due praises to a thing so rare ?
 " But where the pen fails, pencil cannot shew it,
 " Nor can't be known, unless the mind do know it.
 " She lays those *fingers* on his manly cheek,
 " The gods pure *sceptres*, and the *darts of love* !
 " Which with a *touch* might make a *tiger meek*,
 " Or the main Atlas from his place remove ;
 " So soft, so feeling, delicate, and sleek,
 " As Nature wore the *lilies* for a *glove* !
 " As might *beget life* where was never none,
 " And put a *spirit* into the *flintiest stone* !" (1)

Daniel, the poetical rival of Drayton, affects to write with more purity ; yet he is by no means free from the bad taste of his age, as will appear by a single stanza of his *Civil War*, a poem seemingly written in emulation of the *Barons' Wars*.

- " O War ! begot in pride and luxury,
 " The child of Malice and revengeful Hate ;
 " Thou *impious-good*, and *good-impicty*,
 " Thou art the *rout-refiner* of a *state* !
 " *Unjust-just* scourge of men's iniquity ;
 " *Sharp caser* of corruptions desperate !
 " Is there no means, but that a *sin-sick land*
 " Must be *let blood* by such a boisterous band ?"

During the tranquil part of the reign of Charles I. good taste began to gain ground. Charles himself was an excellent judge of literature, a chaste writer, and a patron of the liberal arts. Vandyke was caressed at court, and Inigo Jones was encouraged to plan those public edifices, which do so much honour to his memory ; while Lawes, and other eminent composers, in the service of the king, set to manly music some of the finest English verses. But that spirit of faction and fanaticism, which subverted all law and order, and terminated in the ruin of the church and monarchy, obstructed the progress of letters, and prevented the arts from attaining the height to which they seemed fast hastening, or the manners from receiving the degree of polish, which they must soon have acquired, in the brilliant assemblies and public festivals of two persons of such elegant accomplishments as the king and queen.

Of the Independents, and other bold fanatics, who rose on the ruins of the church, and flourished under the Commonwealth, I have formerly had occasion to speak, in tracing the progress of Cromwell's ambition. But one visionary sect, by reason of its detachment from civil and military affairs, has hitherto escaped my notice ; namely, the singular but respectable body of Quakers. The founder of this famous sect was one George Fox, born at Drayton in Lancashire, in 1624, the son of a weaver, and bred a shoemaker. Being naturally of a melancholy disposition, and having early acquired an enthusiastic turn of mind, he abandoned his mechanical profession, and broke off all connexion with his friends and family, about the year 1647, when every ignorant fanatic imagined he could invent a new system of religion or government ; and delivering himself wholly up to spiritual contem-

(1) Who can read these animated stanzas, and not be filled with indignation at the arrogant remark of Warburton ?—"Selden did not disdain even to command a *very ordinary poet*, one Michael Drayton !" Pref. to his edit. of Shakspeare.

plations, he wandered through the country clothed in a leathern doublet, avoiding all attachments, and frequently passed whole days and nights in woods and gloomy caverns, without any other companion but his Bible. At length believing himself filled with the same divine inspiration, or *inward light*, which had guided the writers of that sacred book, he considered all external helps as unnecessary, and thought only of illuminating the breasts of others, by awakening that *hidden spark* of the Divinity, which, according to the doctrine of the Mystics, dwells in the hearts of all men.

Proselytes were easily gained in those days of general fanaticism, to a doctrine so flattering to human pride. Fox accordingly soon found himself surrounded by a number of disciples of both sexes; who, all conceiving themselves actuated by a divine impulse, ran like Bacchanals through the towns and villages, declaiming against every fixed form of worship, and affronting the clergy in the very exercise of their religious functions. Even the women, forgetting the delicacy and decency befitting their character, bore a part in these disorders; and one female convert, more shameless than her sisters, went *stark naked* into Whitehall chapel, during the public service, when Cromwell was present, being moved by the spirit, she said, to appear *as a sign to the people*.⁽¹⁾

But of all these new fanatics, who were sometimes thrown into prisons, sometimes into mad-houses, the most extravagant was James Naylor, a man of talents, who had been an officer in the parliamentary army, and was one of the first encouragers of George Fox. Elated with the success of his eloquence, in which he excelled all his brethren, and flattered with a resemblance between his own features and the common pictures of Jesus Christ, he fancied himself transformed into the Saviour of the World. He accordingly assumed the character of the Messiah, and was blasphemously styled by his followers, the *Prince of Peace*, the *only begotten Son of God*, the *fairest among ten thousand*!⁽²⁾—Conformable to that character, he pretended to heal the sick, and to raise the dead. He was ministered unto by women; and, in the pride of his heart, he triumphantly entered Bristol on horseback, attended by a crowd of his admirers of both sexes, who, along with shrubs and flowers, spread their garments before him, exclaiming with a loud voice, "Hosanna to the Highest! holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth."⁽³⁾ For this impious procession he was committed to prison by the magistrates, and afterward sent to London, where he was severely punished by the parliament, and by that means restored to the right use of his understanding. But what, in this romantic instance of fanatical extravagance, chiefly merits attention is, That the heads of the great council of the nation spent between ten and twelve days in deliberating, whether they should consider Naylor as an impostor, as a maniac, or as a man divinely inspired!⁽⁴⁾

Fox and his disciples, while under the influence of that enthusiastic fury, which, beside other irregularities, prompted them, on every occasion, to deliver their supposed inspirations, without regard to time, place, or circumstances, were often so copiously filled with the spirit, that, like the priestesses of the Delphic god, their whole frame was violently *shaken* in pouring it out; a circumstance which contributed to confirm the belief of their being actuated by a divine impulse, and procured them the name of *Quakers*, by which they are still known. But these wild transports soon subsided, and the Quakers became, as at present, a decent and orderly set of men, distinguished only by the civil and religious peculiarities which continue to characterize the sect. Those peculiarities are of sufficient importance to merit our notice in tracing the progress of society, and delineating the history of the human mind.

All the peculiarities of the Quakers, both spiritual and moral, are the immediate consequences of their fundamental principle; "That they who endeavour by self-converse and contemplation to kindle that *spark of heavenly*

(1) *Nell's Hist. of the Puritans.*

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) *Life and Trial of Naylor.*

(4) *Thurloe*, vol. iv.

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"wisdom which lies concealed in the minds of all men (and is supposed to blaze in the breast of every Quaker,) will feel a divine glow, behold an effusion of light, and hear a celestial voice, proceeding from the inmost recesses of their souls! leading them to all truth, and assuring them of their union with the Supreme Being." (1) Thus consecrated in their own imagination, the members of this sect reject the use of prayers, hymns, and the various outward forms of devotion, by which the public worship of other Christians is distinguished. They neither observe festivals, use external rites and ceremonies, nor suffer religion to be fettered with positive institutions contemptuously alighting even baptism and the Lord's supper, by all other sects believed to be interwoven with the very vitals of Christianity. They assemble, however, once a week, on the usual day set apart for the celebration of divine worship; but without any priest, or public teacher. All the members of the community, male and female, have an equal right to speak in their Meetings; "Who," say they, "will presume to exclude from the liberty of exhorting the brethren, any person in whom Christ dwells, and by whom he speaks?" And the sisters have often been found more abundantly filled with the spirit, and to distil it more copiously; though, on some occasions, both sexes have been so lost in self-contemplation, or destitute of internal ardour, that not a single effusion has been made. All have remained silent, or expressed their meaning only in groans, sighs, and sorrowful looks. On other occasions, many have warmly spoken at once, as if under the influence of an holy fury.

The same spiritual pride, and brotherly sense of equality, which dictated the religious system of the Quakers, also govern their conduct in regard to civil affairs. Disdaining to appear uncovered in the presence of any human being, or to express adulation or reverence by any word or motion, they set at naught all the forms of civility, invented by polished nations, and all the servile protestations demanded by usurping grandeur, which can have no place among the truly illuminated. In like manner they refuse to confirm their legal testimony with an oath; a solemnity which they consider as an insult on the integrity of that Spirit of Truth, with which they believe themselves animated. A simple notice is all their homage, and a plain affirmative their strongest asseveration.

But two of the most striking peculiarities of the Quakers yet remain to be noticed. In consequence of their fundamental principle, which leads to a total detachment from the senses, to a detestation of worldly vanities, and of every object that can divert the mind from internal contemplation, they studiously avoid all the garniture of dress, even to an unnecessary button or loop; all the pomp of equipage, and all the luxuries of the table. No female ornament, among this sect, allures the eye, no fashion or varied colour of attire:—no female accomplishment, no music, no dancing incites to sensuality!—though now no longer so austere as formerly; when beauty in its rudest state was considered as too attractive, and the pleasure that nature has wisely connected with the propagation of the species, the chaste endearments of conjugal love were regarded with a degree of horror!

The crowning civil peculiarity of the Quakers is their pacific principle. Unambitious of dominion, and shocked at the calamities of war, and the disasters of hostile opposition, they carry the mild spirit of the gospel to the dangerous extreme of personal non-resistance; literally permitting the smiter of one cheek to inflict a blow on the other, and tamely yielding to the demands of rapacious violence all that it can crave! How different in this respect, from the Millenarians, and other sanguinary sectaries, who so long deluged England with blood! (2)

(1) Barclay's *Apology*, &c.

(2) Even after the restoration of Charles II. a small body of the Millenarians made a desperate effort to disturb the government. Rushing forth completely armed, under a daring fanatic named Venner, who had often conspired against Cromwell, and exclaiming, "No king but Christ!" they triumphantly paraded the streets of London for some hours; and before they could be fully mastered, as they fought not only with courage but concert, many lives were lost. Burnet, *Hist. Own Times*, book ii.

During those times of faction and fanaticism, however, appeared many men of vast abilities. Then the force and the compass of our language were fully tried in the public papers of the king and parliament, and in the bold eloquence of the speeches of the two parties. Then was roused, in political and theological controversy, the vigorous genius of John Milton, which afterward broke forth, with so much lustre in the poem of *Paradise Lost*, unquestionably the greatest effort of human imagination. No poet, ancient or modern, is so sublime in his conceptions as Milton; and few have ever equalled him in boldness of description or strength of expression. Yet let us not, in blind idolatry, allow him the honour, which he seems to arrogate to himself, and which has seldom been denied him, of being the inventor of our blank verse. In the tragedies of Shakspeare are several passages as harmonious as any in the *Paradise Lost*, and as elegantly correct: though it must be admitted, that Milton invented that variety of pauses, which renders English blank verse peculiarly proper for the heroic fable; where rhyme, how well soever constructed, is apt to cloy the ear by its monotony, and weaken the vigour of the versification, by the necessity of finding final words of similar sounds.

The truth of this remark is fully exemplified in the *Davidis* of Cowley; a work by no means destitute of merit, in other respects. In favour of the smaller poems of this author, which were long much admired for their far-fetched metaphysical conceits, little can be said; unless that they are occasionally distinguished by that vigour of thought and expression peculiar to the troubled times in which he wrote, those that immediately preceded and followed the death of Charles I. He thus begins an Ode to liberty:

"FREEDOM with Virtue takes her seat:
 " Her proper place, her only scene,
 " Is in the golden mean.
 " She lives not with the Poor, nor with the Great:
 " The wings of *those* Necessity has clipt,
 " And they're in Fortune's Bridewell whipt
 " To the laborious task of bread;
 " *These* are by various tyrants captive led.
 " Now wild Ambition, with imperious force,
 " Rides, reins, and spurs them, like th' unruly horse;
 " And servile *Avarice* yokes them now,
 " Like toilsome oxen, to the plow:
 " And sometimes Lust, like the *misguiding* light,
 " Draws them through all the labyrinths of night."

But although the English tongue, during the civil wars, had acquired all the strength of which it is capable, it still wanted much of that delicacy which characterizes the language of a polished people, and which it has now so fully attained. Waller, whose taste had been formed under the first Charles, and who wrote during the brightest days of the second, is one of the chief refiners of our versification, as well as language. Of this refinement the following elegant lines, compared with those of any of our preceding poets, will furnish sufficient proof. They contain a wish of being transported to the Bermudas, or *Summer Islands*.

"Oh how I long my careless limbs to lay
 " Under the plumb-tree's shade! and all the day
 " With amorous airs my fancy entertain,
 " Invoke the Muses, and improve my vein.
 " No passion there in my free breast shall move,
 " None but the sweetest, best of passions, love!
 " There while I sing, if gentle Love be by,
 " That tunes my lute, and winds the strings so high,
 " With the sweet sound of *Saccharissa's* name
 " I'll make the listening savages grow tame."

Waller was followed in his poetical walk by Dryden, who united sweetness with energy, and carried English rhyme in all its varieties to a very high degree of perfection; while Lee, whose dramatic talent was great, introduced into blank verse that solemn pomp of sound, which was long much affected by our modern tragic poets; and the pathetic Otway (in regard to whom Lee seems to stand in the same relation as Sophocles does to Euripides, or Corneille to Racine) brought tragedy down to the level of domestic life, and exemplified that simplicity of versification and expression which is so well suited to the language of the tender passions. But Otway, in other respects, is by no means so chaste a writer; nor was the reign of Charles II. though crowded with so many men of genius, the æra either of good taste or elegant manners in England.

Charles himself was a man of a social temper, of an easy address, and a lively and animated conversation. His courtiers partook much of the character of their prince: they were chiefly men of the world, and many of them distinguished by their wit, gallantry, and spirit. But having all experienced the insolence of pious tyranny, or been exposed to the neglect of poverty, they had imbibed, under the pressure of adversity, the most libertine opinions both in regard to religion and morals. And in greedily enjoying their good fortune after the Restoration; in retaliating selfishness, and contrasting the language and the manners of hypocrisy, they shamefully violated the laws of decency and decorum. Elated at the return of their sovereign, the whole royal party dissolved in thoughtless jollity; and even many of the republicans, but especially the younger sort and the women, were glad to be released from the gloomy austerity of the commonwealth. A general relaxation of manners took place. Pleasure became the universal object, and love the prevailing taste. But that love was rather an appetite than a passion; and though the ladies sacrificed freely to it, they were never able to inspire their paramours either with sentiment or delicacy.

The same want of delicacy is observable in the literary productions of this reign. Even those intended for the stage, with very few exceptions, are shockingly licentious and indecent, as well as disfigured by extravagance and folly. Nor were the painters more chaste than the poets. Nymphs bathing, or voluptuously reposing on the verdant sod, were the common objects of the pencil. Even the female portraits of sir Peter Lely, naked and languishing, are more calculated to provoke loose desire, than to impress the mind with any idea of the respectable qualities of the ladies they were intended to represent. It may therefore be seriously questioned, whether the dissolute, though comparatively polished manners of this once reputed Augustan age, were not more hurtful to literature and the liberal arts in England, than the cant and fanaticism of the preceding period.

A better taste in literature, however, began to discover itself in the latter productions of Dryden; the greater part of whose Fables, *Absalom* and *Athithophel*, *Alexander's Feast*, and several other pieces, written toward the close of the seventeenth century, are justly considered, notwithstanding some negligencies, as the most masterly poetical compositions in our language. The same good taste extended itself to a sister art. Purcell, the celebrated author of the *Orpheus Britannicus*, set the principal lyric, and the airs in two of the dramatic pieces of Dryden, to music worthy of the poetry.

Dryden, during his latter years, also greatly excelled in prose; to which he gave an ease and energy, not to be found united in Clarendon or Temple, the two most celebrated prose writers of that age. Clarendon's words are well chosen and happily arranged; but his spirit, and even his sense, is frequently lost in the bewildering length of his periods. The style of Temple, though easy and flowing, wants force. The sermons, or Christian orations of archbishop Tillotson, have great merit, both in regard to style and matter. Dryden considered Tillotson as his master in prose-composition.

The sciences made greater progress in England, during the course of the seventeenth century, than polite literature. Early in the reign of James I. sir Francis Bacon, who is justly considered, on account of the extent and variety of his talents, as one of the most extraordinary men that any nation

ever produced, broke through the scholastic obscurity of the age, like the sun from beneath a cloud, and shewed mankind the necessity of thinking for themselves, in order to become truly learned. He began with taking a view of the various objects of human knowledge: he divided these objects into classes; he examined what was already known, in regard to each of them; and he drew up an immense catalogue of what yet remained to be discovered. He went even farther: he shewed the necessity of experimental physics, and of reasoning experimentally on moral subjects. If he did not greatly enlarge the bounds of any particular science himself, he was no less usefully employed in breaking the fetters of false philosophy, and conducting the lovers of truth to the proper method of cultivating the whole circle of the sciences.

That liberal spirit of inquiry which Bacon had awakened, soon communicated itself to his countrymen. Harvey, by reasoning alone, without any mixture of accident, discovered the *circulation of the blood*; and he had also the happiness of establishing this capital discovery, during the reign of Charles I. on the most solid and convincing proofs. Posterity has added little to the arguments suggested by his industry and ingenuity.

Soon after the Restoration, the *Royal Society* was founded; and its members, in a few years, made many important discoveries in mathematics and natural philosophy, in which Wilkins, Wallace, and Boyle had a great share. Nor were the other branches of science neglected. Hobbes, already distinguished by his writings, continued to unfold the principles of policy and morals with a bold but impious freedom. He represents man as naturally cruel, unsocial, and unjust. His system, which was highly admired during the reign of Charles II. as it favours both tyranny and licentiousness, is now deservedly consigned to oblivion; but his language and his manner of reasoning are still held in estimation.

Shaftesbury, naturally of a benevolent temper, shocked with the debasing principles of Hobbes, and captivated with the generous visions of Plato, brought to light an enchanting system of morals, which every friend to humanity would wish to be true. And what is no small matter toward its confirmation, if it has not always obtained the approbation of the *wise*, it has seldom failed to conciliate the assent of the *good*; who are generally willing to believe, that the Divinity has implanted in the human breast a sense of right and wrong, independent of religion or custom; and that virtue is naturally as pleasing to the heart of man as beauty to his eye.

While Shaftesbury was conceiving that amiable theory of ethics, according to which *beauty and good* are united in the natural as well as in the moral world, which embroiders with brighter colours the robe of spring, and gives music to the autumnal blast; which reconciles man to the greatest calamities, from a conviction that all is ordered for the best, at the same time that it makes him enjoy with more sincere satisfaction the gifts of fortune, and the pleasures of society, Newton, leaving behind all former astronomers, surveyed more fully, and established by demonstration that *harmonious system* of the universe, which had been discovered by Copernicus; and Locke, no less wonderful in his walk, untwisted the chain of human ideas, and opened a vista into the mysterious regions of the mind.

The philosophy of Newton, all founded on experiment and demonstration, can never be sufficiently admired; and it particularly merits the attention of every gentleman, as an inacquaintance with the principle of *gravitation*, or with the theory of *light and colours*, would be sufficient to stamp an indelible mark of ignorance on the most respectable character. But the discovery of Locke, though now familiar, that all our *ideas are acquired by sensation and reflection*, and consequently, that we brought none into the world with us, has had a more serious influence upon the opinions of mankind. It has not only rendered our reasonings concerning the *operations of the Human understanding* more distinct; it has also induced us to reason concerning the nature of the mind itself, and its various powers and properties. In a word, it has served to introduce an universal system of scepticism, which has shaken every principle of religion and morals.

But the same philosophy which has unwisely called in question the divine origin of Christianity, and even the hinge on which it rests, the immortality of the soul; that philosophy which has endeavoured to cut off from man the hope of heaven, has happily contributed to render his earthly dwelling as comfortable as possible. It has turned its researches, with an inquisitive eye, toward every object that can be made subservient to the ease, pleasure, or convenience of life. Commerce and manufactures, government and police, have equally excited its attention. The arts, both useful and ornamental, have every where been disseminated over Europe, in consequence of this new manner of philosophising; and have all, unless we should perhaps except sculpture, been carried to a higher degree of perfection than in any former period in the history of the human race. Even here, however, an evil is discerned:—and where may not evils, either real or imaginary, be found? Commerce and the arts are supposed to have introduced luxury and effeminacy. But a certain degree of luxury is necessary to give activity to a state; and philosophers have not yet ascertained where true refinement ends, and effeminacy or vicious luxury begins.

LETTER XX.

A General View of the Affairs of Europe, from the Peace of Ryswick to the Grand Alliance, in 1701.

As we approach toward our own times, the materials of history grow daily more abundant; and consequently a nicer selection becomes necessary, in order to preserve the memory from fatigue. I shall, therefore, endeavour to throw into shade all unproductive negotiations and intrigues, as well as unimportant events, and to comprehend under one view the general transactions of Europe, during the ensuing busy period. Happily the negotiations in regard to the Spanish succession, and the war in which so many of the great powers of the South and West afterward engaged, to prevent the union of the crowns of France and Spain under a prince of the house of Bourbon, are highly favourable to this design. In like manner, the affairs of the North and the East are simplified, by the long and bloody contest between Charles XII. and Peter the Great; so that I hope to be able to bring forward, without confusion, the whole at once to the eye.

The first object, after the peace of Ryswick, which engaged the general attention of Europe, was the settlement of the Spanish succession. The declining health of Charles II. a prince who had long been in a languishing condition, and whose death was daily expected, gave new spirit to the intrigues of the competitors for his crown. These competitors were Lewis XIV. the emperor Leopold, and the elector of Bavaria. Lewis and the emperor were in the same degree of consanguinity to Charles, both being grandsons of Philip III. The Dauphin, and the emperor's eldest son Joseph, king of the Romans, had therefore a double claim, their mothers being two daughters of Philip IV. The right of birth was in the house of Bourbon, the king and his son the Dauphin being both descended from the eldest daughters of Spain; but the Imperial family asserted, in support of their claim, beside the solemn and ratified renunciations of Lewis XIII. and XIV. of all title to the Spanish succession, the blood of Maximilian, the common parent of both branches of the house of Austria—the right of male representation. The elector of Bavaria claimed, as the husband of an archduchess, the only surviving child of the emperor Leopold, by the infanta Margaret, second daughter of Philip IV. who had declared her descendants the heirs of his crown, in preference to those of his eldest daughter, Maria Theresa; so that the son of the elector, in default of issue by Charles II. was entitled to the whole Spanish succession, unless the testament of Philip IV. and the renunciation of Maria Theresa, on her marriage with the French monarch, were set aside.

Beside these legal titles to inheritance, the general interests of Europe required that the prince of Bavaria should succeed to the Spanish monarchy. But his two competitors were obstinate in their claims; the elector was unable to contend with either of them; and the king of England, though sufficiently disposed to adopt any measure for preserving the balance of power, was in no condition to begin a new war. From a laudable, but perhaps too violent jealousy of liberty, the English parliament had passed a vote, soon after the peace of Ryswick, for reducing the army to seven thousand men, and these to be *native* subjects; (1) in consequence of which, when supported by a bill, the king, to his great mortification, was obliged to dismiss even his Dutch guards.

Thus, circumstanced, William was ready to listen to any terms calculated to continue the repose of Europe. Lewis XIV. though better provided for war, was no less peaceably disposed; and, sensible that any attempt to treat with the emperor would be ineffectual, he proposed to the king of England a partition of the Spanish dominions, at the same time that he sent the marquis d'Harcourt, as his ambassador to the court of Madrid, with a view of procuring the whole. Leopold also sent an ambassador into Spain, where intrigues were carried high on both sides. The body of the Spanish nation favoured the lineal succession of the house of Bourbon; but the queen, who was a German princess, and who, by means of her creatures, governed both the king and kingdom, supported the pretensions of the emperor: and all the grandees, connected with the court, were in the same interest.

Meanwhile a treaty of partition was signed, through the temporizing policy of William and Lewis, by England, Holland, and France. In this treaty it was stipulated, That, on the eventual demise of the king of Spain, his dominions should be divided among the competitors for his crown in the following manner. Spain, her American empire, and the sovereignty of the Netherlands, were assigned to the electoral prince of Bavaria; to the Dauphin, the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, the ports on the Tuscan shore, and the marquisate of Final, in Italy; and on the side of Spain, the province of Guipuscoa, with all the Spanish territories beyond the Pyrennees, on the mountains of Navarre, Alva, and Biscay. To the archduke Charles, the emperor's second son, was allotted the dukedom of Milan. (2)

The contracting powers mutually engaged to keep the treaty of partition a profound secret during the life of the king of Spain. But that condition, though necessary, was not easily to be observed. As the avowed design of the alliance was the preservation of the repose of Europe, it became necessary to communicate the treaty to the emperor, and to gain his consent to a negotiation, which deprived him of the great object of his ambition. This difficult task was undertaken by William, from a persuasion of his own influence with Leopold. In the mean time intelligence of the treaty was privately conveyed from Holland to Madrid. The Spanish ministry were filled with indignation, at finding a division of their monarchy made by foreigners, and that even during the life of their sovereign. The king immediately called an extraordinary council, to deliberate on so unprecedented a transaction; and the result, contrary to all expectation, but perfectly conformable to the laws of sound policy, was a will of Charles II. constituting the electoral prince of Bavaria his sole heir, agreeable to the testament of Philip IV. in favour of the descendants of Margaret, his second daughter, to the utter exclusion of the offspring of Maria Theresa, her eldest sister, and the whole house of Bourbon, also excluded by the Pyrenean treaty. (3)

The king of Spain unexpectedly recovered from his illness, in some degree, and the hopes and fears of Europe were suspended for a time. Meanwhile England and Holland had every reason to be pleased with the will, which was infinitely more favourable to a general balance of power than the partition treaty; but the sudden death of the electoral prince of Bavaria, not without strong suspicions of poison, revived all their former apprehen-

(1) *Journals*, Dec. 26, 1697.

(2) De Torcy, vol. i. *Voltaire*, *Siècle*, chap. xvi.

(3) *Voltaire*, *ibid.*

sions. Lewis and William again negotiated, and a second treaty of partition was privately signed, by England, Holland, and France, notwithstanding the violent remonstrances of the court of Madrid against such a measure.

By this treaty, which differed materially from the former, it was agreed, that on the eventual decease of Charles II. without issue, Spain and her American dominions should descend to the archduke Charles, second son of the emperor; that Naples, Sicily, the marquisate of Final, the towns on the Italian shore, and the province of Guipuscoa, should fall to the share of the Dauphin, together with the duchies of Lorraine and Bar, which their native prince was desired to exchange for the duchy of Milan; and that the country of Binche should remain, as a sovereignty, to the prince of Vaudemont. (1) In order to prevent the union of Spain and the Imperial crown in the person of one prince, provision was made, That in case of the death of the king of the Romans, the archduke, if raised to that dignity, should not succeed to the Spanish throne. In like manner, it was particularly stipulated, That no Dauphin or king of France should ever wear the crown of Spain; and a secret article provided against the contingency of the emperor's refusing to accede to the treaty, as well as against any difficulties that might arise, in regard to the exchange proposed to the duke of Lorraine. (2)

From thus providing for the repose of the South of Europe, the attention of William was suddenly called toward the North, where two of the most extraordinary men that ever appeared upon the stage of human life, were rising into notice; Peter I. of Russia, and Charles XII. of Sweden. Peter, whom we shall afterward have occasion to consider in the character of a legislator, had already rendered himself formidable by the defeat of the Turks, in 1696, and the taking of Asoph, which opened to him the dominion of the Black Sea. This acquisition led to more extensive views. He resolved to make Russia the centre of trade between Europe and Asia: he projected a junction of the Dwina, the Wolga, and the Tanais, by means of canals; and thus to open a passage from the Baltic to the Euxine and Caspian seas, and from these seas to the Northern Ocean. (3) The port of Archangel, frozen up for almost nine months in the year, and which cannot be entered without a long, circuitous, and dangerous passage, he did not think sufficiently commodious; he therefore resolved to build a city upon the Baltic Sea, which should become the magazine of the North, and the capital of his extensive empire. (4)

Several princes, before this illustrious barbarian, disgusted with the pursuits of ambition, or tired with sustaining the load of public affairs, had renounced their crowns, and taken refuge in the shade of indolence, or of philosophical retirement; but history affords no example of any sovereign, who had divested himself of the royal character, in order to learn the art of governing better: that was a stretch of magnanimity reserved for Peter the Great. Though almost destitute himself of education, he discovered, by the natural force of his genius, and a few conversations with strangers, his own rude state and the savage condition of his subjects. He resolved to become worthy of the character of a MAN, to see men, and to have men to govern. Animated by the noble ambition of acquiring instruction, and of carrying back to his people the improvements of other nations, he accordingly quitted his dominions, in 1697, as a private gentleman in the retinue of three ambassadors, whom he sent to different courts of Europe.

As soon as Peter arrived at Amsterdam, which was the first place that particularly attracted his notice, he applied himself to the study of commerce and the mechanical arts; and, in order more completely to acquire the art of shipbuilding, he entered himself as a carpenter in one of the principal dock yards, and laboured and lived, in all respects, as the common journeymen. At his leisure hours he studied natural philosophy, navigation, fortification, surgery, and such other sciences as may be necessary to the sovereign of a

(1) De Torcy, vol. i.

(2) De Torcy, ubi sup.

(3) Voltaire's *Hist. Russ.* tom. i. composed from the most authentic materials, chiefly furnished by the court of Petersburg.

(4) Id. *ibid.*

barbarous people. From Holland he passed over to England, where he perfected himself in the art of ship building. King William, in order to gain his favour, entertained him with a naval review, made him a present of an elegant yacht, and permitted him to engage in his service a number of ingenious artificers. Thus instructed, and attended by several men of science, Peter returned to Russia, after an absence of near two years, with all the useful, and many of the ornamental arts in his train.(1)

The peace of Carlowitz, concluded soon after the return of the czar, seemed to afford him full leisure for the prosecution of those plans which he had formed for the civilisation of his subjects. But Peter was ambitious of the reputation and the fortune of a conqueror. The art of war was a new art, which it was necessary to teach his people; and valuable acquisitions, he thought, might easily be obtained, by joining the kings of Poland and Denmark against Charles XII. of Sweden, yet in his minority. Beside, he wanted a port on the eastern shore of the Baltic, in order to facilitate the execution of his commercial schemes. He therefore resolved to make himself master of the province of Ingria, which lies to the north-east of Livonia, and had formerly been in the possession of his ancestors. With this view, he entered into a league against Sweden with Frederic Augustus, elector of Saxony, who had succeeded the famous Sobieski in the throne of Poland.(2) The war was begun by the king of Denmark, who, contrary to the faith of treaties, invaded the territories of the duke of Holstein Gottorp, who had married a sister of Charles XII.

In these ambitious projects the hostile princes were encouraged, not only by the youth of the king of Sweden, who had succeeded his father, Charles XI. in 1697, when only fifteen years of age, but by the little estimation in which he was held by foreign courts. Charles, however, suddenly gave the lie to public opinion, by discovering the greatest talents for war, accompanied with the most enterprising and heroic spirit. No sooner did the occasion call, than his bold genius began to shew itself. Instead of being disconcerted, when told of the powerful confederacy that was forming against him, he seemed rather to rejoice at the opportunity which it would afford him of displaying his courage. Meanwhile he did not neglect the necessary preparations or precautions. He renewed the alliance of Sweden with England and Holland; and sent an army into Pomerania, to be ready to support the duke of Holstein, his brother-in-law.(3)

On Holstein the storm first fell. The Danes, led by the duke of Wurtemberg, and encouraged by the presence of their sovereign, invaded that duchy; and after taking some inconsiderable places, invested Tonningen, while the Russians, Poles, and Saxons, entered Livonia and Ingria. The moment Charles was informed of the invasion of Holstein, he resolved to carry war into the kingdom of Denmark. He accordingly left his capital, never more to return thither, and embarked with his troops at Carlsroon, having appointed an extraordinary council, chosen from the senate, to regulate affairs during his absence. The Swedish fleet was joined at the mouth of the Sound, by a combined squadron of English and Dutch men of war, which William, as both king of England and Stadtholder of Holland, had sent to the assistance of his ally. The Danish fleet, unable to face the enemy, retired under the guns of Copenhagen, which was bombarded; and the king of Denmark, who had failed in his attempt upon Tonningen, was himself cooped up in Holstein, by some Swedish frigates cruising on the coast.

In this critical season, the enterprising spirit of the young king of Sweden suggested to him the means of finishing the war at a blow. He proposed to besiege Copenhagen by land, while the combined fleet blockaded it up by sea. The idea was admired by all his generals, and the necessary preparations were made for a descent. The king himself, impatient to reach the shore, leaped into the sea, sword in hand, where the water rose above his middle. His example was followed by all his officers and soldiers, who quickly put

(1) Voltaire, ubi sup.

(2) Voltaire's *Hist. Charles XII.* founded entirely on the original information.

(3) Ubi sup.

to fight the Danish troops that attempted to oppose his landing. Charles, who had never before been present at a general discharge of muskets loaded with ball, asked major Stuart, who stood near him, what occasioned that whistling which he heard. "It is the sound of the bullets," replied the major, "which they fire against your majesty." "Very well!" said the king:—"this shall henceforth be my music." (1)

The citizens of Copenhagen, filled with consternation, sent a deputation to Charles, beseeching him not to bombard the town. He on horseback received the deputies at the head of his regiment of guards. They fell on their knees before him; and he granted their request, on their agreeing to pay him four hundred thousand rix-dollars. In the mean time the king of Denmark was in the most perilous situation; pressed by land on one side, and confined by sea on the other. The Swedes were in the heart of his dominions, and his capital and his fleet were both ready to fall into their hands. He could derive no hopes but from negotiation and submission. The king of England offered his mediation; the French ambassador also interposed his good offices; and a treaty, highly honourable to Charles, was concluded at Travendahl, between Denmark, Sweden, and Holstein, to the exclusion of Russia and Poland. (2)

While William was in this manner securing the peace of foreign nations, the most violent discontents prevailed in one of his own kingdoms. The Scots, in consequence of an act of parliament, agreeable to powers granted by the king to his commissioner, and confirmed by letters patent under the great seal, for establishing a company trading to Africa and the West Indies, with very extensive privileges, and an exemption from all duties for twenty-one years, had planted, in 1698, a colony on the isthmus of Darien, and founded a settlement, to which they gave the name of New Edinburgh. The whole nation built on this project the most extravagant ideas of success; and, in order to support it, they had subscribed the very large sum of four hundred thousand pounds sterling. (3) The situation of the settlement, it must be owned, was well chosen; and, two hundred thousand pounds of the money being raised, much might have been reasonably expected from the persevering and enterprising spirit of the people, animated by the hope and the love of gold.

But the promise of the future greatness of New Edinburgh, the intended capital of New Caledonia, proved its ruin. Its vicinity to Porto Bello and Carthagena, at that time the great marts of the Spaniards in America, and the possibility which its situation afforded of cutting off all communication between these and the port of Panama on the South Sea, whether the treasures of Peru were annually conveyed, filled the court of Madrid with the most alarming apprehensions. Warm remonstrances were accordingly presented by the Spanish ambassador at the court of England, on the subject. The English also became jealous of the Scottish colony. They were apprehensive that many of their planters, allured by the prospect of golden mines, with which New Caledonia was said to abound, and the hopes of robbing the Spaniards with impunity, would be induced to abandon their former habitations, and retire thither; that ships of all nations, to the great detriment of the English trade with the Spanish main, would resort to New Edinburgh, which was declared a free port; that the Buccaneers, and lawless adventures of every denomination, would make it their principal rendezvous, as it would afford them an easy passage to the coasts of the South Sea, and by that means an opening to all the treasures of Mexico and Peru. (4)

Influenced by these considerations, and afraid of a rupture with Spain, William sent secret orders to the governor of Jamaica, and to the governors of all the other English settlements, to hold no communication with the Scottish colony; nor, on any pretence whatsoever, to supply them with arms,

(1) Voltaire, *ubi sup.*

(2) *Hist. du Nord*, tom. ii.

(3) Burnet, book vi.

(4) *Ibid.*

ammunition, or provisions.(1) Thus deprived of all support in America, and receiving but slender supplies from Europe, the miserable remnant of the Scottish settlers in Darien were obliged to surrender to the Spaniards. Never, perhaps, were any people so mortified, as the Scots at this disaster. Disappointed in their golden dreams, and beggared by their unfortunate efforts, the whole nation was inflamed with rage and indignation against William, whom they accused in the most virulent language, of duplicity, ingratitude, and inhumanity: Proper leaders only were wanting to have made them rise in arms, and throw off his authority.

Nor were the people of England in a much better humour. Apprehensive the second partition treaty might involve them in a new continental war, they loudly exclaimed against it, as an impudent invasion of the rights of nations. And the powers on the continent, in general, seemed equally dissatisfied with that treaty. The German princes, unwilling to be concerned in any alliance which might excite the resentment of the house of Austria, were cautious and dilatory in their answers: the Italian states, alarmed at the idea of seeing France in possession of Naples and other districts in their country, shewed an aversion against the partition treaty: the duke of Savoy, in hopes of being able to barter his consent for some considerable advantage, affected a mysterious neutrality; the Swiss cantons declined acceding as guarantees; and the emperor expressed his astonishment, that any disposal should be made of the Spanish monarchy, without the consent of the present possessor and the states of the kingdom. He, therefore, refused to sign the treaty, until he should know the sentiments of his Catholic Majesty, on a transaction in which the interests of both were so deeply concerned; remarking, That the contracting powers, in attempting to compel him, the *rightful heir*, to accept of a *part* of his *inheritance* by a time limited, were at once guilty of a flagrant violation of the laws of justice and decorum.(2)

Leopold, in a word, rejected the treaty of partition, because he expected the succession to the whole Spanish monarchy; and though Lewis XIV. had signed it, in order to quiet the jealousy of his neighbours, and had engaged, along with the Dauphin, not to accept of any will, testament, or donation contrary to it, he was not without hopes of supplanting the emperor in that rich inheritance. The inclinations of the king of Spain pointed toward the house of Austria; and, enraged at the projected partition of his dominions, he actually nominated the archduke, Charles, his universal heir. But the hearts of the Spanish nation were alienated from that house, by the arrogance of the queen and her rapacious German favourites; and the court of Vienna took no care to conciliate their affections. On the other hand, the marquis d'Harcourt, the French ambassador, by his generosity, affability, and insinuating address, contributed greatly to remove the prejudices entertained by the Spaniards against his nation, and gained a powerful party to his master's interest at the court of Madrid.(3)

The Spanish grandees, as a body, were induced to favour the claims of the house of Bourbon; but its best friends were the clergy. Cardinal Portocarrero, archbishop of Toledo, taking advantage of the superstitious weakness of his sovereign, represented to him, that France only could maintain the succession intire; that the house of Austria was feeble and exhausted, and that any prince of that family must owe his chief support to detestable heretics. He advised his Catholic Majesty, however, to consult the Pope on this important subject; and Charles, notwithstanding his sickness, wrote a letter with his own hand, desiring the opinion of that infallible judge. Of a case of conscience, Innocent XII. made an affair of state. He was sensible, that the liberties of Italy in a great measure depended upon restraining the power of the house of Austria: he therefore declared, in answer to the devout king, That the laws of Spain, and the welfare of all Christendom, required him to give the preference to the family of Bourbon. The opinion

(1) Burnet, ubi sup.

(2) De Torcy. Burnet. Voltaire.

(3) De Torcy, vol. i. Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. xi.

of his Holiness was supported by that of the Spanish clergy; and Charles, thinking the salvation of his soul depended on following their advice, secretly made a will, in which he annulled the renunciations of Maria Theresa, and nominated the duke of Anjou, second son of the Dauphin, his successor in all his dominions.(1) The preference was given to this young prince, in order to prevent any alarm in Europe at the union of two such powerful monarchies as those of France and Spain; to preserve the Spanish monarchy entire and independent, yet do justice to the rights of blood.

Though this will of the king of Spain was not made known to any of the rival powers, the Spanish succession, as the death of Charles II. was hourly expected, engaged the solicitude of all. But the attention of William, the grand mover of the European system, was called off, before that event took place, to the succession of England, in consequence of the sudden death of the duke of Gloucester, the only surviving child of the princess of Denmark, and the last male heir in the Protestant line. Catholics were excluded from succeeding to the English crown, by the former Act of Settlement: it therefore became necessary now to proceed to Protestant females; and as there remained no probability of William or the princess of Denmark having any future issue, the eventual succession to the crown was settled, by act of parliament, on the princess Sophia, duchess dowager of Hanover, and the heirs general of her body, being Protestants.(2) She was grand-daughter of James I. by the princess Elizabeth, married to the unfortunate elector Palatine, who was stripped of his dominions by the emperor Frederic II.

This settlement of the crown was accompanied with certain limitations, or provisions for the security of the rights and liberties of the subject, which were supposed to have been overlooked at the Revolution. The principal of these were, That all affairs relative to government, cognizable by the privy council, should be submitted to it, and that all resolutions therein taken, should be signed by the members who advised or consented to them; that no pardon should be pleadable to any impeachment laid in parliament; that no person, who should possess any office under the king, or receive a pension from the crown, should be capable of sitting in the house of commons; that the commissions of the judges should be rendered permanent, and their salaries be ascertained and established; that, in the event of the crown descending or being transferred to a foreigner, the English nation should not be obliged, without the consent of parliament, to enter into any war, for the defence of territories not depending on the kingdom of England; and that whosoever should come to the possession of the throne, should join in communion with the church of England.(3)

What time the English were thus settling the succession to their crown, and coolly providing for the security of their liberties, all the free states on the continent were thrown into alarm, by the death of Charles II. of Spain, and his will in favour of the house of Bourbon. Lewis XIV. seemed at first to hesitate, whether he should accept the will or adhere to the treaty of Partition. By the latter, France would have received a considerable accession of territory, and have had England and Holland for her allies against the emperor; by the former, she would have the glory of giving a master to her ancient rival, and the prospect of directing, through him, the Spanish councils, at the hazard of having the emperor, England, and Holland for her enemies. This danger was foreseen; but Lewis could not resist the vanity of placing his grandson on the throne of Spain. He accepted the will by the advice of his council;(4) and the duke of Anjou, with the universal consent of the Spanish nation, was crowned at Madrid, under the name of Philip V.

The French monarch, in order to justify his conduct to the king of England and the States-general of the United Provinces, who affected to be highly offended at his breach of faith, very plausibly urged, That the treaty

(1) De Torcy, vol. i. Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. xi.

(2) *Journal*, April 14, 1701.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) De Torcy, tom. i.

of Partition was not likely to answer the ends for which it had been negotiated; that the emperor had refused to accede to it; that it was approved by none of the princes to whom it had been communicated; that the people of England and Holland had expressed their dissatisfaction at the prospect of seeing France put in possession of Naples and Sicily; that the Spaniards were so determined against the division of their monarchy, that there would be a necessity of conquering them, before the treaty could be executed; that the whole Spanish succession would have devolved upon the archduke Charles, if France had rejected the will; the same courier, who brought it, having orders to proceed immediately to Vienna, with such an offer, in case of the refusal of the court of Versailles; that the conservation of the peace of Europe was what his Most Christian Majesty considered to be the chief object of the contracting parties; and that, true to this principle, he had only departed from the words, that he might the better adhere to the spirit of the treaty. (1)

Though these reasons were by no means satisfactory to William or the States, they cautiously concealed their resentment, as they were not in a condition to support it by any decisive measure. And it has been asserted, with some appearance of truth, That, if they had permitted Philip V. peaceably to enjoy the Spanish throne, he would have become, in a few years, as good a Spaniard as any of the preceding Philips, and have utterly excluded the influence of French councils from the administration of his government; whereas the confederacy that was afterward formed against him, and the war by which it was followed, threw him wholly into the hands of the French, because their fleets and armies were necessary to his defence, and gave France a sway over the Spanish councils, which she has ever since retained. (2)

It must, however, be confessed, That, independent of prejudice or passion, war was become unavoidable. The securing of commerce and of barriers, the preventing an union of the two powerful monarchies of France and Spain in any future period, and the preserving, to a certain degree at least, an equilibrium of power, were matters of too much moment to England, Holland, and to Europe in general, to be rested on the moderation of the French, and the vigour of the Spanish councils, under a prince of the house of Bourbon, and a grandson of Lewis XIV. yet in his minority. Aware of this, and conscious of their own inability to defend their extensive dominions, the Spaniards resigned themselves entirely to the guardianship of the French monarch. The Regency commanded the viceroys of the provinces to obey his orders: a French squadron anchored in the port of Cadiz; another was sent to the protection of the Spanish settlements in America; and, under pretence that the States were making preparations for war, the court of France was empowered to take possession of the Dutch barrier in Flanders. (3)

The elector of Bavaria, uncle to Philip V. and governor of the Spanish Netherlands, introduced on the same day, and at the same hour, French troops into all the barrier towns in Flanders, and seized upon the Dutch forces that were in garrison, to the number of twenty-two battalions. Overwhelmed with consternation at this event, especially when they reflected on their own defenceless condition, and the facility of an invasion from France, the States instantly agreed to acknowledge the new king of Spain; and the French monarch, on receiving a letter to that purpose, ordered their troops to be set at liberty. (4) The king of England still continued obstinate; but having in vain attempted to draw the parliament, which consisted chiefly of Tories, and is supposed to have been under the influence of French gold, into his hostile views, he at last found it necessary to acknowledge the duke of Anjou as lawful sovereign of Spain, though Lewis refused to give any other security for the peace of Europe, than a renewal of the treaty of Ryswick. (5)

(1) Burnet, book vi. De Torcy, tom. i.

(2) Bolingbroke, *Sketch of the Hist. and State of Europe*.

(3) *Mém. de Noailles*, tom. i. Burnet, book vi.

(4) Duke of Berwick's *Mém.* vol. i. Burnet, book vi.

(5) *Id. ibid.*

The emperor now, of all the great powers of Europe, alone continued to dispute the title of Philip V. Though Leopold pretended a prior right to the whole Spanish monarchy, he determined at first to confine his views to a part, and fixed upon the duchy of Milan, which he claimed as a fief of the empire. He accordingly issued his mandate to the inhabitants, commanding their obedience on pain of being considered as rebels. But the prince of Vaudemont, governor of that duchy, had already submitted himself to the new king of Spain, conformable to the will of Charles II. A body of French troops, at his requisition, had entered the Milanese territory. These were soon followed by a powerful army; and the duke of Savoy, whose daughter Philip had married in order to strengthen his interest on that side, was declared captain-general of the whole.

The emperor, however, was not discouraged by these formidable appearances, from pursuing his claim to the duchy of Milan. He sent an army of thirty-thousand men into Italy, under prince Eugene, who forced the passage of the Adige, along which the French troops were posted; entered their entrenchments at Carpi, and obliged them to cover themselves behind the Mincio.(1) In consequence of this advantage, and others by which it was followed, the Imperialists became masters of all the country between the Adige and the Adda: they even penetrated into the territory of Bresciano, and the French found it necessary to retire beyond the Oglio.(2)

The mareschal de Catinat, who was second in command, began to suspect that all the misfortunes of the French, in the field, could not proceed from the superior genius of prince Eugene. He became doubtful of the fidelity of the duke of Savoy, and communicated his suspicions to Lewis XIV. who, not thinking it possible that his interests could be betrayed by a prince so intimately connected with his family, ascribed these surmises to impatience or private disgust, and sent the mareschal de Villeroy to supersede Catinat. Anxious to signalize himself by some great action, Villeroy, in concert with the commander-in-chief, attempted to surprise the Imperialists in their camp at Chiari; but the duke of Savoy having acquainted prince Eugene of this design, and of the disposition of the intended attack, the French were repulsed with great loss.(3)

During these operations in Italy, the English and Dutch were engaged in fruitless negotiations with France; which were continued rather to gain time, in order to make preparations for war, than with any hope of preserving the peace of Europe. At last the departure of the French ambassador, D'Avaux, from the Hague, put an end to even the appearance of a negotiation: and the successes of the emperor, though by no means decisive, made his cause be viewed with a more favourable eye. He had already secured the elector of Brandenburg, through the channel of his vanity, by dignifying him with the title of king of Prussia. The German princes, in general, were induced to depart from their proposed neutrality. The king of England, though still thwarted by his parliament, had resolved upon a war; and the king of Denmark, gained by a subsidiary treaty, was ready to assist him with a body of troops.(4)

In proportion as Leopold observed the increase of the inclination of the maritime powers for war, he rose in his demands with respect to the terms of the projected alliance. He at one time seemed determined to be satisfied with nothing less than the whole Spanish monarchy; but finding William and the States resolute against engaging in such an ambitious project, he moderated his views, and came into their proposals. They would only undertake to procure for him the Spanish dominions in Italy, and to recover Flanders, as a barrier for Holland. Matters being thus adjusted, the famous treaty, generally known by the name of the GRAND ALLIANCE, was signed by the plenipotentiaries of the emperor, the king of England, and the States-

(1) *Mem. de Fouquier.*

(2) Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xvii.

(3) *Mercurie Hist. et Politique.* Contin. P. Daniel. Henault, tom. ii.

(4) Burnet. Voltaire. Lamberti. De Torcy

general of the United Provinces.(1) The avowed objects of this treaty were, "The procuring satisfaction to his Imperial Majesty in regard to the Spanish succession; the obtaining of security to the English and Dutch for their dominions and commerce; the preventing the union of the two great monarchies of France and Spain; and the hindering the French from possessing the Spanish dominions in America." It was also stipulated, That the king of England and the States might retain for themselves whatever lands and cities they should conquer in both Indies.(2) And the contracting powers agreed to employ two months, in attempting to obtain, by amicable means, the satisfaction and security they demanded.

While this confederacy, which afterward lighted, with so much fury, the flames of war in the southern parts of Europe, was forming, the north-east quarter was deeply involved in blood. Charles XII. of Sweden no sooner raised the siege of Copenhagen, in consequence of his treaty with the king of Denmark, in the year 1700, than he turned his arms against the Russians, who had undertaken the siege of Narva, with eighty thousand men. Charles, with only eight thousand men, advanced to the relief of the place; and having carried, without difficulty, all the out-posts, he resolved to attack the Russian camp. As soon as the artillery had made a breach in the entrenchments, he accordingly ordered an assault to be made with screwed bayonets, under favour of a storm of snow, which the wind drove full in the face of the enemy. The Russians, for a time, stood the shock with firmness; but, after an engagement of three hours, their entrenchments were forced on all sides, with great slaughter, and Charles entered Narva in triumph.(3) About eight thousand of the enemy were killed in the action; many were drowned in the Narva, by the breaking down of a bridge under the fugitives; near thirty thousand were made prisoners; and all their magazines, artillery, and baggage, fell into the hands of the Swedes.(4) Charles dismissed all his prisoners, after disarming them, except the officers, whom he treated with great generosity.

The czar was not present in this battle. He had imprudently, though perhaps fortunately, left his camp, in order to forward the approach of another army, with which he hoped to surround the king of Sweden. When informed of the disaster before Narva, he was chagrined, but not discouraged. "I knew that the Swedes would beat us," said he; "but in time, they will teach us to become their conquerors."(5) Conformable to this opinion, though at the head of forty thousand men, instead of advancing against the victor, he evacuated all the provinces he had invaded, and led back his raw troops into his own country; where he employed himself in disciplining them, and in civilizing his people, not doubting but he should one day be able to crush his rival.

In the mean time the king of Sweden, having passed the winter at Narva, took the field as soon as the season would permit, with all the towering hopes of a youthful conqueror. He entered Livonia, and appeared in the neighbourhood of Riga, which the king of Poland had in vain besieged the preceding campaign. The Poles and Saxons were posted along the Duna, which is very broad at that place; and Charles, who lay on the opposite side of the river, was under the necessity of forcing a passage. This he effected, although with much difficulty; the Swedes being driven back into the river, after they had formed themselves upon the land. Their young king rallied them in the water; and leading them to the charge in a more compact body, repulsed mareschal Stenau, who commanded the Saxons, and advanced into the plain. There a general engagement ensued, and the Swedes gained a complete but bloody victory.(6) The enemy lost near three thousand men, with all their artillery and baggage. The loss of the Swedes was

(1) Burnet,

(2) *Vide Treaty*, &c.

(3) Voltaire, *Hist. of Charles XII.*

(4) *Ibid.*

(5) Voltaire, *Hist. Russie*, vol. i.

(6) Voltaire, *Hist. Charles XII.* Parthenay, *Hist. Polog.* tom. i.

very considerable, the duke of Courland having penetrated three times into the heart of the king's guards.(1)

Immediately after this victory, Charles advanced to Mittau the capital of Courland. That city, and all the towns in the duchy surrendered to him at discretion. His expedition thither was rather a journey than a military enterprise. From Courland he passed into Lithuania, conquering every thing in his progress; and he is said to have felt a particular satisfaction, when he entered in triumph the town of Birzen, where Augustus king of Poland, and the czar Peter, had planned his destruction but a few months before.(2) It was here that, under the stimulating influence of resentment, he formed the great project of dethroning Augustus, by means of his own subjects. That prince had been accustomed to govern despotically in Saxony; and fondly imagining that he might exercise the same authority in Poland, as in his hereditary dominions, he lost the hearts of his new people. The Poles murmured at seeing their towns enslaved by Saxon garrisons, and their frontiers covered with Russian armies. More jealous of their liberty than ambitious of conquest, they considered the war with Sweden as an artful measure of the court, in order to furnish a pretext for the introduction of foreign troops (3)

Charles XII. resolved to take advantage of these discontents, and succeeded beyond his fondest hopes. But in the prosecution of this, and his other ambitious projects, we must leave him for a time, in order to contemplate a more important scene of action.

LETTER XXI.

Europe, from the Beginning of the General War, in 1701 to the Offers of Peace made by France, in 1706, and the Union of England and Scotland.

NOTWITHSTANDING the alliance which the king of England had concluded with the emperor and the States-general, it may be questioned whether he could have prevailed upon his people to engage heartily in a new continental war, had it not been for an unforeseen measure, which roused their resentment against France. Soon after the signing of the Grand Alliance, James II. died at St. Germain's; and Lewis XIV. in violation of the treaty of Ryswick, acknowledged the son of that unfortunate prince king of Great Britain and Ireland, under the title of James III.

Whether Lewis was induced to this measure by generosity of sentiment, or what the French writers term *the elevation and sensibility of his great soul*; by the tears of the widow of the deceased prince, seconded by the entreaties of Madame de Maintenon, or by political motives, is a matter of very little consequence. It is probable, however, that he was partly influenced by political considerations; that, believing war to be unavoidable, he hoped, by thus encouraging the Jacobites, to be able to disturb the English government; especially as the declining health of William made his death be regarded as no distant event, and the party in favour of the direct line of succession was still powerful in all the three British kingdoms. But whatever might be the motive of the French monarch for such a measure; whether it sprung from weakness, generosity, or selfishness, it hurried him into a war, for which he was very little prepared, and which reduced him, in a few years, from the highest pinnacle of grandeur, to the lowest state of despondency. France, exhausted by her former efforts, had not yet had time to recover new strength; and Spain, languishing under every kind of political malady, was only a load upon her shoulders. But the supply of the

(1) Voltaire, *Hist. Charles XII.* Parthenay, *Hist. Polog.* tom. i.

(2) Voltaire, *ubi sup.*

(3) Parthen. *Hist. Polog.* tom. i.

precious metals, which she was suffered, by the negligence of the maritime powers, to procure from the Spanish dominions in America, and particularly from those on the South Sea, enabled her to maintain the contest much longer than would have been possible for her merely with her own internal resources.(1)

The marquis de Torcy attempted in vain to apologize to the king of England for the conduct of his master: the affront to William was too flagrant to be patiently borne. He instantly recalled his ambassador from the court of France, and ordered the French envoy to quit his dominions. Nor did the English parliament, to which William made a speech well suited to the occasion, discover less resentment at the insult offered to their sovereign, and to themselves, by the French monarch; in presuming to declare who should be their king, and in naming a person excluded from the succession by an act of the whole legislature. They passed a bill of attainder against the pretended prince of Wales, for assuming the title of king of England; and also a bill to oblige all persons, holding any office in church or state, to abjure his claim to the crown. They entered warmly into the idea of the war, which was eagerly desired by the people; voted forty thousand men for land-service, agreeable to the terms of the Grand Alliance, and an equal number for the navy. And they presented an address to the throne, requesting the king to insert in the treaty an article, which was readily assented to by the contracting powers, That no peace should be concluded with France, until reparation was made by the French monarch for the indignity offered to his majesty and the English nation, in owning and declaring the pretended prince of Wales king of England.(2)

William, thus supported in his favourite scheme, by the unanimous voice of his parliament and people, was making vast preparations for opening the ensuing campaign, when a fall from his horse threw him into a fever, which put a period to his life, but not his bold designs.(3) He was a prince of great vigour of mind, firmness of temper, and intrepidity of spirit; but ungraceful in his person and address, disgustingly cold in his manner, and dry, silent, and solitary in his humour. To a happy concurrence of circumstances, and a steady perseverance in his plans, rather than to any extraordinary talents, either in a civil or military capacity, he owed that high reputation, and extensive influence, which he so long enjoyed among the princes of Christendom. He was, however, an able politician, and a good soldier, though not a great commander. He has been severely, and justly blamed, for those intrigues, which he employed to dethrone his uncle and father-in-law. But as William's heart seems to have been as dead to the sympathetic feelings, as his soul was insensible to the charms of literature and the beauties of the elegant arts, it is possible that, while guiding the great political system, he might be led by the illusions of ambition, under the appearance of principle, to think the ties of blood, and even the right of inheritance, a necessary sacrifice to the welfare of Europe, and the interests of the reformed religion. England, at least, was obliged to him for abetting her cause, in her grand struggle for liberty and a Protestant succession. But she has dearly paid for those blessings, by being involved in wasting foreign wars, partly indeed rendered necessary by the supineness of her two preceding princes, but in which she ought naturally to have had no concern; by the introduction of the infamous practice of corrupting parliaments, in order to engage them to support those wars; and by their unavoidable consequence, a grievous national debt, which, daily accumulating, and augmenting the weight of government, threatens us with the worst of evils.(4)

(1) Bellinghame, *Sketch of the Hist. and State of Europe*.

(2) Burnet, book vi. *Journals*, Jan. 10, 1702.

(3) Burnet, ubi sup.

(4) A certain proportion of public debt, by increasing circulation, and creating a new species of money, always ready to be employed in any beneficial undertaking, by means of its transferable quality, and yet producing some profit, even while it lies idle, is supposed to be of advantage to a trading people. But what that proportion may be so, politician has hitherto pretended to determine. It is however certain, that the national debt of England has long exceeded, not only all calculations of commercial benefit, but what

The death of the king of England threw the allies into the utmost consternation, and occasioned the highest joy at the court of France. But that joy was of short duration. The quiet succession of Anne, princess of Denmark, eldest surviving daughter of James II. to the English throne, conformable to the Act of Settlement, and her early declaration of her resolution to pursue the objects of the Grand Alliance, revived the spirit of the confederates; while the choice of her ministers, and the vigour of their measures, blasted all the hopes that Lewis and the court of St. Germain had founded on the decease of William. Lord Godolphin was placed at the head of the treasury; and the earl of Marlborough, whose eldest daughter was married to Godolphin's son, and whose wife had acquired an absolute ascendant over the queen, was appointed commander-in-chief of the English forces in Flanders, and immediately dispatched to Holland, in the character of ambassador extraordinary to the States.(1)

Thus connected by family interest, as well as political views, these two great men conducted with harmony the affairs of England, and even acquired a more decided influence on the continent than had ever been possessed by William. They not only kept more compact and entire all the parts of that vast machine, the Grand Alliance, but communicated a more rapid and vigorous motion to the whole. The earl of Marlborough succeeded in every part of his negotiation with the States: he animated them to a full exertion of their strength; and gained so far on their confidence, that they raised him to the chief command of their troops. All the allies engaged, with alacrity, to furnish their several quotas; and war was declared against France, on the same day, at London, the Hague, and Vienna.(2)

The first campaign, however, was not distinguished by any great event. In Italy the Imperialists, under prince Eugene, being out-numbered by the combined armies of France and Spain, gained no advantage. There Philip V. (having left the government of his new kingdom in the hands of the queen, assisted by a council, and passed into Naples) nominally commanded in person;(3) and but nominally; all the operations being really directed by the duke de Vendome. His presence, however, inspired confidence into his troops; and prince Eugene was not only forced to raise the blockade of Mantua, but in some degree worsted, in an attempt to surprise Vendome near Luzara.(4)

The Imperialists were not more successful on the Upper Rhine; where the prince of Baden, though elated with the taking of Landau, was defeated at Fridlengen, by the marquis de Villars, immediately after created a mareschal of France. "I have heard," says Voltaire, "mareschal Villars declare more than once, that as he was marching at the head of his infantry, after the battle was gained, a voice called, *We are undone!* On hearing this, all his troops fled. He ran after them, crying, *Come back, my friends! the victory is ours. Long live the king!* The trembling soldiers repeated, *Long live the king!* but continued to fly: and the marquis found the utmost difficulty in rallying the conquerors.(5)" On such trivial circumstances often depended the issue of the greatest battles. Had a single regi-

it was thought, as late as the middle of the present century, the kingdom could possibly bear; and that the enormous taxes, levied to pay the interest of that debt, by enhancing the price of the necessaries of life, of labour, and consequently of every species of manufactures, have hurt the sale of our commodities in foreign markets; have strengthened the enslaving influence of the crown, by increasing the number of its dependents, if not broke, in some measure, the free spirit of the people, by multiplying their necessities.

(1) Burnet, book vii.

(2) Ibid.

(3) The parting of Philip and his young queen, himself as young, was preceded by many struggles of tenderness. One day, while both were bathed in tears, this amiable and accomplished princess bearing some of the courtiers ask the king, if he should pass the night with her, all her sensibility was roused, her presence of mind forsook her, and she passionately exclaimed, "Oh, my God! of the short time that remains to us, would they cut off even the nights?" *Mém. de Versailles*, tom. ii.

(4) Hanault, 1702.

(5) *Steele*, chap. xvii.

ment of Imperialists appeared during this panic, the French, so lately victorious, would have been totally routed.

The house of Bourbon was less fortunate on the side of Flanders. The allies began the campaign with the siege of Keyserwaert, which the elector of Cologne had placed in the hands of the French, and which surrendered after a siege of two months. The duke of Burgundy, who commanded the French army, having under him mareschal Boufflers, it was expected would either have attempted the relief of that important place, or have invested some other; but, by a strange piece of misconduct, he lay almost totally inactive during the whole siege, and till the earl of Marlborough arrived to take the command of the allied army. (1) Marlborough, who was no less prudent than active, and who may be said to have united the enterprising spirit of the hero to the caution and foresight of the consummate general, resolved immediately to attack the duke of Burgundy: and had he not been restrained by the timidity of the field deputies of the States, he would have gained a complete victory over the French. (2) Though thus confined in his operations, the English commander contrived, by masterly movements, by marches and counter-marches, to throw himself between the enemy and the principal towns of Spanish Guelderland; where he reduced, successively and without molestation, Venlo, Ruremonde, and Liege; conquests of the greatest importance, as by the acquisition of those places the navigation of the Meuse was opened, and a free communication with Maestricht. (3)

The operations at sea were even more favourable to the allies, than those by land; though not in all respects equal to their hopes. The confederate fleet, under sir George Rooke, consisting of fifty English and Dutch ships of the line, with twelve thousand troops on board, commanded by the duke of Ormond, appeared before Cadiz, and summoned that city to surrender to the house of Austria, or run the hazard of an attack from such a formidable armament. But the governor paid no regard to this threat. The place was much stronger than the besiegers expected; so that the duke of Ormond found it necessary to re-embark his troops after they had taken fort St. Catharine, made an unsuccessful attempt on fort Matagorda, and pillaged port St. Mary, contrary to his express orders. His next attempt was more fortunate.

The confederates, after leaving Cadiz, sailed for Vigo, where the galleons, under convoy of twenty-three French ships of war, commanded by the count de Chateau-Renaud, were just arrived from America. As the wealth on board these galleons was considered as the chief resource of the Spanish monarchy, and even of the whole house of Bourbon, Lewis XIV. expecting to share in it, the utmost precaution had been taken to secure them. (4) They were carried up into a bason, through a narrow entrance, one side of which was defended by a fort, the other by platforms mounted with cannon. A boom was thrown across the mouth of the bason, and within the boom the French squadron was drawn up. But all these obstacles were not sufficient to discourage the confederates, when animated by the hopes of so rich a booty. The duke of Ormond having landed part of his troops, took the castle: the boom was broken by the fleet; and the French admiral, perceiving that all farther resistance would be vain, set fire to his ships. The galleons followed the desperate example; but the English and Dutch were at hand, to extinguish the flames. Six ships of war were taken, seven sunk, and nine burnt. Of thirteen galleons, nine fell into the hands of the conquerors, and four were destroyed; and although the greater part of the treasure had been landed, and carried to Lagos, the booty was immense, and the consternation of the house of Bourbon excessive. (5)

(1) Duke of Berwick's *Mém.* vol. i.

(2) Burnet, book vii. Duke of Berwick's *Mém.* vol. i. "We were posted in such a manner," says the duke of Berwick, "that we should have been beaten without being able to stir: our left being very high, and our right sunk into a cul-de-sac between two mountains." *Mém.* ubi sup.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) *Mém. de Noailles*, tom. ii.

(5) *Ibid.* Burnet, book vii. *Lives of the Admirals*, vol. iii. Lewis XIV. who combined, with the most insatiable and bloody ambition, a strange mixture of piety and re-

Before intelligence of this important blow arrived in England, both houses of parliament had congratulated her majesty on the success of her arms, under the earl of Marlborough, who was soon after created a duke, and liberal supplies were voted for carrying on the war. The good humour of the parliament was increased, by the news of the destruction of the enemy's fleet at Vigo: the hopes of the nation ran high: the most vigorous preparations were made, and the affairs of the allies every where wore a very favourable aspect. The duke of Savoy, who had been long wavering, openly deserted the interests of France and Spain, and concluded a treaty with the emperor, to the astonishment of the house of Bourbon; he being not only a grandson of Lewis XIII. but father-in-law to the duke of Burgundy, and Philip V. From motives of interest, Peter VI. king of Portugal, also united himself to the confederates. (1)

To the defection of those two princes the French ascribed their subsequent misfortunes in the war. Lewis XIV. however, made great preparations for opening the next campaign, and was by no means wanting in success. Meantime the elector of Bavaria, the firm ally of France, carried on hostilities with vigour in the heart of Germany. He took Neuberg, on the Danube, early in the season: he defeated the Imperialists at Passau; and having taken Burglenfeld and Ratisbon, was joined at Dülzingen by mareschal Villars. Afterward, disappointed in an attempt to enter Tyrol, and open a communication with the French army in Italy, he rejoined Villars in Suabia. They crossed the Danube; and Villars understanding that the count de Stirum, at the head of twenty thousand men, was on his march to join the formidable army of the prince of Baden, near Donawert, said to the elector, "We must prevent this: we must advance, and attack Stirum." The elector hesitated, and said he would consult with his ministers and generals. "I am your minister and general!" replied Villars:—"Can you want any other counsel than mine, when the question is about giving battle?"—Full of apprehensions for his dominions, the elector was still averse from the mareschal's proposal, and not a little displeased at this freedom. "Well!" said Villars, "if your highness will not seize this opportunity with your Bavarians, I will engage with the French only:—it must not be lost." He accordingly ordered his troops to march; and the elector, though filled with indignation, found himself under the necessity of fighting against his judgment. (2) They attacked the enemy in the plains of Hockstet, and gained a complete victory. Three thousand of the Imperialists were killed; four thousand were made prisoners; and all their artillery and baggage fell into the hands of the conquerors. The victorious army put the elector of Bavaria in possession of Augsburg; and the road to Vienna being thus laid open, the emperor trembled in his capital. (3)

The consternation of Leopold was, in some measure, excusable. The duke of Burgundy, who commanded the French army on the side of Alsace, having under him the mareschals Tallard and Vauban, had made himself master of Old Brisac; and Tallard, before the end of the campaign, not only retook Landau, but defeated, with great slaughter, an army of the allies, under the prince of Hesse, who was advancing to its relief. (4) In Italy, where Starremberg commanded for the emperor, the duke de Vendome disarmed, by surprise, the troops of the duke of Savoy; reduced Barsillio, defeated Visconti, and took possession of the territories of the duke of Modena. (5)

The French were less successful in the Netherlands; where the duke of Marlborough, having concerted measures with the States, was enabled to

signation, writes thus in a consolatory letter to the queen of Spain, then at the head of the government:—"Events are in the hands of God, who often draws good out of what we consider as our greatest misfortunes. If it is possible to prevent the bad effects of that disaster which has happened, your majesty has prevented them!" *Mém. de Noailles*, tom. ii.

(1) Burnet. Voltaire.

(2) These particulars are related by Voltaire, from the manuscript *Mémoires of Mareschal de Villars*, written by himself. *Siècle*, chap. xvii.

(3) *Id. ibid.*

(4) Burnet. Voltaire. Hensault.

(5) *Id. ibid.*

appear early in the field. He opened the campaign with the siege of Bonne, a strong city in the circle of the Lower Rhine, and the usual residence of the elector of Cologne. That prince, brother to the elector of Bavaria, had placed Bonne, with his other dominions, in the hands of the French at the beginning of the war. Though gallantly defended by the marquis d'Alegre, it was forced to surrender, after a siege of twelve days. But notwithstanding this early success, and the supposed weakness of the enemy, Marlborough found it impracticable to penetrate into Flanders; the French army, under the mareschals Boufflers and Villeroy, keeping cautiously within their lines, and the English general not judging it prudent to attempt to force them. (1) He therefore marched back toward the Maese, where he took Huy and Limburg. And Gueldres, after a blockade and bombardment of near eighteen months, also surrendered to the allies. (2)

These acquisitions, however, were by no means a balance to the advantages of the enemy in other quarters; more especially as the operations of the allies at sea, during the summer, had been languid and undecisive; in some respects unfortunate; and their negligence so great, that the Spanish treasure from the Havannah, the joint produce of the mines of Mexico and Peru, had arrived safe, under convoy of a French fleet, and furnished the house of Bourbon with fresh resources for continuing the war. But the confederates were not discouraged by their losses; nor by an insurrection in Hungary, which spread devastation to the gates of Vienna. The English parliament, seized with a kind of military fury, voted the most liberal supplies for the ensuing campaign; and the emperor, emboldened by the alliance of Portugal, from which a passage might be opened into the heart of the disputed monarchy, made his son Charles assume the title of king of Spain, he himself and the king of the Romans renouncing all claim to any part of the succession. Immediately after this ambitious step the archduke set out for the Hague. From Holland he passed over to England; where he was treated with great respect, and conducted to Lisbon by a powerful fleet, having on board a considerable body of land forces. (3)

While the queen of England was exerting herself with so much vigour in a foreign quarrel, in which her subjects were little interested, the greatest disorders prevailed in her own dominions. The ferment in Scotland, occasioned by the miscarriage of the settlement at Darien, had never yet fully subsided; and although that kingdom readily acknowledged the queen's authority, the hottest jealousies there prevailed, among all ranks of men, respecting the independency of their crown, and the freedom of their commerce. These jealousies were fomented by the insidious arts of the Jacobites, and the intrigues of the court of St. Germain, aided by a political oversight.

When the English legislature settled the succession of the crown on the house of Hanover, king William had neglected to take the same precaution in regard to Scotland; so that the succession to that crown was still open. This circumstance was now eagerly seized by two sets of men:—by the adherents of the house of Stuart, who hoped to bring in the pretended prince of Wales; and by some real patriots, who meant to make use of it, in order to rescue their country from that abject dependence, and even slavery, into which it had fallen, and in which it had continued, ever since its native sovereigns had added the weight of the crown of England to their ancient prerogative. Beside these men, many others, who were well disposed toward the Protestant succession, zealously opposed the settlement of the Scottish crown on the descendants of the princess Sophia, before the ratification of certain articles, which should provide for the independency of the kingdom, or unite it intimately with England. (4)

Nor was the English nation free from discontents. The queen, by throwing herself entirely into the hands of the Tories, had roused the resentment

* (1) Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. i. Burnet, book vii.

(2) *Id. ibid.*

(3) Burnet. Voltaire.

(4) Lockhart's *Mem.* Burnet, book vii.

of the Whigs, who were in a manner proscribed, and debarred from office; and an ardent desire of accomplishing the purpose of the Grand Alliance, which they themselves had formed, only had prevented them hitherto from obstructing the measures of government. But their patience, under neglect, was at last worn out: they became jealous, and not without reason, of designs against the Protestant succession. The Tories, intoxicated with their good fortune, had revived all the exploded high monarchical and high-church principles; and conjecturing that the queen must naturally be disposed to favour the succession of her brother, several of her ministers held a secret correspondence with the court of St. Germain; and hopes were even entertained by that court of obtaining a speedy repeal of the Act of Settlement.⁽¹⁾

In order to forward these views, and to complete the ruin of their political opponents, the Tories pretended, that both the church and monarchy were in danger, from the prevalence of republican and presbyterian principles; and a bill against occasional conformity, which would have excluded all dissenters, and consequently a great number of the Whigs, from all civil offices and public employments, was twice presented to parliament, and as often rejected.⁽²⁾ The failure of this favourite measure, and several other circumstances, indicating the strength of the Whigs, induced Marlborough and Godolphin, who are said to have been Tories, and even Jacobites in their hearts, to conceal their sentiments, and seek support from that powerful party. They foresaw a formidable opposition, and persuaded the queen, that it was necessary to dispel the storm, by bringing some of the more moderate Whigs into administration, and dismissing a few of the most violent Tories.⁽³⁾ Mr. Harley, speaker of the house of commons, afterward created earl of Oxford, and reputed a Whig, because bred a dissenter, was accordingly appointed secretary of state, in the room of the earl of Nottingham; the office of comptroller-general was bestowed on his friend, Mr. Mansel; and, at his recommendation, Mr. St. John, since better known by the title of lord Viscount Bolingbroke, was advanced, while very young, to the lucrative place of secretary at war.⁽⁴⁾

This expedient, however, would have been found insufficient to secure the ministry against the violence of the Whigs, had not the extraordinary success of the next campaign silenced all opposition. Marlborough having concerted with the ministers of the States, during the winter, the plan of operations, set out early in the spring to carry it into execution. As the success of the two foregoing campaigns, by making the allies masters of the Maese and Spanish Guelderland, had provided a strong barrier for the United Provinces, the English general proposed to march into the heart of Germany; in order to protect the emperor, now almost besieged in his capital, by the Hungarian malecontents, on one side, and by the French and Bavarians, on the other. In pursuance of this design, but under colour of penetrating into France, he ordered the confederate forces to march towards Coblenz, where he joined them. Crossing the Rhine at that place, and successively the Maine and the Neckar, he was met by prince Eugene at Mondelsheim.

The result of the conference between these two great generals, was a junction of the allied army under Marlborough, with the Imperialists, commanded by the prince of Baden. That junction being effected, Marlborough forced, though with the loss of five thousand men, the elector of Bavaria's entrenchments; near Donawert, and obliged him to quit the field. In consequence of this victory, the allies got possession of Donawert, and obtained a free passage over the Danube. But as they were incapable, for want of magazines, either to continue long on the banks of that river, or to penetrate into Bavaria, their situation was become very precarious, and they eagerly wished to give battle; when the enemy, being reinforced with thirty thou-

(1) *Stuart Papers.*

(2) Burnet, book vii.

(3) *Hanover Papers*, 1704.

(4) *Ibid.*

sand men, under marshal Tallard, resolved to afford them the opportunity they desired. Before the engagement, the duke of Marlborough was also joined by prince Eugene, with twenty thousand men, from the Upper Rhine; and, in order to free himself from the timid or treacherous counsels of the prince of Baden, he prevailed on him to besiege Ingolstadt. The opposing armies were now nearly equal, each consisting of about eighty thousand men.⁽¹⁾ But the French generals, Tallard and Marsin, though men of experience and abilities, were much inferior to those of the allies; and the elector of Bavaria, though a brave prince, could not be considered as a commander.

The French and Bavarians were advantageously posted on a hill, having the Danube and the village of Blenheim on their right: on their left, an extensive and thick wood, from which ran a rivulet, along their front, into the Danube. This rivulet, in its course through the plain, formed an almost continued morass, the passage of which might have been rendered very difficult, if it had been properly guarded. Twenty-eight battalions, and twelve squadrons of dragoons, were thrown into the village of Blenheim: eight battalions were also placed in another village towards the centre; in order to fall, in conjunction with those at Blenheim, upon the rear of the enemy, when they should pass the rivulet. Their line, which consisted chiefly of cavalry, was weakened by these detachments; and by an unaccountable negligence, the allies were permitted not only to pass the brook, but to form without opposition.⁽²⁾

Marlborough, who commanded the left wing of the allies, having first passed the brook, ordered the two villages to be attacked by the infantry, while he himself led his cavalry against those of Tallard. The attack on the villages proved unsuccessful; the English and Hessians being repulsed, after three successive attempts. The French horse, however, in spite of their most vigorous efforts, were obliged to give ground. They retired behind the fire of ten battalions, which Tallard had ordered to advance to their relief. But these also were broken by the English foot. Marlborough charged home with his horse; and drove the French cavalry with such precipitation from the field, that most of those who escaped the sword were drowned in the Danube. The ten advanced battalions of the enemy's foot were, at the same time, charged on all sides, and cut in pieces. Tallard himself was taken prisoner, together with many other officers of distinction.

Meanwhile prince Eugene, who commanded the right wing of the confederates, after having been thrice repulsed, had broken the French and Bavarians, under the elector and Marsin; and though they could scarce be said to have been routed, they no sooner heard of Tallard's defeat, than they left the field, with every mark of hurry and disgrace. The twenty-eight battalions of foot, and twelve squadrons of dragoons, in the village of Blenheim, all veterans, and the best troops in France, were now abandoned to their fate. After a vigorous, but ineffectual sally, they found themselves obliged to surrender at discretion.⁽³⁾—Such, my dear Philip, was the famous battle of Blenheim, in which the French and Bavarians, including killed and taken, lost near forty thousand men. Their camp-equipage, baggage, artillery, and every trophy that can distinguish a complete victory, fell into the hands of the conquerors. These trophies, however, were not acquired without considerable loss of blood. The allies had five thousand men killed, and near eight thousand wounded.⁽⁴⁾

As no modern victory, between disciplined armies, was ever more decisive than this, none could be followed by more sudden or important consequences. The emperor was relieved from his fears; the Hungarian malecontents were over-awed; and the conquests and dominions of the elector of Bavaria fell, at once, into the hands of Leopold, who revenged severely on the subjects of that prince, the crimes which had been committed on his own. An extent

(1) *Mém. du Marq. de Fouquieres.*

(2) *Ibid.* See also Kane's *Campaigns.*

(3) *Fouquieres. Burnes. Vol.*

(4) *Ibid.*

of seventy leagues of country was exposed to all the ravages of war. Broken, ruined and dispersed, the forces of Lewis XIV. left a free and uninterrupted march to the confederates from the Danube to the Rhine; and the wretched remains of that army, which at the beginning of the season had spread terror to the gates of Vienna, was obliged to take shelter within the frontiers of France. The victors crossed the Rhine: they entered Alsace; and the important fortresses of Landau and Trierbach surrendered to them before the close of the campaign.(1)

But the same good fortune, which attended the arms of the confederates in Germany, did not extend to every scene of operations. In Flanders, during this summer, the war being merely defensive, produced no event either brilliant or important. On the Portuguese side of Spain, the archduke, who had assumed the title of Charles III. was able to make no progress. On the contrary, Philip V. assisted by the duke of Berwick, carried the war into Portugal; took several places, and defeated all the attempts of the allies to invade Castile.(2) In Italy, the campaign proved, upon the whole, favourable to the house of Bourbon. The castle of Suza, the city of Pignarol, Vercelli, Yvrea, and Sansano, were reduced by Vendome.(3)

The operations at sea, during this memorable year, were scarcely less important than those by land. The combined fleet of England and Holland, which carried the archduke to Lisbon, having failed in an attempt upon Barcelona, where a party was supposed to have been formed for the house of Austria, appeared before Gibraltar; and that strong fortress, hitherto deemed impregnable, was taken at the first assault. Astonished at the intrepidity of the English sailors, who ascended the mole sword in hand, the governor immediately surrendered the place; which was committed to the care of the prince of Hesse Darmstadt, for the queen of England.(4)

Nor was the acquisition of this great key of the Mediterranean the only advantage resulting from the enterprise. Part of the Spanish army employed in Portugal being withdrawn, for the purpose of re-taking Gibraltar, a stop was by that means put to the progress of Philip V. who might otherwise have advanced to the gates of Lisbon; and the French fleet, to the number of fifty-two ships of the line, under the count de Toulouse, coming to the aid of the besiegers, was defeated off Malaga, by the combined fleet, commanded by sir George Rooke and Calenberg, the Dutch admiral. The force on both sides was nearly equal, and the battle was obstinate and bloody, though no ship was either sunk or taken. This was partly owing to the interposition of night, and partly to the shifting of the wind, which enabled the French to elude all the endeavours of the confederates to renew the engagement.(5) Lewis XIV. affected, however, to claim the victory. But it was obvious to all Europe, that the combined fleet kept the sea; and that the French took refuge in their own ports, instead of lending any assistance to the Spaniards before Gibraltar.

(1) Voltaire. Tindal. Burnet.

(2) Notwithstanding these important services, the duke of Berwick was recalled. On this matter, he gives the following curious account: "The duke of Gramont, the French minister at Madrid, had taken it into his head that he was to govern there as despotically as the cardinals Richelieu and Mazarins had formerly done in France. I had no objection to this with respect to the civil department; but in the military, I was resolved that he should not have the same way; thinking it reasonable that I should be consulted in every thing, and even that my plans should be adopted, as I must be answerable for the success of the whole. From these contrary humours it followed, that Gramont took upon him to order every thing, without consulting or communicating with me, and I, on the other hand, steady to my principle, refused to execute any enterprise of which I did not approve." The duke's recall was the consequence of this commendable pride.

When the marshal de Tessé, who succeeded to the chief command in Spain, arrived at Madrid, he naturally inquired of the queen if she had not reason to be satisfied with the campaign which the duke of Berwick had made. She said he was much esteemed, and had rendered great service to the kingdom. "Why then," answered Tessé, "have you had him recalled?" "If I must tell you," replied the queen peevishly, "he is a great obstinate devil of an Englishman, who will always have his own way." Berwick's *Mém.* tom. i.

(3) Henault, 1724.

(4) Burnet, book vii. *Lives of the Admirals.*

(5) *Id.* ibid.

These fortunate events, but more especially the memorable victory obtained at Blenheim, which was justly ascribed to English valour, diffused a general joy over the nation. This joy communicated itself to the representatives of the people, who granted very liberal supplies for prosecuting the war, with the utmost readiness; and the whole business of parliament was not only conducted with harmony, but carried forward with zeal and expedition. Pleased with the humiliation of the house of Bourbon, the Whigs, instead of opposing the ministry, used every endeavour to engage the duke of Marlborough in their cause; and Godolphin, either from policy, or principle, threw himself entirely into their hands.

The queen dissolved the parliament; and the Whigs, whose principles recommended them to the independent part of the kingdom, having the countenance of government, and the support of the monied interest, obtained a decided majority in the new house of commons. The elections went generally in their favour, notwithstanding the clamour raised by the Tories of the danger of the church, and the growth of Presbyterianism. Both houses now passed a vote, That the church was in a safe and flourishing condition, and that whoever should suggest that the established religion was in danger, was an enemy to the queen, the church, and the kingdom. They also, to the great disappointment of the Tories, already mortified by the foregoing vote, repealed two severe laws against the commerce and people of Scotland, in order to induce the parliament of that kingdom to settle the crown on the house of Hanover, as well as to listen to proposals for a treaty of union with England; (1) measures highly necessary to the welfare of both kingdoms, and essential to the security of the Protestant succession.

While the English parliament was taking these prudent steps for securing the peace of the kingdom, as well as for prosecuting the war with vigour, France was not only depressed by external misfortunes, but distracted by internal commotions. Though the Hugonots were chiefly exterminated, or induced, from motives of fear or interest, to conform to the established religion, by the rewards that were held out to them, and the severe persecution which they had suffered, both before and after the revocation of the edict of Nantes, yet many of them had taken refuge in the Cevennes, a mountainous country in the south of France, where they led a savage life along with the rude natives, under the name of Camisards, and enjoyed their religion in a state of barbarity. Like zealots of all sects, when ignorant and persecuted, they believed themselves to be the peculiar favourites of heaven, and laid claim to the highest gifts of inspiration. They had their prophets and prophetesses, who assumed absolute authority over them, and are said to have excited them to the most atrocious cruelties, both against the Catholics and the refractory part of their own sect. (2)

At length, encouraged by these visionaries, by their increasing numbers, and by the promises of the confederates, the Camisards, on the commencement of the war, in 1701, began to mingle politics with their religion. They demanded "liberty of conscience, and an exemption from taxes!" and took arms to support their pretensions. Several generals were sent against them, with various success, and among others the celebrated mareschal Villars; who, after making them sensible of his power, entered into treaty with them, in 1704. But they, suspecting the sincerity of the court, broke off the negotiation, when it was almost finished; and Villars being recalled, in order to enter on a more important scene of action, the duke of Berwick was dispatched against them, on his return from Spain. As severity was now be-

(1) Journals, 1705. Burnet, loc. cit.

(2) Duke of Berwick's *Memoirs*, i. "I have heard mareschal Villars relate," says Voltaire, "that, asking Camisards the most considerable of their chiefs, How, at his years, being little above twenty, he could acquire so much authority over a headstrong undisciplined rabble? he replied, That whenever they refused to obey, his prophetess (known among them by the name of the *Great Mary*) was instantly seized with a fit of inspiration, and condemned the refractory to the punishment of death, without any form of a trial. And having thus added the historian, "put the same question to Cavalier, he returned the answer, *see* *ibid.* chap. xxxii.

come as necessary as it was formerly impolitic, the duke exercised it without reserve, and soon reduced the Camisards to obedience.(1)

Lewis XIV. although destitute of that superior magnanimity which is never vainly elated; and which can calmly look down on the highest success, possessed in an eminent degree that Christian fortitude which enables the soul to bear misfortunes with composure and resignation. Though accustomed to victory, he received the intelligence of the ruin of his army at Blenheim, without any marks of confusion, and took the most vigorous steps for repairing his loss, as well as for checking the progress of the victorious enemy. At the end of the campaign, however, he found that he had been stript of great part of his former conquests. But France, and even Flanders, were still entire; and as he understood that the duke of Marlborough intended, next campaign, to carry the war, by the Moselle, into the heart of his dominions, he assembled, on that side, an army of seventy thousand men, under the command of mareschal Villars. The English general having crossed the Moselle and the Saar, in the month of May, passed the defile of Taveren, and advanced to Delft. But not being joined by the prince of Baden, as he expected, he was obliged to retreat: and so masterly was the conduct of Villars, his antagonist, that he was not able to effect any enterprise of consequence during the campaign.(2)

Though the emperor Leopold, whose death made no change in the political system of the confederates, was succeeded in the Imperial throne by his son Joseph, king of the Romans, a prince of greater vigour and abilities, the sluggishness of the Germanic body, and the obstinacy of the prince of Baden, prevented the allied army from making any progress on the side of Flanders. In Italy, the French still maintained their superiority. The duke de Vendôme took Villa Franca and Verue: he repulsed the Imperialists, under prince Eugene, in attempting to force the passage of the Adda, at the bridge of Cassano, and the duke of Savoy, no longer able to keep the field, was obliged to shut himself up in Turin, without any prospect of relief.(3)

The confederates were more fortunate in Spain. The mareschal de Tessé, after losing a vast number of men, was forced to raise the siege of Gibraltar; and he had also the mortification, a few days before he abandoned the enterprise, to behold a French fleet that was come to his assistance, under the famous de Pontis, defeated, and chiefly taken or destroyed, by an English squadron, commanded by sir John Leake. Encouraged by these favourable events, the confederates entered the enemy's country, on the frontiers of Beira and Alantejo, and reduced the principal places in the provinces of Estramadura. In other quarters they were still more successful. An English fleet, conducted by sir Clôudesly Shovel, carrying five thousand land forces, under the celebrated earl of Peterborough, being joined at Lisbon by sir John Leake and the Dutch admiral Allemonde, and reinforced with some troops from the confederate army in Portugal, took on board the archduke, and sailed for the coast of Catalonia, where he was supposed to have many friends. Alarmed at the appearance of such a formidable force, the Spaniards, in general, declared for the house of Austria. The fortresses of Lerida and Tortosa were yielded without a blow: Barcelona, though furnished with a garrison of five thousand men, under the duke de Popoli, was

(1) For this severity, the duke of Berwick makes the following manly apology: "Assisted by the understanding and advice of M. de Basville, one of the most sensible men in France, I made it my business to prevent every thing that might tend to excite commotions; and declared, That I came neither as a persecutor nor a missionary, but with a resolution to do equal justice to every one; to protect all who should behave themselves as faithful subjects of the king, and to punish with the utmost rigour those who should dare to oppose his authority.—I know," adds he, "that attempts have been made in many countries, to blacken our proceedings against these people; but I can protest as a man of honour, that there is no sort of crimes of which the Camisards had not been guilty. To rebellion, sacrilege, murder, theft, and licentiousness, they joined the most unheard of cruelties; so far even as to have priests broiled, to rip out the bowels of pregnant women, and to roast their children!" *Mém. vol. i.*

(2) Burnet. Voltaire. Henault.

(3) Ibid.

obliged to surrender, and almost the whole kingdom of Valencia, as well as the province of Catalonia, submitted to Charles III. (1)

The particulars of the siege of Barcelona, as related by Voltaire, are too much for the honour of this country to be omitted by an English historian. The earl of Peterborough, says he, a man in every respect resembling those imaginary heroes that the Spaniards have represented in their romances, proposed to the prince of Hesse Darmstadt to force, sword in hand, the entrenchments that covered fort Mountjouy and the town. The enterprise was accordingly executed with success; but with the loss of the brave prince of Hesse, who was killed in the attack. The garrison, however, still held out; when a bomb, directed at Mountjouy, happening to enter the powder-magazine, it blew up with a terrible explosion, and the fort instantly surrendered. The town soon after offered to capitulate; and the duke de Popoli, the governor, came to the gate, in order to adjust the articles with Peterborough. But before they were signed, tumultuous shouts were heard, "You betray us!" exclaimed Popoli. "Whilst we, with honour and sincerity, are here treating with you, your troops have entered the town by the ramparts, and are murdering, plundering, and committing every species of violence."

"You are mistaken," replied Peterborough:—"These must be the troops of the prince of Darmstadt. There is only one expedient left to save your town; allow me freely to enter it with my Englishmen. I will soon make all quiet, and come back to conclude the capitulation." These words he uttered with an air of dignity and truth, which, joined to a sense of present danger, induced the governor to comply. Attended by some of his officers, he hastened into the streets, where the licentious soldiery, but more especially the Germans and Catalans, were pillaging the houses of the principal inhabitants. He drove them from their prey: he obliged them to give up even the booty they had seized; and he happily rescued from their hands the duchess de Popoli, when on the point of being dishonoured, and restored her to her husband. (2) In a word, after having quelled every appearance of disorder in the town, he returned to the gate, and finished the capitulation with the governor, to the utter astonishment of the Spaniards, at finding so much honour and generosity in a people, whom they had hitherto been accustomed to consider only as merciless heretics. (3)

These acquisitions, and splendid achievements in Spain, so flattering to the pride of the English nation, made the people, and even the parliament, eager to prosecute the war, notwithstanding the small success in other quarters. Nor was the house of Bourbon less disposed to vigorous measures. The check given to the confederates on the Moselle, joined to the rapid progress of the French arms in Italy, having elated anew the spirit of Lewis XIV. he rashly resolved, during the ensuing campaign, to act offensively in the Low Countries; at the same time that he should strip the duke of Savoy of his dominions, support his grandson in Spain, and maintain an army in Germany. And to all these attempts he was perhaps equal, had the abilities of his generals been adequate to the number and the valour of his troops. His hopes in regard to Savoy, at least, were by no means presumptuous. The duke of Berwick had taken Nice in the beginning of the year: and Vendome having defeated the Imperialists at Calcinato, in the month of April, ordered Turin to be invested. On the side of Germany, mareschal Villars justified the confidence of his master, by driving the prince of Baden before him; and had not his army been weakened by detachments, in order to supply the losses occasioned by the misconduct of other commanders, he might have penetrated into the heart of the empire. (4) The ardour of mareschal Villeroy, in Flanders, led the way to the future misfortunes of Lewis.

The duke of Marlborough, having made every preparation for a vigorous

(1) Burnet, book vii. *Mém. de Noailles*, tom. ii.

(2) *Siècle*, chap. xix.

(3) *Ibid.* Burnet mentions this tumult, but in a manner somewhat different. (*Hist. Own Times*, book vii.) He was not kind to the earl of Peterborough.

(4) Barre, *Hist. d'Allemagne*, tom. x. Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. xix. Burnet, book vii.

campaign, joined the united army of England and Holland, between Brochloen and Grosswaren, on the 20th of May. Mareschal Villeroy, with a superior army, had advanced to Tirlemont; and, ambitious of entering the lists with Marlborough, he precipitately pushed forward to Ramillies. On gaining the heights, where rises the Little Geete, he perceived the allies in full march toward him, and immediately formed his army in order of battle. The Geete, and an impassable morass running along its banks, covered his left wing, and prevented it alike from being attacked and from charging the enemy: the village of Ramillies, situated in a plain near the source of the Geete, was opposed before his centre, which consisted entirely of infantry; the village of Tavieres, on the banks of the Mehaign, covered his right wing; and an open and level space, between Tavieres and Ramillies, about a mile and a half in length, was filled with an hundred squadrons of horse.(1)

Such was the disposition of the French forces in the battle of Ramillies, and such the ground on which it was fought. Marlborough, perceiving the defects of that disposition, ordered a feigned attack to be made on the left wing of the enemy; and although this was utterly impracticable, it served to confuse Villeroy, and to prevent him from bringing the troops of that wing to support his centre, on which the English general fell with all the foot that composed his own. The Dutch infantry, under Auverquerque, attacked at the same time the enemy's right wing. But the French still making a gallant resistance, Marlborough ordered all his cavalry to advance to the charge; and in less than half an hour, the whole centre of the enemy was broken and routed. The right wing also gave way before the Dutch, and confusion, slaughter, and flight, every where prevailed.(2) A complete victory remained to the allies, who took one hundred pieces of cannon, one hundred and twenty military trophies, and a great quantity of baggage, with the loss of little more than two thousand men, while the French lost near twenty thousand.(3)

The total conquest of Brabant, and almost all Spanish Flanders, was the immediate consequence of this victory. Louvain, Brussels, Antwerp, Ghent, Oudenarde, and other places surrendered at discretion. Ostend, so famous for its long siege in the last century, put the first stop to the progress of the confederates. It was forced, however, to capitulate, after a siege of ten days. Even Menin, fortified according to the most perfect rules of art, and defended by a garrison of six thousand men, surrendered in three weeks; and the operations of the campaign were concluded with the taking of Ath and Dendermonde, the French not daring to attempt their relief.(4)

The consequences of the battle of Ramillies were not confined to Flanders; they extended even to Italy, where Lewis XIV. hoped the taking of Turin would afford some consolation for his losses in other quarters. The siege of this large and important city was committed to the duke de Feuillade, son-in-law to Chamillard, the minister for war, who furnished him with every thing that could possibly contribute to render such an undertaking successful; with one hundred and forty pieces of battering cannon; one hundred and ten thousand bullets; one hundred and six thousand cartouches of one sort, and three hundred thousand of another; twenty-one thousand bombs; twenty-seven thousand seven hundred grenades; fifteen thousand bags of earth; thirty thousand instruments for pioneering, and one million two hundred thousand pounds of powder; beside a vast quantity of lead, iron, tin, ropes, sulphur, saltpetre, and every thing requisite for miners.(5) The preparations, in a word, were such as startle the imagination; and Feuillade, being a man of courage and activity, conducted the operations with vigour, but contrary to all the rules of art. Having begun the attack on the strongest side, and neglected to surround the whole town, the inhabitants of the country could send supplies, both of men and provisions, to the garrison;

(1) *Mem. du Marq. de Fougquieres.*

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) Burnet, book vii. Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. xix.

(4) Voltaire, *ubi sup.*

(5) Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. xix.

so that all the ardour which he showed, in many repeated assaults, served only to diminish the number of the besiegers. (1) The place, however, must at length have been taken, notwithstanding the blunders of Feuilleade, but for one of those great events on which depend the fate of nations.

Prince Eugene was so situated, that it was thought he could not advance to succour Turin. He was on the east side of the Adige; and as that river on the west side was fortified with a long chain of entrenchments, the passage seemed impracticable. The besiegers consisted of forty-six squadrons and an hundred battalions. Vendome, in order to favour their operations, remained stationed on the banks of the Adige, from the 13th of May to the 20th of June. He had with him seventy battalions and sixty squadrons; and, with this force, he did not doubt but he should be able to obstruct the approach of prince Eugene.

But, unfortunately for the affairs of the house of Bourbon in Italy, Vendome was recalled, to collect the broken remains of Villeroy's army in Flanders; and, if possible, to stem the tide of misfortune in that quarter. Before his departure, however, he had found it impossible to prevent prince Eugene from passing the Adige, and even the Po. He was succeeded in the chief command by the duke of Orleans, nephew to Lewis XIV. assisted by the mareschal de Marsin, and other experienced officers. As prince Eugene had passed the Po, in spite of Vendome, he crossed the Ténaro, in sight of the duke of Orleans. He took Carpi, Correggio, and Reggio; and having stolen a march upon the French, he was joined, near Asti, by the duke of Savoy, who not choosing to shut himself up in his capital, had taken refuge in the valleys of Lucerne, among his Protestant subjects, the Vaudois, and occasionally annoyed the besiegers with a small body of cavalry. (2)

Nothing now remained for the duke of Orleans but to join Feuilleade at the camp before Turin. Prince Eugene followed him thither, with all expedition, determined to raise the siege. It therefore became necessary for the French now to resolve, whether they should wait for the enemy in their lines, or march out and meet him in the field. A council of war was accordingly called, consisting of the mareschal de Marsin, the duc de Feuilleade, Albertotti, St. Fremont, and other lieutenant-generals. "If we remain in our lines," said the duke of Orleans, "we shall certainly be defeated. They are fifty miles in extent; and our numbers, though great, are not sufficient to defend them. The Doria, which runs through our camp, will prevent our troops from speedily succouring each other. And, in waiting for an attack, the French lose one of their greatest advantages; that vehemence, and those first movements of ardour, which so often determine the events of war. It is therefore, my opinion, we ought to march against the enemy." All the lieutenant-generals, with one voice, replied, "Let us march!" but the mareschal de Marsin produced an order, signed by the king, commanding them not to offer, but to wait for battle. (3)

That order, with which the duke of Orleans was obliged to comply, hurt his pride, and confused the measures of the French generals; who, being of different opinions, disputed long, without coming to any fixed determination how to act. Meanwhile prince Eugene, having made his dispositions, fell suddenly on their entrenchments; and, after an obstinate struggle of two hours, entered their camp, drove them from all their posts, and took their cannon, baggage, ammunition, and military chest. The duke of Orleans was slightly wounded, and the mareschal de Marsin mortally. The whole French army was routed and dispersed; and, although the number of the killed did not exceed three thousand, such was the terror of the fugitives, that they retreated immediately toward Pignerol, and made the best of their way into Dauphiny: (4) so that the house of Bourbon lost, at one blow, the duchies of

(1) Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. xix.

(2) Voltaire, *ubi sup.* Burnet, book vii.

(3) *Id. ibid.* It was this timidity of the court of Versailles which made prince Eugene say, in a complimentary letter to the duke of Marlborough, that he "felt the effects of the battle of Ramillies, even in Italy." Burnet, book vii.

(4) Burnet. Voltaire. Fouquieres. Hénault.

Milan and Mantua, the principality of Piedmont, and eventually the kingdom of Naples.

The confederates, notwithstanding some unfavourable circumstances, were no less successful in Spain. The archduke Charles having established himself in that kingdom, during the winter, by the assistance of the English troops, under the earl of Peterborough, Philip V. and the mareschal de Tessé advanced against him in the spring, with an army of twenty thousand men; and obliged him to take shelter in Barcelona, which they besieged, while the count de Toulouse, with a French fleet, blocked it up by sea. Fort Montjouy was taken; and the French and Spaniards were preparing for the assault of the town, a practicable breach being already made, when sir John Leake, with a superior fleet, appearing on the coast, the count de Toulouse judged it prudent to retire in the night. A reinforcement was thrown into the place; and Philip V. and the mareschal de Tessé raised the siege with the utmost precipitation and disorder, leaving behind them their cannon, their provisions, and their implements of war, with all their sick and wounded men. (1) This disorder was partly occasioned by an almost total eclipse of the sun, which happened as they were marching off, and completed the confusion of the superstitious Spaniards. (2)

While Philip V. was returning in disgrace to his capital, with his broken and ruined army, the English and Portuguese, having entered Estramadura with forty thousand men, under the command of the earl of Galway, and the marquis de las Minas, made themselves masters of Alcantara, Ciudad-Rodrigo, Salamanca, and the port of Espinar. And the duke of Berwick, who was again appointed to the chief command in Spain, being too weak to obstruct their progress, they directed their march, and penetrated, without resistance, to Madrid. Philip was obliged to remove, with his court, to Burgos: and the English and Portuguese, on the same day that they entered his capital in triumph, received intelligence, that the count de Santa Cruz had delivered Carthage and the galleys into their hands.

The archduke was proclaimed king of Spain, under the name of Charles III. and had he advanced immediately to the seat of power, the Spanish crown would have been transferred for ever from the house of Bourbon. But he loitered unaccountably in the neighbourhood of Barcelona, while the English and Portuguese dissolved in sloth and debauchery at Madrid. In the mean time, Philip V. having collected a superior army, Galway and las Minas were forced to quit that city. The duke of Berwick hung close on their rear, and gained some advantages over them; yet they, having effected a junction with the earl of Peterborough and the archduke, passed safely into the kingdom of Valencia, and disposed their quarters in such a manner as to cover the kingdoms of Arragon and Catalonia, and preserve, at the same time, a free entrance into Castile. Carthage, however, was retaken before the close of the campaign. But that loss was more than balanced by the acquisition of the islands of Majorca and Ivice, which the English fleet, under sir John Leake, subjected to the dominion of Charles III. (3)

During these important transactions in the South and West of Europe, the affairs of the North and East had undergone a considerable change. The progress of that revolution it must now be our business to trace; as it began, about this time, to threaten the confederates by its consequences.

Charles XII. of Sweden, agreeable to that resolution which he had formed of dethroning the king of Poland, by means of the discontents of his own subjects, entered into a secret correspondence with Rajousky, the cardinal primate, who was active in rousing the jealousy of the nobles; so that Augustus II. found, on calling a diet, which broke up in a tumultuous manner, in February 1702, that the malecontents composed the majority of that assembly. The senate was not more loyally disposed. Willing, therefore, to humble himself before the Swedish monarch, rather than submit to the inso-

(1) *Mem. de Noailles*, tom. ii. Burnet, book vii. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. i.

(2) Burnet, *ubi sup.*

(3) *Mem. de Noailles* tom. ii. Burnet, book vii. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. i.

lent demands of his factious subjects, Augustus attempted secretly to treat with that prince. But Charles, suspecting his design, and still burning with revenge, obstinately refused to see the countess of Koningsmark, a Swedish lady, who was intrusted with the negotiation, while he received with the highest marks of respect an embassy from the senate. He assured the deputies, that he took arms against Augustus and the Saxons, not against the Poles, whom he should ever esteem his friends and allies. But instead of agreeing to a conference, as they proposed, he only told them bluntly, that he would confer with them at Warsaw.(1)

Charles accordingly marched toward that capital, which opened its gates to him on the first summons. The Polish nobility had chiefly retired to their country seats, and the king to Cracow. While Augustus was there assembling his forces, the cardinal-primate, whose treachery was yet undiscovered, appeared among the few persons of distinction who still adhered to their sovereign, and intimated to him, that the king of Sweden was believed to be very well inclined to listen to terms of accommodation; and he humbly begged leave to wait on the terrible warrior for that purpose. His insidious offer was accepted, and he and count Leczinski had an audience of Charles in the neighbourhood of Warsaw. They found the Swedish monarch clad in a coat of coarse blue cloth, with brass buttons, large jack-boots, and buck-skin gloves that reached to his elbows. After they had talked together standing, for about a quarter of an hour, Charles put an end to the conference, by saying aloud, "I will never grant the Poles peace, till they have elected a new king!"(2) The primate, who expected such a declaration, ordered it to be notified to all the Palatines; assuring them, that it gave him great concern, but representing, at the same time, the absolute necessity of complying with the request of the conquering Swede.

Augustus, on receiving this intelligence, saw that he must either relinquish his crown, or resolve to preserve it by force of arms: and he took the most vigorous measures for appealing to the decision of the sword. Having strengthened his Saxon guards, on which he placed his chief dependence, with the succours of the nobility of the palatinate of Cracow, who still remained faithful to him, and also with that body of Polish troops which bore the name of the *Army of the Crown*, he marched in quest of the king of Sweden. Nor was he long in meeting with his antagonist, that prince having already taken the field with the same hostile views. The contending kings met in a spacious plain near Glessaw, between Warsaw and Cracow. Augustus led about twenty-four thousand men, Charles little above half that number, yet he advanced to the charge with intrepidity; and although the king of Poland performed every thing that could be expected from a gallant prince fighting for his crown, he was defeated with great slaughter. Thrice did he rally his troops in person, and attempt to restore the battle, but in vain: all his efforts were fruitless. The Saxons only could be said to fight for him. The Poles, who formed his right wing, gave ground in the beginning of the engagement. Some fled through fear, others from disaffection. The valour and good fortune of Charles prevailed. He gained a complete victory, with all the honour that could attend it: he took possession of the enemy's camp; and their baggage, their cannon, and even the military chest of Augustus fell into his hands.(3)

The king of Sweden halted not a moment on the field of battle. He directed his march instantly to Cracow, which surrendered without firing a gun. Determined still to pursue Augustus, in order to prevent his assembling a new army, Charles quickly left that city: but his thigh-bone being broken soon after, in consequence of the fall of his horse, he was confined to his bed for six weeks. During this interval of repose, the king of Poland assembled a diet at Lublin; where, by his affability, engaging manner, and fine accomplishments, he in a great measure recovered the affections of his subjects. All the Palatines swore that they would continue faithful to

(1) Voltaire, *History of Charles XII.*

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) Parthenay, *Hist. Polon.* lib. iv. Voltaire, *Hist. Charles XII.*

their sovereign. They agreed to maintain an army of fifty thousand men for his defence; and they resolved, that forty days should be allowed the king of Sweden finally to determine, whether he was disposed to peace or war. (1)

Before the expiration of that term, Charles being able to go abroad, overturned all the resolutions of the diet at Lublin, by one assembled at Warsaw. Meanwhile, having received a strong reinforcement from Pomerania, he marched against the remains of the Saxon army, which he had defeated at Glissaw, and which had been collected and recruited during his confinement. He came up with the enemy on the first of May, 1703, at a place named Pultausk. General Stenau commanded the Saxons, who amounted to ten thousand men. The Swedes consisted only of an equal number; yet so great was the terror struck by the arms of Charles, that one half of the enemy fled at his approach, and the rest were soon routed and dispersed. Augustus himself retired to Thorn, an ancient city on the Vistula, in Polish Prussia. Charles followed him, and besieged the place, which surrendered within a month; but the king of Poland had found means, before it was regularly invested, to escape into Saxony. (2)

The diet at Warsaw, through the intrigues of the cardinal-primate, now declared, "That Augustus, elector of Saxony, was incapable of wearing the 'crown of Poland';" and all the members, with one voice, pronounced the throne to be vacant, on the 14th of February 1704. It was the intention of the king of Sweden, and the wish of the diet, to raise to the throne James Sobieski, eldest son of the late king; but that prince being taken prisoner, together with his second brother, Constantine, while hunting in the neighbourhood of Breslaw in Silesia, by a party of the Saxon dragoons, the crown of Poland was offered to a younger brother, named Alexander, who rejected it with a generosity perhaps unexampled in history. Nothing, he said, should ever induce him to take advantage of the misfortune of his elder brothers; and he entreated Charles to employ his victorious arms, in restoring liberty to the unhappy captives. (3)

This refusal, and the misfortune which led to it, having disconcerted the measures of the Swedish monarch, his minister, count Piper, who was as great a politician as his master was a warrior, advised Charles to take the crown of Poland to himself. He represented how easy it would be to accomplish such a scheme, with a victorious army, and a powerful party in the heart of the kingdom, which was already subdued:—and he tempted him with the title of "*Defender of the Evangelical Religion*;" an appellation which flattered the prejudices of the northern conqueror. What Gustavus Vasa had effected in Sweden, might be accomplished, the count affirmed, with the greatest facility in Poland; the establishment of the Lutheran religion, and the enfranchisement of the people, now held in the most abject slavery by the nobility and clergy. Charles acquiesced in the prudent proposal for a moment; but, blinded by the illusions of romantic glory, he afterward told his minister, that he had more pleasure in giving away, than in conquering kingdoms! He accordingly recommended to the choice of the Polish diet, assembled at Warsaw, Stanislaus Leczinski, Palatine of Posnania, who was immediately raised to the throne. (4)

What time Charles XII. was thus imposing a king on the vanquished Poles, and the Danish monarch durst not presume to create him any disturbance; while the new king of Prussia courted his friendship, and his antagonist Augustus was forced to take refuge in his hereditary dominions, the czar Peter was growing every day more formidable. Though he had given the king of Poland but little immediate assistance, he had made a powerful diversion in Ingria; and was now not only become a good soldier himself, but had instructed his subjects in the art of war. He had able engineers, well served artillery, and experienced officers; discipline was established among

(1) Voltaire, *ubi sup.*

(2) Parth. *Hist. Polog.* lib. v.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) Voltaire, *Hist. Charles XII.* liv. iii.

his troops; and he had acquired the great secret of subsisting his armies. In consequence of these improvements, he took Narva by assault, on the 21st of August 1704, after a regular siege, during which he had prevented it from receiving any succours, either by sea or land. Nor was this his only glory. The Russians were no sooner masters of the city, than they began to pillage it, and abandoned themselves to the most enormous barbarities. The czar flew from place to place, to stop the plunder and carnage; and having killed two soldiers, who refused to obey his orders, he entered the town-house, and laying his sword, yet reeking with gore, upon the table, said to the magistrates, "This weapon is not stained with the blood of your fellow-citizens, but with that of my own people, which I have shed to save your lives." (1)

Had Peter always paid the same attention to the rights of humanity, his character would have stood fairer in the annals of history, and for his honour it must be recorded, that at the same time he was thus saving one city from destruction, he was employed in erecting another, not far from Narva, in the heart of his new conquests; namely, Petersburg, which he afterward made the place of his residence, and the centre of his trade. That city is situated between Finland and Ingria, in a marshy island, around which the Neva divides itself into several branches, before it falls into the Gulph of Finland.

This desert and uncultivated island, which, during the short summer in those regions, was only a heap of mud, and in winter a frozen pool, into which there was no entrance on the land side, but through pathless forests and deep morasses, and which had been the haunt of wolves and bears, was filled, in 1703, with above three hundred thousand men, whom the czar brought thither from other parts of his dominions. The peasants of Astracan, and those who dwelt on the frontiers of China, were transported to Petersburg; and the czar was obliged to clear forests, to make roads, to drain marshes, and to raise mounds before they could lay the foundations of his future capital. The whole was a violence upon nature. Peter was determined to people a country, that did not seem designed for the habitation of men; and neither the inundation that demolished his works, nor the sterility of the soil, nor the ignorance of the workmen, nor even the mortality which carried off near two hundred thousand men in the beginning of the undertaking, could divert him from his purpose. By a proper distribution of favours, he drew many strangers to the new city; bestowing lands upon some, houses upon others, and encouraging, by the most liberal rewards, artists of every description. Above all, he rendered it proof against the utmost efforts of his enemies; so that the Swedish generals, who frequently beat his troops, as we shall have occasion to see, were never able to hurt this infant establishment. Petersburg remained in perfect security amid the destructive war by which it was surrounded. (2)

While the czar was employed in erecting a new capital, and in creating, as it were, a new people, he still held out a helping hand to the fugitive Augustus, who had again found his way into Poland; had retaken Warsaw, and been obliged a second time to abandon it. Peter invited him to Grodno, in order to concert measures for retrieving his affairs. To that place Augustus repaired in December 1705; and being no longer afraid of exasperating the Poles, by the introduction of foreigners into their country, as they had already done their worst against him, it was resolved that sixty thousand Russians should attack the Swedes in their late conquests. This prodigious force soon entered Poland; and dividing into several bodies, laid waste with fire and sword the lands of all the Palatines, who had declared for Stanislaus. An army of Cossacks also entered the Polish territories, and spread desolation on every side, with all the fury of barbarians. And general Schullenberg, who had distinguished himself by the passage of the Oder, in sight of

(1) Voltaire, *Hist. Rus.* chap. xii. *Hist. Charles XII.* liv. iii.

(2) *Id. ibid.*

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the king of Sweden, and by a retreat esteemed equal to a victory, even by Charles himself, was advancing with an army of Saxons.(1)

If success had depended upon numbers, the Swedish monarch must now have been crushed. But his usual good fortune, the effect of his active and enterprising spirit, still attended him. The Russian armies were attacked and defeated so fast, that the last was routed before it had heard of the disaster of the first. Nothing could stop the progress of the conquering Swedes, or equal their celerity. If a river interposed, they swam across it; and Charles, at the head of his cavalry, marched thirty leagues in twenty-four hours.(2) Struck with terror at such rapid movements, which to them appeared altogether miraculous, and reduced to a small number, by their various defeats, the Russians retired beyond the Boristhenes, leaving Augustus to his fate.(3)

In the mean time Schullemoerg, having repassed the Oder, offered battle to mareschal Renschild, who was reckoned the king of Sweden's best general, and called the Parmenio of the Alexander of the North. These two great commanders met on the 13th of February, 1706, at a place called Travantstad. Renschild had only thirteen battalions, and twenty-two squadrons, making in all about ten thousand men; Schullemoerg had more than double that number, yet was he defeated with great slaughter. Seven thousand Russians and Saxons were killed on the spot; eight thousand were made prisoners; and all their artillery, baggage, ammunition, and provisions, fell into the hands of the victors.(4) No quarter was granted to the Russians.

In order to put an end to the troubles of Poland, where, by reason of its desolate state, his army could no longer subsist, Charles now proposed to carry the war into the hereditary dominions of Augustus. He accordingly directed his march toward Silesia; passed the Oder; entered Saxony, with twenty-four thousand men; and having laid the whole country under contribution, pitched his camp at Alt-Ranstadt, near the plains of Lutzen, rendered famous by the memorable victory and death of Gustavus Adolphus. Unable to contend with so powerful an adversary, already in the heart of his dominions, Augustus was under the necessity of suing for peace. He obtained it, but on the most humiliating terms; being forced to renounce for ever all pretensions to the crown of Poland, and to acknowledge Stanislaus lawful sovereign of that kingdom.(5) When his plenipotentiaries endeavoured to procure some mitigation of the rigour of these conditions, they were constantly answered by count Piper, "Such is the will of my master; and he never alters his resolution!"(6)

The march of the king of Sweden into Germany, his victories during the course of the war, and the arbitrary manner in which he had deposed Augustus, filled all Europe with hopes of his friendship, or apprehensions from his power. France courted his alliance with an ardour proportioned to the distressed state of her affairs. Offended at his gross violation of the privileges of the Germanic body, the diet at Ratisbon shewed a disposition to declare him an enemy of the empire; but the emperor Joseph, dreading the effects of such a measure, employed all his influence to oppose it, at the same time that he endeavoured to soften any resentment which it might excite in the breast of the northern conqueror, by flattering his pride. Charles was pleased with these attentions, without being swayed by them. Wholly occupied with the great project of humbling his other antagonist, the czar Peter, and even of reducing him to the same abject condition into which he had already brought Augustus, he disregarded all the solicitations of France, and seemed to favour the views of the emperor, without having any attachment to his interest.

(1) Voltaire, *Contin. Puffend. Parthenay.*

(2) Every soldier leading a horse in his hand to mount when his own was tired. Voltaire, *Hist. Charles XII.* liv. iii.

(3) *Id. ibid.*

(4) *Hist. du Nord*, tom. ii. Voltaire, *ubi sup.*

(5) Voltaire, *Hist. Charles XII.* liv. iii.

(6) *Ibid.*

Lewis XIV. thus disappointed in his hopes of engaging the king of Sweden in his cause, and broken in spirit by misfortunes, began seriously to think of putting an end to a war, which had brought accumulated disgrace upon his arms, and the deepest distress upon his subjects. Having privately made some ineffectual applications to the ministers of Holland, he resolved publicly to manifest his earnest desire of peace; and ordered, for that purpose, the elector of Bavaria to write letters to the duke of Marlborough and the field-deputies of the States, proposing a general congress. As a proof of his sincerity, he mentioned at once the sacrifices he was willing to make. He offered all the Spanish dominions in Italy to the archduke Charles; to the States, a barrier in the Netherlands; and to the duke of Savoy, a compensation for the waste made by the war in his territories. In return for such liberal concessions, he demanded, that the electorate of Bavaria should be restored to its native prince, and that Philip V. should be allowed to possess Spain and her American dominions;(1) or, in the lofty language of the proud Castilians, Spain and the Indies.(2)

The confederates, by concluding a peace on these terms, and others which they might have dictated, but especially the perpetual disunion of the crowns of France and Spain, would have obtained the chief objects of the Grand Alliance; yet was the offer, though surely a sufficient foundation for entering upon a negotiation, wantonly rejected, and Europe destined to remain, for many years longer, a scene of carnage, confusion, and distress, in order to gratify the passions of a few ambitious and selfish men. The duke of Marlborough was fond of the emoluments as well as the glory of war: prince Eugene, beside being under the influence of similar motives, was actuated by an implacable resentment against France; and the pensionary Heinsius, who led the councils of the States, yielded to his own interest, while he acted in subserviency to those two generals. These were the three great springs that now directed the Grand Alliance: and the motion communicated by their joint impulse, was accelerated by the torrent of victory. The views of the allies extended with their successes. Having humbled France, they aspired at the conquest of Spain. It was accordingly resolved, That no peace should be made with the house of Bourbon, while a prince of that house continued to sit upon the Spanish throne.(3)

Thus, my dear Philip, were the objects of this confederacy in a great measure changed; and, in order to form a true judgment of the whole, you

(1) Burnet, book vii.

(2) This mode of speaking seems to have been introduced, when the Spaniards were in possession of the Portuguese settlements in India, where all other Europeans were long considered as intruders; and when Spain asserted an exclusive right to the whole American continent, as well as to the contiguous islands, to which she gave the name of the *West Indies*. Hence too, by a still more ridiculous vanity, the Spanish monarchs still assume the title of "King of the East and West Indies."

(3) "I do not remember," says my lord Bolingbroke, "any parliamentary declaration for continuing the war till Philip V. should be dethroned, before the year 1708; and then such a declaration was judged necessary to second the resolution of our ministers and our allies, in departing from the principles of the Grand Alliance, and in proposing not only the reduction of the French, but the conquest of the Spanish monarchy, as the object of the war." (*Sketch of the Hist. and State of Europe*.) And, little faith as is placed in the historical testimony of Bolingbroke, he seems here to have truth on his side, notwithstanding what has been advanced to the contrary by Lord Walpole: who endeavours to prove, That although the king of England, and the States-General of the United Provinces, had acknowledged Philip V. to be lawful king of Spain, in virtue of the will of his predecessor Charles II. the primary object of the Grand Alliance was to deprive him of the throne of that Kingdom, and place upon it a prince of the house of Austria. (*Answer to the Latter Part of Lord Bolingbroke's Letters on the Study of History*.) That such was the aim of the Imperial family is very certain; but England and Holland, as I have already had occasion to shew, (Let. XX.) refused to engage for so much. In afterward going that length, they consequently altered, or enlarged their plan. What is farther necessary to be observed on this intricate subject, may be found in the reflections introductory to the negotiations at Utrecht (Letter XXIII.) Though a wellwisher to the cause of the confederates, I scorn to conceal their errors or inconsistencies. No stipulation was originally made, in any article of the Grand Alliance, that a prince of the house of Bourbon should not be allowed to sit on the throne of Spain, or not possess, together with that kingdom, the Spanish dominions in America. But on the accession of Savoy and Portugal to the Grand Alliance, the confederates began to extend their views; and in consequence of the successes of the war, from 1708 to 1706, was formed the resolution, which made these considerations necessary.

must consider very attentively the new plan, and compare it with the original plan of the Grand Alliance, relatively to the general interests of Europe, and the particular interest of your own country. You will then, I think, be of opinion, That the war was wise and just before this change, because necessary to maintain that equality among the powers of Europe on which their peace and common prosperity depend; but that it was unwise and unjust, after this change, because unnecessary to such end, and directed to other and contrary ends. After this change, it became a war of passion, of ambition, of avarice, and of private interest, to which the general interests of Europe were sacrificed so entirely, that if the terms insisted on by the confederates had been granted, such a new system of power would have been created, as must have exposed the balance of that power to deviations, not inferior to those which the war was originally intended to prevent. (1)

Whilst we reprobate this ambitious scheme, considered in a general view, we find particular occasion to lament the fate of Great Britain in the midst of triumphs that have been sounded so high. Victories that bring honour to the arms, may bring shame to the councils of a nation. To win a battle, to take a town, is the glory of a commander, and of an army. Of this glory we had a very large share. But the wisdom of a nation is to proportion the ends she proposes to her interest and her strength. Great Britain neither expected nor desired any thing beyond what she might have obtained, by adhering to the first principles of the Grand Alliance. But she was hurried into those of the new plan by the causes which I have already mentioned; by the prejudices and the rashness of party; by the influence which the successes of the arms of the confederates gave to our ministers, Godolphin and Marlborough; and by the popularity, if I may so speak, which they gave to the war itself. The people were unwilling to put an end to a contest that afforded so many occasions of public rejoicing, and so wide a range for national pride.

The English ministry, however, though thus lavish of the blood and treasure of the nation, in support of unnecessary foreign wars, were by no means negligent of its internal tranquillity and happiness. That union of England and Scotland, under one Legislature, which had, as we have seen, been often attempted in vain, was at last accomplished, after long and warm debates between the commissioners of the two kingdoms; and, in consequence of it, all disputes concerning the Scottish crown were fortunately prevented.

The principal Articles in that famous treaty are to the following purport:

"That the two Kingdoms of ENGLAND and SCOTLAND shall be united into one, by the name of GREAT BRITAIN:

"That the SUCCESSION to the United Kingdom shall remain to the Princess SOPHIA, Duchess Dowager of HANOVER, and the Heirs of her Body, being Protestants:—And that all Papists, and Persons marrying Papists, shall be excluded from, and for ever incapable to inherit the Crown of GREAT BRITAIN, or any part of the Dominions thereunto belonging;

"That the whole people of GREAT BRITAIN shall be represented by one Parliament, in which sixteen Peers, and forty-five Commons, chosen for SCOTLAND, shall sit and vote;

"That the Subjects of the United Kingdom shall enjoy an entire freedom and intercourse of Trade and Navigation, and reciprocal communication of all other Rights, Privileges, and Advantages, belonging to the Subjects of either Kingdom;

"That the Laws in regard to Public Right, Policy, and Civil Government, shall be the same throughout the whole United Kingdom; but that no alteration shall be made in the Laws respecting Private Rights, unless for the evident utility of the Subjects residing in Scotland;

(1) The emperor Joseph, who died a few years after, was then without male issue. And the union of the kingdoms of Spain and Hungary, with the German and Italian dominions of the house of Austria, in the person of the archduke Charles, supported by the wealth of the American mines, would have been no less dangerous to the liberties of Europe, independent of the weight of the Imperial crown, than the union of the French and Spanish monarchies under Philip V. or his descendants.

"That the *Rights and Privileges* of the ROYAL BOROUGHs in SCOTLAND shall not be affected by the UNION;

"That the COURT of SESSION, or COLLEGE of JUSTICE, with all the other *Courts of Judicature* in SCOTLAND, shall remain as constituted by the Laws of that Kingdom, and with the same *Authority and Privileges* as before the UNION; subject nevertheless to such *Regulations* as may be made by the *Parliament of GREAT BRITAIN*."

Beside these general and permanent Articles, it was particularly stipulated, That the sum of three hundred and ninety-eight thousand pounds, granted by the English parliament, should be paid to Scotland, as an equivalent for that *Augmentation* of the Customs and Excise, which was become necessary "for preserving an equality of Trade throughout the United kingdom," and which would be applicable toward the *Payment of the Public Debt of England*, contracted before the UNION; this sum to be applied, partly toward the *extinction of the National Debt of SCOTLAND*, partly toward the *indemnification of the Adventurers in the AFRICAN and INDIAN or DARIEN COMPANY*; and the residue, after the *Réimbursement* of such individuals as might suffer by the *Reduction* (or rather *Elevation*) of the Coin of SCOTLAND to the *Standard of ENGLAND*, in encouraging Fisheries and Manufactures in that Kingdom.(1)

Though this treaty, all circumstances considered, was neither dishonourable nor disadvantageous to Scotland, yet was it zealously opposed, not only by the adherents of the excluded family, whose particular interest it was to obstruct such a measure, but also by many independent members of the Scottish parliament, on principles of mere patriotism. Of those, the most firm and resolute was Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun; a man of a cultivated genius, of a warm temper, a lofty courage, a bold eloquence, and an incorruptible integrity. Finding all his efforts ineffectual, to prevent the passing of the Act of Union, and believing it impossible that a majority of his countrymen could ever have been brought to consent to the annihilation of their ancient monarchy without the influence of English gold, he resolved to quit the kingdom, that he might not share in their reproach, by condescending so far as to live among them. On the day of his departure, his friends crowded around him, intreating him to stay. Even after his foot was in the stirrup, they continued their solicitations, anxiously crying, "Will you forsake your country?" He reverted his head, and darting on them a look of indignation, keenly replied, "It is only fit for the slaves that sold it!" then leaped into the saddle, and put spurs to his horse;(2) leaving the whole company struck with a momentary humiliation, and (blind to the extravagance of his conduct) at a loss which most to admire, the pride of his virtue or the elevation of his spirit.

That some of the evils, foretold by the Scottish patriots at the Union, have since overtaken their countrymen, cannot be denied; particularly the accumulation of taxes, in consequence of the growth of the English national debt, which then amounted only to about twenty millions, and the multiplication of the herd of insolent revenue officers. Yet have the Scots, from that era, enjoyed more happiness, as a people, and risen to more wealth and consequence, as individuals, than they could possibly have attained in their united state.

Nor has England reason to complain of the Union. Instead of turbulent neighbours, she has gained, by communicating her privileges to the Scots, hardy soldiers to fight her battles, and industrious workmen in every branch of manufacture. She has secured for ever the undivided sovereignty of Great Britain, and the liberties of Englishmen, against the usurpations of foreign or domestic ambition, by making the conservation of that sovereignty, and those liberties, the common interest of all the brave and free subjects of the UNITED KINGDOM.

(1) See De Foe's *Hist. of the Union*, where the Articles are printed at large, with all the arguments for and against them.

(2) This anecdote the Author had from the late Patrick, lord Elibank.

LETTER XXII.

The General View of Europe continued, from the Refusal of the Offers of Peace made by France, in 1706, to the Conferences held at Gertruydenberg, in 1710.

LEWIS XIV. finding all his offers of peace rejected with disdain by the confederates, prepared himself to brave, once more, that storm which he could not dispel. In order to supply the want of money, he issued bills upon the mint, to a very large amount, in imitation of the exchequer bills circulated by the English government; but, by refusing to take those bills in payment of the taxes, he threw them into such discredit, that, after every expedient to raise their value had been tried, they remained at a discount of more than fifty per cent. He was therefore obliged, on the failure of this desperate resource, which augmented the distress of his people at the same time that it weakened their confidence in the crown, to continue the practice of burthensome loans, and to anticipate the royal revenue.(1)

But Lewis, notwithstanding these disadvantages, was enabled to make very considerable preparations, for opposing the efforts of his victorious enemies. He extended a line of militia along the coasts of the Channel, and the shores of the Mediterranean: he formed an army in Flanders, under the duke de Vendome; another was collected by mareschal Villars, in the neighbourhood of Strasburg; a body of men was ordered to assemble in Navarre, a second in Roussillon; and large reinforcements were sent to the army of the duke of Berwick in Spain.(2) These reinforcements were partly furnished in consequence of fresh, but not unexpected, disasters in Italy. The French troops, to the number of fifteen thousand, being obliged to evacuate Lombardy, by a capitulation signed in the beginning of March, were dispatched to the assistance of Philip V. Modena and Milan surrendered successively to the allies: the whole kingdom of Naples was reduced; and the few places in the dominions of the duke of Savoy, that were still held by French or Spanish garrisons, fell one by one before the close of the campaign.(3)

The fortune of the war was very different in Spain. There the allies, more through their own misconduct than the strength of the enemy, received a dreadful overthrow. Charles III. pretending that Catalonia was in danger, separated himself, with a large detachment, from the principal army, commanded by the earl of Galway and the marquis de las Minas; who, having exhausted all their provisions in Valencia, attempted to penetrate into New Castile. With this view, they passed the river Xucar, and marched toward Almanza. The duke of Berwick, who was just arrived at that place, hesitated not a moment to give them battle. Ignorant of the succours he had received, the confederates eagerly advanced to the charge, flushed with former victories, and animated with hopes of new success. The action soon became general, and the field was obstinately disputed. The English and Dutch infantry penetrated through the centre of the enemy, and proceeded as far as the walls of Almanza. Meantime the French and Spanish cavalry, on the right wing, twice broke the horse of the allies, and were as often repulsed by their foot, under cover of which the horse rallied. In order to overcome this difficulty, the duke of Berwick ordered a body of infantry to advance to the assistance of his cavalry on the right. A vigorous charge was given, by both horse and foot at the same time. The left wing of the allies was totally routed: and their right, which had hitherto maintained its ground, being flanked by the right of the enemy, was broken and dispersed;

(1) Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. xxviii. *Finances*.

(2) Contin. *Hist. de France*, par P. Daniel. Berwick's *Mém.* vol. i.

(3) Id. *ibid.* Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. xx.

while their gallant infantry in the centre, where they had carried every thing before them, in attempting to retreat, on seeing the defeat of their two wings, were surrounded by the enemy's cavalry, and almost all cut to pieces.(1)

No victory was ever more complete than that gained by the duke of Berwick at Almanza. Five thousand of the confederates were slain, and near ten thousand made prisoners. Among the latter were six major-generals, as many brigadiers, twenty colonels, and a proportional number of inferior officers, said to amount to eight hundred. All the artillery of the vanquished, most of their baggage, with one hundred and twenty colours and standards, fell into the hands of the victors.(2) Las Minas, who was run through the arm, and who had seen his mistress, fighting in the habit of an Amazon, killed by his side, escaped to Xativa; and the earl of Galway, who had received two cuts in the face, stopt not his flight till he arrived at Tortosa, near the mouth of the Ebro.(3)

The duke of Orleans, who assumed the command of the French army the day after the battle of Almanza, did not neglect the opportunity which fortune and the abilities of the Duke of Berwick had procured him, of retrieving the affairs of his family in Spain. He reduced the city, and recovered the whole kingdom of Valencia: he directed his march into Arragon, and reduced Saragossa and Lerida under the dominion of Philip V. before the close of the campaign; while Charles III. either loitered in Catalonia, or made unimportant excursions toward the frontiers of Roussillon.(4)

The affairs of the confederates did not wear a more favourable aspect in Germany. The continuance of the rebellion in Hungary, combined with the habitual inactivity of the court of Vienna, and the sluggishness of the German princes, had almost exposed the empire to calamities as great as those from which it was relieved by the battle of Blenheim. The margrave of Bareith, who had succeeded to the command of the Imperialists on the death of the prince of Baden, was in no condition, in the early part of the campaign, to oppose the French, under mareschal Villars; who, having passed the Rhine at Strasburg, forced the lines of the Germans at Stolhoffen, laid the duchy of Wurtemberg under contribution, entered Suabia, and penetrated to the Danube.(5)

But the superiority of the French, in the heart of Germany, was not the only danger which the empire had now to fear. Charles XII. who had remained in Saxony during the winter, found some plausible pretences for quarrelling with the court of Vienna; and although all reasonable satisfaction was given him, on the subject of his complaints, he continued to urge them with an obstinacy suitable to his character. From complaints he proceeded to demands; requiring that the Protestants in Silesia should be indulged with the free exercise of their religion, according to the treaty of Westphalia; that his Imperial Majesty should relinquish all pretensions to the quota which the king of Sweden was bound to furnish, by the tenure on which he possessed his German dominions; and that the whole Swedish army, in its return through Silesia into Poland, should be maintained at the charge of the court of Vienna.(6)

The queen of England, though sensible the emperor was not in a situation to refuse those imperious demands, was afraid that the pride of Joseph might

(1) Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. i. Burnet, book vii.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) *Hist. Gen. d'Espagne. Mod. Univ. Hist.* vol. vii. fol. edit.

(4) Duke of Berwick, *ubi sup.* "I must not here omit," says this intelligent observer of mankind, "a singular circumstance. The count de la Puebla, who commanded in Saragossa, made the inhabitants believe, that the reports raised concerning a new army coming from Navarre were false, and even that the camp, which appeared, was nothing more than a phantom formed by magic art. In this persuasion, the clergy went in procession upon the ramparts; and from that eminent situation, after a number of prayers, exorcised the pretended spectres that were in sight!—It is not a little surprising," adds he, "that the people could be so credulous as to adopt such an idea. But they were soon undeceived by the hussars of the army of the duke of Orleans; who having briskly pursued to the gates of the city, a party of the count de la Puebla's cavalry, cut off some of their heads!" *Mem.* vol. i.

(5) Barre, *Hist. d'Allemagne*, tom. x. Burnet, book vii.

(6) *Comptin. Puffend.* lib. vii.

overcome his attention to the interests of the allies. (1) She, therefore, ordered the duke of Marlborough, who was no less a statesman and a courtier than a general, to repair to Saxony, and attempt to soothe the king of Sweden. When the duke arrived in the Swedish camp, at Alt-Ranstadt, where he was received with the respect due to his character, he paid Charles many handsome compliments, to which no answer was returned, but which had notwithstanding perhaps the desired effect. He went even so far as to tell the northern conqueror, that he should esteem it a peculiar happiness, could he have an opportunity of learning, under so great a commander, those parts of the military science which he did not yet understand. And having acquired, by a long course of experience, the art of diving into the characters of men and of reading their most secret thoughts in their looks and gestures, he soon discovered the inclinations and views of the king of Sweden. In the pleasure with which he talked of the victories of the allies, Marlborough perceived his aversion against France; while the kindling of his eye at the name of the czar, and a map of Russia lying upon his table, made this profound politician intimately acquainted with the future designs of Charles. He therefore took leave, without making him any proposals; sensible that his disputes with the emperor could be easily accommodated, as all his demands would be granted. (2) England and Holland accordingly guaranteed the promises of the court of Vienna; and the czar having entered Poland, the king of Sweden repassed the Oder, in quest of new victories, and in hopes of soon returning to hold the balance of Europe.

In Flanders, no event of any importance happened during this campaign, nor any thing memorable at sea. The duke de Vendome prudently avoided an action, and made his movements with so much judgment, that Marlborough found no opportunity of attacking him to advantage. (3) The naval operations were chiefly confined to the siege of Toulon.

The reduction of the Spanish dominions in Italy, and the capitulation signed at the beginning of the campaign, in consequence of which the French army abandoned Lombardy, having left prince Eugene and the duke of Savoy perfectly disengaged, a plan was formed by them, in conjunction with the maritime powers, for invading France from that quarter, and of reducing Toulon or Marseilles; an enterprise which, if attended with success, it was hoped would put a final close to the war. The prince and the duke, after having for some time amused the enemy, by a feint upon Dauphiny, in order to conceal their real design, accordingly turned off toward the shore of the Mediterranean; forced the passage of the river Var; proceeded along the coast of Provence; and arrived, by a long and difficult march, before Toulon; while Sir Cloudesly Shovel, with a formidable fleet, attended their motions, supplied the army with necessaries, and blocked up the town by sea. (4)

Unfortunately for the allies, only two hours before prince Eugene appeared with the van of the Imperialists, the French had found means to throw eight thousand men into Toulon. They had taken possession of all the eminences that commanded the city; and the confederates, in attempting to gain these, were either repulsed with great slaughter, or obliged to acquire and maintain them, at a still greater expense of blood. Discouraged by circumstances so adverse, by the bad condition of their army, the want of concert in their operations, and apprehensive of being surrounded by a superior force, as the French were in motion on every side, the duke of Savoy and prince Eugene judged it prudent to abandon their enterprise, though sensible that

(1) The emperor, it appears, was by no means so haughty as the queen imagined; for, when the pope complained of his restoring the churches to the Protestants, he facetiously replied, "Had the king of Sweden proposed that I should become a Lutheran myself, I know not what might have been the consequence." *Mém. de Brandebourg*, tom. i.

(2) "These particulars," says Voltaire, "I had from the duchess of Marlborough." *Hist. C. A. XII.* liv. iii.

(3) *Barnet*, book vii.

(4) *Ibid.* Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. xx.

the hopes and fears of all Europe hung suspended on its issue.(1) But this expedition, though finally unsuccessful, was extremely detrimental to France. The confederates, in their passage and return through Provence, ruined a vast extent of country. And the detachments drawn from the army of mareschal Villars, in order to succour Toulon, obliged him to relinquish all his high projects in Germany, and to repossess the Rhine, instead of advancing beyond the Danube.(2)

The failure of the attempt upon Toulon, however, the inactive campaign in Flanders, and the misfortunes of the confederates in Spain, furnished the enemies of the duke of Marlborough and of the lord treasurer Godolphin with plausible pretences for discrediting their measures: and intrigues were formed for overturning their administration. These intrigues were chiefly conducted by Mr. Secretary Harley, who had acquired a very considerable share of the queen's confidence, by flattering her political prejudices; and who, in order to strengthen his own interest, had secured the support of Mrs. Masham, a new female favourite, who had partly supplanted the duchess of Marlborough in the affections of the queen;(3) or rather in that ascendant, though she did not usurp the same absolute dominion, which the duchess had established over the mind of her timid mistress.

Apprized of the scheme that was formed for their ruin, Marlborough and Godolphin complained of Harley's intrigues to the queen; and not meeting with a satisfactory answer, they both threatened to resign their places, and absented themselves from the cabinet council. The council was struck with consternation. Even the secretary shrunk from the load that was ready to fall on his shoulders. And the queen, from fear, not regard, recalled her ministers, and dismissed Harley, whose fortune his friend St. John, secretary at war, and others chose to follow, by resigning their places; yet not without hopes of having it one day in their power to govern the councils of their sovereign, by fostering her affection for the excluded branch of her family, and increasing her secret aversion against the succession of the house of Hanover.(4)

This division in the English cabinet, and the discontents in Scotland, occasioned by the Union, encouraged Lewis XIV. to make an attempt in favour of the pretended prince of Wales, whom he had acknowledged by the title of James III. not doubting but he should be able, at least, to create such distractions in Great Britain as would weaken the efforts of the allies in Flanders. To that attempt Lewis was farther incited by the eager solicitations of the Scottish Jacobites, who offered to raise and equip thirty thousand men, at their own expense, and to furnish them with provisions until they could march into England.(5)

In consequence of these magnificent promises, the Pretender, under the name of the Chevalier de St. George, sailed from Duhkirk on board a French fleet, commanded by M. de Fourbin, with between five and six thousand land forces, ten thousand muskets, and a supply of other implements of war. Their purpose was to enter the Frith of Forth, and land in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh. But, through the ignorance or inattention of their pilots, they overshot their destination; and before they could recover their mistake, Sir George Byng, with a superior English fleet, had taken possession of the Frith.(6) Seeing now no prospect of success, and afraid of the capture of his whole squadron, the French admiral returned to Dunkirk, with the loss of only one ship, but to the utter confusion of the hopes of the Pretender and his adherents, both in France and Great Britain.(7)

(1) Burnet, book vii. Voltaire, ubi sup.

(2) Burnet, book vii. Voltaire.

(3) Burnet, book vii.

(4) Ibid. See also *ibid.*

(5) Hook's *History*.

(6) Burnet, book vii. Duke of Berwick's *Memoirs*, vol. i.

(7) It is truly amusing to observe the extravagance of the Jacobite writers in speaking of this intended invasion. They confidently affirm, that if the Pretender could have landed in Scotland, with only the appearance of an army, he would soon have been enabled to march into England, in spite of all opposition; and by the junction of his

The English ministry, in concert with the parliament, took the most vigorous measures for repelling the intended invasion, as well as for continuing the war. And no sooner had all apprehensions of danger ceased, than the duke of Marlborough, the great pillar of the nation, and the chief support of the Grand Alliance, went over to Flanders, in order to command the confederate army, in conjunction with prince Eugene, who, in the beginning of the campaign, had headed a separate army upon the Rhine. The French army, commanded by the duke de Vendome in the name of the duke of Burgundy, though more numerous than that of the confederates, studiously avoided an action, or any hostile attempt; until by treachery, under the appearance of surprise, they got possession of Ghent and Bruges. The duke of Marlborough, accused of being privy to this treachery, demonstrated by his conduct the injustice of the aspersion. Though not yet joined by prince Eugene's army, but assisted by the advice of that consummate general, he passed the Scheldt, by a forced march, and came up with the enemy near Oudenarde. They could no longer decline a battle; and their situation and superiority in numbers seemed to insure them success.

The Scheldt, and several inclosures, covered the left wing of the French army. A morass lay along the hostile front; and on a rising ground, on their right, the enemy placed their cavalry, interlined with parties of foot. The infantry of the allies, advancing across the morass, were received with great firmness by the French foot. But the British cavalry broke the French horse at the first shock, and the foot intermixed with the squadrons were cut in pieces on the spot. Meantime the French infantry behind the morass had stood their ground against all the efforts of the confederates. In order, however, to avoid being flanked by the British cavalry, now triumphant, they sheltered themselves in the inclosures on the banks of the Scheldt; and, although the approach of darkness prevented the defeat from becoming general, the fears and misconduct of the enemy yielded to the allies all the advantages of a complete victory. So great was their panic and confusion, that while the confederates expected nothing but a renewal of the action the next morning, the vanquished retreated by five different routes in the night: and that disgraceful and disorderly flight, by breaking the spirit of the soldiers, rendered all the operations of the French timid, during the rest of the campaign.⁽¹⁾ Though they preserved their cannon and baggage, they lost by this defeat about twenty thousand men: they had five thousand killed, nine thousand taken prisoners, and near six thousand deserted.⁽²⁾

Immediately after the battle of Oudenarde, the French were reinforced by a strong detachment; under the duke of Berwick, from the Rhine; and the confederates were joined by prince Eugene's army, which escorted a grand convoy. This convoy the duke of Berwick, whose troops arrived first, proposed to attack; but that proposal, as well as every other which he made during the campaign, was rejected by the duke de Vendome, either from jealousy or timidity.⁽³⁾ In consequence of the safe arrival of the convoy, and

English and Scottish adherents, to have given law to a princess who was giving law to Europe! Nay, they do not scruple to declare that the queen's affection for her brother was so great, that, on his approach with a respectable force, she would readily have consented to the breaking of the Union, and to his immediate accession to the Scottish crown, that she might have a more certain prospect of transmitting to him the crown of England; not reflecting that his natural right to both crowns was preferable to hers, and therefore that any attempt to claim either, in her life-time, must have excited the highest jealousy. The same writers, in the madness of rage at their cruel disappointment, even assert that Lewis XIV. gave Fourbin positive orders not to land the troops which he had ordered him to embark; though by their embarkation, which he was under no necessity of ordering, and the voyage to Scotland, in consequence of it, he hazarded the loss of a very considerable armament! (See Macpherson's *Hist. of Great Britain*, vol. ii. where the reveries of all the Jacobite writers may be found.) These are shocking absurdities: but it is the unhappiness of party-writers in general, and particularly of the abettors of the rights of the unfortunate family of Stuart, to pay little regard to truth, to reason, or probability, in the vehement prosecution of their arguments; to the proofs founded on facts, or those arising from circumstances.

(1) Conquierez. Buruet. Voltaire.

(2) Buruet, book vii. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. i.

(3) Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. i. As none of these proposals were embraced, it is

the troops that guarded it, the siege of Lisle, the principal city in French Flanders, and the second in the dominions of Lewis XIV. the key of the kingdom, fortified with all the art of Vauban, was undertaken by prince Eugene; while Marlborough lay encamped in the neighbourhood, in order to prevent the enemy from interrupting the operations, and to forward the necessary supplies to the besiegers.(1)

No town was ever, perhaps, more vigorously attacked or defended than Lisle; into which the mareschal de Boufflers, an old experienced officer, had thrown himself, with some of the best troops of France. The garrison consisted of about twelve thousand men, the besiegers, of at least thirty thousand. None of the works were carried without an obstinate struggle; and scarce were the assailants masters of one place, when they were driven from another, and in danger of losing all their former advantages, gained at a prodigious expense of blood and valour. Yet still they persevered, and by perseverance advanced their progress. Meanwhile Vendome endeavoured to distress them by cutting off their convoys. But in that service he most unaccountably failed, as well as in all his attempts to relieve the place; so that Boufflers, after a gallant defence of two months, was obliged to surrender Lisle. He retired into the citadel, which was also forced to capitulate; and Ghent and Burges were recovered before the close of the campaign.(2)

No event of any importance happened in Germany during the summer. The electors of Hanover, and Bavaria, who were opposed to each other on the Upper Rhine, not being in a condition to act with effect in the field, employed themselves chiefly in fortifying their lines; a precaution suggested by a mutual consciousness of their weakness.(3) On the side of Italy, where much was expected, some advantages were gained by the allies, but nothing signal was performed. The duke of Savoy, who, beside his native troops, had in his army twenty thousand men in the pay of Great Britain and the States, had formed great and extensive projects. He designed to pass through the territories of the Swiss, to join the troops of the empire in Alsace, and to penetrate into France on that side. But he was so vigorously opposed by mareschal Villars, that he was happy in having opened a passage into the enemy's country, and secured his own dominions against the future invasions of the French on the most exposed side, by making himself master of Exilles, La Perouse, and Fenestrelles.(4)

The confederates were yet less successful in Spain. There the house of Bourbon had two armies in the field, on the side of Catalonia; one under the duke of Orleans, another led by the duke de Noailles: and a third army in Estramadura, commanded by the marquis de Bay. Though Charles III. had not a sufficient force to enable him to face the duke of Orleans in the field, the latter was prevented, by the unprovided condition of his army, from making such progress as might have been feared. He took, however, Tortosa in the month of July; and Dania and Alicant, in the province of Valencia, fell into the hands of the French before the close of the campaign. The duke de Noailles, opposed by the prince of Darmstadt, performed nothing of importance, except providing his troops with provisions at the ex-

impossible to say, what success might have attended them; but military men, in general, seem to be of opinion; that most of the measures suggested were highly worthy of being adopted.

(1) Burnet, book vii. Duke of Berwick, vol. i.

(2) *Id. ibid.* The duke of Berwick particularly investigates the causes of the capture of Lisle. And it appears, if his advice had been followed, that the convoys of the confederates would have been effectually cut off, and perhaps prince Eugene, and even the duke of Marlborough, defeated, by the assistance of troops that might have been drawn out of the neighbouring garrisons, without their knowledge, to reinforce an already strong army, by which they were surrounded; and which could, with such reinforcement, have amused the one, while it gave battle to the other. It also appears, on the same authority, that Marlborough, on one occasion, would have totally defeated Vendome, if he had not been prevented from hazarding a battle by the field-deputies of the States. See the *Duke of Berwick's Mem.* vol. i. and the *Letters* at the end of the volume, which contain many curious particulars in the military line, and fully illustrate the principal events of the campaign in Flanders in 1708.

(3) Barre, *Hist. d'Allemagne*, tom. x. Burnet, book vii.

(4) Burnet, *ubi sup.* *State of Europe*, 1708.

peace of the Catalans; and the season of action, on the side of Portugal, was passed in a state of absolute inactivity.(1)

The operations by sea were attended with very considerable success, on the part of the confederates. Sir John Leake, having carried to Catalonia the princess of Wolfenbüttele whom Charles III. had espoused, took on board some troops, and directed his course to Cagliari, the capital of Sardinia. No sooner did the English fleet appear than the monks, gained by cardinal Grimani, who was in the interest of the house of Austria, ran in bodies to the streets and public places, holding the crucifix in their hands, and assured the inhabitants, who flocked around them, That God had made use of heretics to give them a better master. This made such an impression on the populace, that the viceroy was forced to accept of such terms as the invaders chose to grant; and the whole island submitted without drawing a sword.(2) The same admiral, assisted by major-general Stanhope, also took the island of Minorca;(3) a conquest, in itself less valuable than Sardinia, but of more importance to England when at war with Spain, on account of the excellent harbour of Mahon, and the strong castle of St. Philip, by which it is defended.

The reduction of those islands, which, in conjunction with the fortress of Gibraltar, gave the maritime powers the absolute command of the Mediterranean; induced the Italian states to submit to certain antiquated claims of the emperor Joseph, that they would otherwise have rejected with disdain. Even the pope, who had hitherto adhered to the interests of Philip V. and who had raised an army for the defence of the ecclesiastical state, no sooner heard of the surrender of Bologna to the Imperialists, and that an English fleet was ready to bombard Civita Vecchia, than he promised to acknowledge Charles III. as lawful king of Spain, in order to prevent Rome itself from being again sacked by the barbarians of the North;(4) for as such the Italians still considered the English and Germans.

The death of the prince of Denmark, the queen of England's husband, which happened during these transactions abroad, made no alteration in the state of English politics, on which his feeble genius, and unimportant character, had never had any influence. The great success of the campaign confirmed the ascendant that Marlborough and Godolphin had acquired, in consequence of the expulsion of Harley from the cabinet: and they found means to reconcile the dissatisfied Whigs to their measures, by dividing with the leaders of that party the power and emoluments of government. The earl of Pembroke was appointed to the place of lord high admiral, vacant by the decease of the prince of Denmark; lord Somers, who had been out of office ever since deprived of the Great Seal by king William, was made president of the council; and the earl of Wharton, a man of vast abilities, but void of any steady principle, was declared lord-lieutenant of Ireland.(5) These judicious promotions contributed to preserve that unanimity, which had hitherto appeared in parliament, and which produced the most liberal supplies for continuing the war. Seven millions were voted for the service of the ensuing campaign, and ten thousand men were added to the establishment of the preceding year.(6) The Dutch also agreed to an augmentation of their troops.

While the confederates were taking such vigorous measures for the prosecution of hostilities, serious proposals were made by the French monarch for restoring tranquillity to Europe. A variety of circumstances, the defeat

(1) *Hist. d'Espagne*, tom. ii. *Mém. de Nouilles*, tom. ii. But the generals, who commanded there, and whose conduct in the field was so little worthy of praise, gained great credit by a wise and humane convention, that can never be enough admired. They agreed, that the peasants, on the frontiers of Spain and Portugal, should not be disturbed, by the troops of either party, in cultivating the soil, or in feeding their cattle; and that the war should, for the future, be considered as subsisting only between regular armies, or men in military service, and not between the private inhabitants of the two kingdoms. *Id. ibid.*

(2) *Hist. d'Espagne*, tom. ii. *State of Europe*, 1708.

(3) *Id. ibid.*

(4) Burnet, book vii. *State of Europe*, 1708.

(5) *Id. ibid.*

(6) *Journals*, Nov. 1708.

at Oudenarde, the taking of Lille, a famine in France; the consequent failure of resources; the discontents of the people; and a want of harmony among the servants of the crown, induced Lewis XIV. to offer terms of peace, at once adequate to the success of his enemies, and suitable to the melancholy situation of his own affairs. He agreed to yield the whole Spanish monarchy to the house of Austria, without any equivalent; to cede to the emperor his conquests on the Upper Rhine; to give Furnes, Ypres, Menin, Tournay, Lille, Condé, and Maubeuge, as a barrier to Holland; to acknowledge the elector of Brandenburg as king of Prussia; the duke of Hanover, as ninth elector of the empire; to own the right of queen Anne to the British throne; to remove the Pretender from the dominions of France; to acknowledge the succession to the crown of Great Britain in the Protestant line; to restore every thing required to the duke of Savoy: and to agree to the cessions made to the king of Portugal, by his treaty with the confederates.(1)

But these terms, so honourable as well as advantageous to the allies, and humiliating to the house of Bourbon, were rejected by the plenipotentiaries of the confederates, the duke of Marlborough, prince Eugene, and the pensionary Heinsius, from the same motives that had led them to reject the proposals made by France in 1706; their personal interests, their prejudices, and their passions. Lewis was not permitted to form the most distant hopes of peace, without surrendering the strongest towns in his dominions, as pledges for the entire evacuation of the Spanish monarchy by his grandson. The marquis de Torcy, who was employed in the negotiation, went beyond his powers in making concessions; but all in vain: in proportion as he yielded, the plenipotentiaries of the confederates rose in their demands. Conference followed conference without effect. At last the pensionary Heinsius framed forty preliminaries, as the ultimatum of the allies; and although every one of these articles, beside being hard in itself, was expressed in the most dictatorial language, France agreed to thirty-five of them. The other five were rejected with disdain by Lewis, notwithstanding the distressed state of his kingdom, and the evils which he apprehended from the continuance of the war.(2) He threw himself upon his people, explained his own simple concessions, and the haughty terms proposed by the allies. The pride of the French nation was roused. They resolved to make new efforts in support of their humbled monarch; and the very famine, which occasioned so much misery, proved of advantage to the state in this necessity, as many young men who wanted bread became soldiers.(3)

As soon as the conferences for the re-establishment of peace were broken off, the army of the allies, amounting to above an hundred thousand men, commanded by prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough, was formed on the plains of Lille. Mareschal Villars, who had been called to the command of the French forces in Flanders, as the last support of his sinking country, occupied a strong post between Courriere and the town of Bethune. Those places covered his two wings, and he was defended in front by the villages of la Bassée and Pont Avenin. By this position of his army, he covered the cities of Douay and Arras, the reduction of which would have opened a passage for the allies into the heart of France. After advancing within two leagues of his camp, and viewing his situation, the generals of the confederates, not judging it prudent to attack him; suddenly drew off their troops, and sat down before Tournay, one of the strongest and most ancient cities in Flanders. The citadel, constructed with all the skill of Vauban, was yet stronger than the town. But with so much vigour and address were both attacked, that the place itself was taken in twenty-one days; and the citadel, into which the governor had retired with the remains of his garrison, was forced to surrender at the end of a month.(4)

The confederates no sooner found themselves masters of Tournay, which

(1) Printed Preliminaries.

(2) *M. de Torcy*, tom. i.

(3) *Voltaire*, *Siècle*, chap. xx.

(4) *Kane's Campaigns*. *Life of Marlborough*.

they had been permitted to reduce without any annoyance from the enemy, than they formed the design of besieging Mons. They accordingly pursued the necessary steps for that purpose; while Villars, having embraced the bold resolution of protecting or relieving the place, passed the Scarpe, and encamped between that river and the Scheldt. Disappointed in his hopes of arriving at Mons before the main army of the allies, under prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough, the French general took possession of a strong camp about a league distant from the invested city, determined to give all possible disturbance to the operations of the besiegers. His right extended to the village of Malplaquet, which lay behind the extensive and impenetrable wood of Saart: his left was covered by another thick wood; and his centre was defended by three lines of trenches, drawn along a narrow plain; the whole being secured by a fortification of trees, which had been cut down and carried from the neighbouring woods, surrounded with all their branches. (1)

The generals of the confederates, elated with past success, or persuaded that Mons could not be taken without dislodging the enemy, resolved to attack Villars in that strong position, although his army was little inferior to theirs, each amounting to near one hundred and twenty thousand combatants. In consequence of this resolution, they advanced to the charge early in the morning, both armies having prepared themselves for action during the preceding night. The British troops were opposed to the left, the Dutch to the right, and the Germans to the centre of the French army. Mareschal Villars placed himself at the head of his left wing, and committed the charge of his right to Boufflers; who, though a senior officer, condescended to act under him, that he might have an opportunity of saving his country. After an awful pause of almost two hours, the engagement was begun; and the firing, in a moment, extended from wing to wing. Few battles, in any age, have been so fierce and bloody, and none had been so long contested, since the improvement of the art of war in consequence of the invention of gunpowder.

The British troops, led by the duke of Argyle, having passed a morass, deemed impracticable, attacked with such fury the left of the enemy, stationed in the wood, that they were obliged to retire into the plain behind it; where they again formed, and renewed their efforts. Meanwhile the Dutch, under count Tilly and the prince of Orange, were engaged with the right of the French army: and advancing in three lines to the entrenchments, gave and received a terrible fire for the space of an hour. Some French battalions being thrown into disorder, were rallied and confirmed in their station, by the vigilance and courage of mareschal Boufflers; and the Dutch also yielding, in their turn, were brought back to the charge by the activity and perseverance of the prince of Orange. Enraged at this unexpected obstinacy of the French in both wings, and perceiving that Villars had weakened his centre in order to support his left, prince Eugene determined to attack, in person, the entrenchments in front. He accordingly led on a body of fresh troops; entered the enemy's line, flanked a regiment of French guards, and obliged them to fly. Mareschal Villars, in hastening to support his centre, was wounded, and carried off the field. But Boufflers, notwithstanding this misfortune, continued obstinately to maintain the fight; and when he found he could no longer sustain the united efforts of prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough, who shewed that they were determined to conquer or perish, he made an excellent retreat. (2)

The confederates, after all their exertions, gained little beside the field of battle; and that they purchased with the lives of twenty thousand men. The French did not lose above half the number. But so imposing is the name of victory, that the allies were suffered to invest Mons, and to carry on their operations without the smallest disturbance. The surrender of that important place put an end to the business of the campaign in Flanders. (3)

(1) *Mém. de Fouquieres. Kane's Campaigns.*

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) Duke of Berwick's *Mém.* vol. ii. Voltaire, *Sicéle*, chap. xi. *State of Europe*, 1709.

The confederates were less successful in other quarters. The elector of Brunswick, who commanded the army of the empire on the Upper Rhine, formed some important schemes, but found the Imperial troops in no condition to second his views; and count de Merd, whom he had detached with a considerable body of forces into Upper Alsace, was defeated by the count de Bourg, and forced to repass the Rhine.⁽¹⁾ Certain disputes between the emperor and the duke of Savoy, relating to some territories in the duchy of Milan, rendered the campaign altogether inactive on the side of Dauphiny.⁽²⁾ In Spain, the chevalier d'Asfeld took the castle of Alicant, which was gallantly defended by two English regiments; and the English and Portuguese army, under the earl of Galway, was routed by the marquis de Bay, in the province of Estramadura. On the other hand, count Staremburg, who commanded the forces of Charles III. in Catalonia, having endeavoured in vain to bring the mareschal de Bezons to an engagement, took Balaguer in his presence, and closed the campaign with that successful enterprise.⁽³⁾ Nothing memorable happened at sea.

Though the misfortunes of France, during this campaign, were by no means so depressing as she had reason to apprehend, Lewis XIV. renewed his applications for peace, as soon as the season of action was over; and conferences were appointed at Gertruydenberg, early in the spring, in order to adjust the terms. But it will be proper, before we enter into the particulars of that negotiation, to carry forward the story of Charles XII. and his antagonist Peter the Great.

The king of Sweden, after having acted in the imperious manner already related, quitted Saxony, in September 1707, and returned, at the head of forty-three thousand men, to Poland; where the czar had attempted, though ineffectually, to retrieve the affairs of Augustus, during the absence of Charles. Peter, who was still in Lithuania, retired on the approach of the conquering Swede, and directed his march toward the Boristhenes, or Nieper. But Charles was determined that he should not escape, without hazarding a battle before he reached his own dominions. Having entered Grodno on the same day that the czar left it, he therefore endeavoured, by forced marches, at that severe season in a northern climate, through a country covered with morasses, deserts, and immense forests, to come up with the enemy. Peter, however, safely passed the Boristhenes, notwithstanding this romantic pursuit; Charles having only the satisfaction of defeating, after an obstinate engagement, an army of thirty thousand Russians strongly intrenched, in order to obstruct his progress, and which partly effected its purpose.⁽⁴⁾

But the czar, though now in his own dominions, was not without apprehensions, in regard to the issue of the contest in which he was engaged; he, therefore, sent serious proposals of peace to Charles. "I will treat at Moscow!"—said the Swedish monarch. "My brother Charles," replied Peter, when informed of this haughty answer, "always affects to play the Alexander; but he will not, I hope, find in me a Darius."⁽⁵⁾ This anecdote strongly marks the characters of these two extraordinary men. Charles, as brave and confident as Alexander, but utterly void of foresight, attempted, without concerting any regular plan of operations, to march to Moscow; and the czar took care to prevent him from reaching it, in the direct line, by destroying the roads and desolating the country.

Thus thwarted in his favourite project of marching directly to the ancient capital of Russia, and with his army much diminished by famine, fatigue, and partial engagements, the king of Sweden was induced to attempt a passage thither through the Ukraine, on the invitation of Mazeppa, chief of the Cossacks; who had taken a disgust at the czar, and premised not only to supply the Swedes with provisions on their march, but to furnish them with

(1) Burnet, book vii.

(2) Ibid.

(3) *Mém. de Noailles*, tom. iii. *State of Europe*, 1709.

(4) Contin. Puffend., lib. vii. Voltaire, *Hist. Ch.* XII. lib. iv.

(5) Voltaire, ubi sup.

a reinforcement of thirty thousand men. These were to join the Swedish monarch on the banks of the Duna; where he expected also to be joined by general Lewenhaupt, whom he had ordered to march from Livonia, with a reinforcement of fifteen thousand Swedes, and a large supply of ammunition and provisions. Not once suspecting but every thing would correspond to his wish, the northern conqueror entered the Ukraine in the month of September, and advanced to the place of rendezvous, in spite of every obstacle, which nature or the enemy could throw in his way.

But fortune, at length tired of seconding the wild and inconsiderate enterprises of the fool-hardy Charles, was now resolved to punish him severely for his contempt of her former favours. When he reached the Duna, he found nothing but frightful deserts, instead of magazines; and, instead of reinforcements, he saw a body of Russians on the opposite bank, ready to dispute his passage. Though his army was exhausted with hunger and fatigue, though ignorant of the fate of Lewenhaupt, and uncertain of the fidelity of Mazeppa, he determined to cross the river in the face of the enemy, and effected his purpose with little loss. Advancing still farther into that desolate country, he was at last joined by Mazeppa, who appeared rather as a fugitive prince, come to take refuge in his camp, than a powerful ally, from whom he expected succours. In place of thirty, he was only accompanied by about three thousand men. The czar having received information of his intrigues, had ordered his principal friends to be apprehended, and broken upon the wheel. His towns were reduced to ashes, his treasures seized, and his troops dispersed.⁽¹⁾

This disappointment was esteemed but a slight misfortune by the king of Sweden, who confidently expected the safe arrival of Lewenhaupt and his convoy. Lewenhaupt arrived, but in a condition no less deplorable than that of Mazeppa. After three successive engagements with the Russians, in which he distinguished himself equally by his courage and conduct, he had been obliged to set fire to his waggons, in order to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy, and was happy to escape with four thousand men; the wretched remnant of his gallant army, exhausted with fatigue, and ready to perish of hunger. Charles, who was now in no condition to relieve their necessities, was earnestly pressed by his minister, count Piper, to pass at least the depth of winter in a small town of the Ukraine, named Romana, and depend on the friendship of Mazeppa and the Cossacks for provisions; or to repass, without delay, the Duna and the Boristhenes, and return to Poland, where his presence was much wanted, and where his army might be conveniently put into winter quarters. He rejected both these proposals; and notwithstanding the rigour of the season; and although his army was in a great measure destitute of shoes and even of clothing, he determined to proceed. In this mad march, he had the mortification to see two thousand of his troops perish of hunger and cold. Yet he still pressed forward; and, after a variety of obstructions and delays, occasioned by the hovering parties of the enemy, and the most intense frost ever known in those northern regions, he arrived in the neighbourhood of Pultowa, a small Russian town, situated on the river Woraklaw, at the eastern extremity of the Ukraine.⁽²⁾

But of whatever extravagance Charles may be accused, in marching thus far, through a rugged and impracticable country, in a remarkably severe season, he cannot be blamed for endeavouring to make himself master of Pultowa. It was one of the magazines of the Czar, and well stored with provisions and other necessaries, of which the king of Sweden was in great want. But, beside being naturally strong, it was defended by a garrison of nine thousand men; and Peter lay at no great distance, with an army of seventy thousand, ready to attempt its relief. These unfavourable circumstances might have staggered the resolution of a Caesar or a Marlborough; but to Charles, whose desire of encountering danger was even stronger than his passion for conquest, they were only so many incentives to undertake the

(1) *Hist. Russ.* chap. xvii. *Hist. Charles XII.* lib. iv.

(2) *Hist. Russ.* ubi sup.

enterprise. He accordingly invested Pultowa with his half famished army, now reduced to twenty seven thousand men, eighteen thousand of whom only were Swedes; and yet with this small force, insufficient to cut off the communication between the garrison and the Russian army, he hoped not only to take the town, but to defeat and even to dethrone the czar, although his other disadvantages were many.

As Charles had been under the necessity of leaving the greater part of his heavy cannon in the morasses and defiles through which he passed, the regular progress of the siege was slow. The garrison bravely repelled all attempts to carry the place by assault; and the king of Sweden was dangerously wounded in the heel in viewing the works. Meanwhile the czar, having collected his forces, advanced to the relief of Pultowa, and made such a disposition of his army as shewed that he was no novice in the art of war. Charles, though greatly indisposed by his wound, was fired at the approach of an enemy whom he despised. Betrayed by a false idea of honour, he could not bear the thought of waiting for battle in his entrenchments. Having appointed eight thousand men to guard the lines before the town, he therefore ordered his army to march out, and attack the Russian camp, he himself being carried in a litter. The Swedes charged with incredible fury, and broke the Russian cavalry. But the horse rallied behind the foot, which remained firm; and the czar's artillery made such havoc among the ranks of the assailants, that, after a desperate combat of two hours, the Swedish army was utterly routed and dispersed. Nine thousand of the vanquished were left dead in the field, and about six thousand taken, together with the king's military chest, containing the spoils of Poland and Saxony. The remains of the Flemish army, to the number of twelve thousand, were obliged to surrender on the banks of the Boristhenes, for want of boats to carry them over the river; Charles himself, accompanied by three hundred of his guards, with difficulty escaping to Bender, a Turkish town in Moldavia. (1)

No victory was ever attended with more important consequences than that gained at Pultowa, by Peter the Great. The king of Sweden lost, in one day, the fruits of nine years of successful war; and that veteran army, which had spread terror over Europe, was totally annihilated. The czar was not only relieved from all apprehensions inspired by a powerful antagonist, in the heart of his dominions, who threatened to deprive him of his throne, and to overthrow that grand scheme which he had formed for the civilisation of his extensive empire, but enabled to forward his plan of improvement by means of the industry and ingenuity of his Swedish prisoners, whom necessity obliged to exert their talents in the most remote parts of Siberia. The elector of Saxony, hearing of the defeat of his conqueror protested against the treaty of Alt-Ramstadt, as extorted from him by force, and re-entered Poland. His patron, the czar, followed him. Stanislaus was forced to relinquish his authority, and Augustus found himself once more in possession of the Polish throne. Peter revived the ancient pretensions of the czars to Livonia, Ingria, Carelia, and part of Finland; Denmark laid claim to Scania, the king of Prussia to Pomerania; and had not the emperor and the maritime powers interposed, the Swedish monarchy would have been rent to pieces.

During these transactions Charles XII. remained at Bender; where, through his intrigues, conducted by Poniatowsky, a Polish nobleman who shared his misfortunes; he endeavoured to engage the Turks in a war with Russia. In the prosecution of those intrigues we must leave him, and the czar in the more laudable employment of civilizing his subjects, till we have terminated the memorable war between the confederates and the house of Bourbon, in regard to the Spanish succession.

(1) Voltaire, ubi sup. *Hist. du Nord.* tom. ii. Contin. of Puffendorf. lib. vii.

LETTER XXIII.

The General View of Europe carried forward, from the opening of the Conferences at Gertruydenberg, to the Treaties of Utrecht and Rastadt.

THOUGH the king of Sweden, during his prosperity, shewed no inclination to interfere in the dispute between France and the confederates, Lewis XIV. had still expectations of being able to engage him in his cause. These expectations were considerably heightened by the keen indignation which Charles expressed at the emperor's open violation of the treaty of Alt-Ranstadt, as soon as he recovered from the terror of the Swedish arms. The allies were, therefore, relieved from no small degree of anxiety, by the total ruin of that prince's affairs, and Lewis was deprived of the last hope of desponding ambition. He accordingly offered the most advantageous terms of peace, in the preliminaries that were made the foundation of the conferences at Gertruydenberg.

As the principal sacrifices in these preliminaries were the same with those proffered in 1709, it will be unnecessary to repeat them here; more especially as they were not accepted. Lewis made additions to his concessions, after the commencement of the negotiation. He agreed not only to give up, as far as in his power, the Spanish monarchy, without any equivalent, and to acknowledge Charles III. lawful king of Spain, but to pay a subsidy of a million of livres a month, till his grandson Philip V. should be expelled. He relinquished even Alsace to the emperor; and, as a security for the performance of the articles of the treaty, he engaged to deliver the fortified towns of French Flanders, yet in his possession, into the hands of the allies. But the haughtiness of the States, to whom prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough, secure of the controlling influence of the pensionary Heinsius, had induced the emperor and the queen of England to commit the whole management of the negotiation, encouraged their deputies, Buys and Vander Dussen, to rise in their demands, in proportion as the plenipotentiaries of France advanced in their concessions. These insolent republicans went so far as to insist, That Lewis XIV. instead of paying a subsidy toward the war against Philip V. should assist the confederates with all his forces, to drive his grandson from the Spanish throne.(1)

It was impossible for the French monarch to submit to so humiliating a requisition; and yet he was unwilling to break off the treaty. The conferences at Gertruydenburg were, therefore, idly protracted, while the armies, on both sides, took the field. At length the ~~mareschal~~ *mareschal* d'Uxelles and the Abbé de Polignac, the plenipotentiaries of Lewis, returned to Versailles, after having sent a letter to the pensionary Heinsius, declaring the demands of the deputies of the confederates unjust and unreasonable.(2)

In the mean time the confederates were making rapid progress in Flanders. The duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene, having assembled the allied army more early than was expected, entered the French lines without resistance, and sat down before Douay. This city, strong in its situation, but ill fortified, was defended by a garrison of eight thousand men. Mareschal Villars, who had now joined the French army, which he was destined to command, determined to attempt the relief of the place. He accordingly crossed the Scarpe, and advanced within cannon shot of the allies; but finding them strongly entrenched, and being sensible that the loss of one battle might endanger the very existence of the French monarchy, he thought proper to abandon Douay to its fate.(3) It surrendered after a siege

(1) De Torcy, tom. ii.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Duke of Berwick's *Mém.* vol. ii.

of three weeks. Villars observed the same prudent conduct during the remainder of the campaign, which was concluded with the taking of Bethune, St. Venant, and Aire; places of great importance, but which were not acquired by the confederates without a vast expense of blood.

No memorable event happened in Germany during the summer, nor any thing of consequence on the side of Piedmont; where the vigilance of the duke of Berwick defeated all the attempts of the allies to penetrate into Dauphiny, notwithstanding their superior force. The campaign was more fruitful of incidents in Spain.

The two competitors for the crown of that kingdom took the field in person, and seemed determined to put all to the hazard of a battle. They accordingly met near Almanara. There general Stanhope, who commanded the British troops, slew with his own hand the Spanish general, Amessaga, and routed the cavalry of Philip V. while the count de Staremberg put the infantry to flight. The Spaniards were again defeated, in a more bloody engagement, at Saragossa. And in this victory, which threatened to decide the fate of the Spanish monarchy, the British troops, under general Stanhope, had also the chief share.

Charles III. instead of securing Pampeluna, the only pass by which French troops could enter Spain, marched directly to Madrid, at the head of his victorious army, and Philip V. who had retired thither, was obliged to quit his capital a second time. The aspect of things there, however, was little flattering to his rival. All the grandees had left the city; and the Castilians, in general, seemed resolved to shed the last drop of their blood, rather than have a king imposed upon them by heretics.(1)

Meantime the duke de Vendome, whose reputation was still high, notwithstanding his unfortunate campaign in Flanders, having assumed at the request of Philip V. the chief command of the forces of the house of Bourbon in Spain, its affairs soon began to wear a new face. The Castilian nobles crowded, with their followers, round the standard of a general in whose conduct they could confide. And Vendome's army, strengthened by these brave volunteers, was farther reinforced by thirty-four battalions of French foot, and thirty-one squadrons of horse, detached by the duke of Berwick from Dauphiny. Another body of French troops assembled in Roussillon, was preparing to enter Catalonia, under the duke de Noailles; so that the generals of the allies, neglected by the courts of Vienna and Great Britain, as well as by the States-General, and at variance among themselves, were forced once more to abandon Madrid.

The confederates now directed their march toward Catalonia, whither Charles III. had already retired, in order to protect that warlike province; and, for the benefit of subsistence, they divided their army into two bodies. Staremberg, with the main body, marched in front, and Stanhope, with five thousand British troops, brought up the rear. Not reflecting that hope as well as fear gives wings to soldiers, the English general allowed himself to be surrounded by Vendome, in the village of Brihuega. He defended himself with great spirit; but the place being utterly destitute of fortifications, he was obliged to surrender at discretion, after a brave but vigorous resistance.(2) Nor was this all.

Staremberg, apprized of Stanhope's danger, had marched, though reluctantly, to his relief, with the principal army. And this unwilling aid had almost occasioned a greater misfortune than that which it failed to prevent. Staremberg had advanced too far to retreat with safety in the face of the enemy. Vendome forced him to an engagement at Villa Viciosa, about two leagues from Brihuega, the place of Stanhope's disaster. Between the armies there was no proportion in numbers, the allies being one half inferior to the French and Spaniards; yet did Staremberg, one of the ablest commanders in that military age, exert himself so greatly, both as a general and a soldier, that the battle was fierce, obstinate, and bloody. The Spaniards, under

(1) Barnet, book vii. *Hist. d'Espagne*, tom. ii.

(2) *Id. ibid.*

Philip V. broke the left wing of the allies. But their right continued firm in spite of all the efforts of the French, while Staremberg made the centre of the enemy give way; so that Vendôme judged a retreat necessary, in order to avoid the danger of a total defeat. (1)

The general of the allies however found, on mustering his forces, that, in consequence of the capture of the British troops, and the loss of men during the action, he was not in a condition to keep the field. He was beside in want of provisions, and had no prospect of supply, at that late season: he therefore hastily decamped and continued his march into Catalonia, leaving to the vanquished all the advantages of a complete victory. (2)

These successes revived, in some measure, the drooping spirits of the house of Bourbon; and, during the campaign, a revolution had happened in the English ministry, still more favourable to their affairs. This revolution, with its causes and consequences, merits our particular attention.

Though the great influence of Marlborough and Godolphin had obliged their mistress to dismiss Harley from her councils, they could not deprive him of that confidence which they themselves had lost, and attempted in vain to recover. He had frequent consultations with the queen in private; and, even while invisible, is said to have embarrassed their measures. These interviews were procured by Mrs. Masham, the new favourite, who had now entirely supplanted the duchess of Marlborough in the queen's affections. But could the ministry have retained the favour of the people, they might have disregarded the private partialities, and in some measure the confidence of their sovereign. The duke of Marlborough had the sole disposal of all the military employments, and the earls of Godolphin and Sunderland of all civil offices. They were in possession of the whole power of the state. And they had long used that power with so much judgment, ability, and effect, as to disarm envy, silence faction, and reconcile to their measures all men, who did not labour under the most incurable political prejudices, or feel the severest pangs of disappointed ambition. The body of the people looked up to them as the worthy followers of king William, our illustrious deliverer from popery and arbitrary power, in the grand line of liberty and national honour: (3) they enjoyed the most unbounded popularity.

But popularity, however well founded, is in itself of a slippery nature. The favour of the multitude in every country, but more especially under free governments, can only be retained by something new. They are totally governed by their hopes and fears; and these must not be too long suspended, or too uniformly reiterated, otherwise they will lose their effect. The English populace, during this triumphant period, became satisfied even with success. Victory followed victory so fast, and the surrender of one town was so soon succeeded by the taking of another, that good fortune had ceased to excite joy; and the roaring of cannon and the ringing of bells were heard with indifference. The people began to feel the weight of the taxes levied in order to support the war. And they observed with concern, that in all

(1) Burnet, book vii. *Duke of Berwick*, vol. ii. This account of the battle of Villa Viciosa, though different from that of some historians, is confirmed by a letter from Philip V. to his queen, dated from the camp of Fuentes, the 11th of December, 1710. "M. de Vendôme," says he, (after relating the progress of the action,) "seeing that our centre was giving way, and that our left wing of cavalry made no impression upon their right, thought it time to propose retreating toward Toulon, and gave orders for that purpose." *Notes*, No. lxi. to vol. ii. of the *Duke of Berwick's Memoirs*.

(2) *Duke of Berwick*, ubi sup.

(3) It has been fashionable, of late years, to represent the reign of William as a reign of disgrace; and, in support of that opinion, an address of the house of commons on the meeting of the first parliament of queen Anne is produced, in which the duke of Marlborough is said to have "signally retrieved the ancient honour and glory of the English nation." But, independent of the doubtfulness of these expressions, this was the address of a Tory parliament, and framed by men who were no friends to the Revolution. The criminal intrigues, connected with that glorious event, have not been concealed by the Author of these Letters, nor the faults in the administration of William. But admitting all those charges even as urged by his enemies, his reign, though not highly fortunate, must be allowed to have been, a reign of vigour, of exertion, and a jealous attention to national honour; which can never, perhaps, be purchased at too high a price, and which had been shamefully neglected during the ignominious reigns of his two immediate predecessors.

the negotiations for peace, while liberal concessions were offered to foreign princes and states, no stipulation of any consequence appeared in favour of the queen of England; who, after all her ~~white~~ blood and treasure, seemed to have only the glory of conquering and giving away cities, provinces, and kingdoms.(1)

The Tories, encouraged by the successful intrigues of Harley, and this change of humour in the people, which they had secretly contributed to produce, began to entertain hopes of once more holding the reins of government. In order to realize these hopes, they attempted to make use of an engine which had often been played off against themselves. As the Whigs, who were now in possession of the administration, could no longer rouse the jealousies and apprehensions of the populace on account of their civil and religious liberties, which were sufficiently secured by the revolution and the Act of Settlement, the Tories endeavoured to awaken the same fears, by touching another string. They represented the church and monarchy as in imminent danger, from dissenters and men of levelling principles; under which description they comprehended the whole body of the Whigs.

This inflammatory doctrine, as we have seen, had been zealously propagated from the pulpit, by the high-church party, ever since the beginning of the present reign. The vulgar, as may naturally be supposed, gradually began to give credit to what they heard so often, and so vehemently urged; for, notwithstanding the formal censure in parliament of that groundless opinion, it still continued to be propagated. And a champion was not wanting openly to brave such high authority, and to improve on the seditious clamour, and even to bring home the charge to the ministry.

This bold son of the church was Dr. Henry Sacheverell; a man of no superior talents, but who, by his violence in railing against the dissenters, occasional conformists, and the Whig party in general, had recommended himself to the Tories and the majority of the established clergy. After having distinguished himself in the country, by such declamations, he was called, by the voice of the people, to a church in the borough of Southwark, where he had a more extensive field for propagating his seditious doctrines; and being appointed to preach in St. Paul's cathedral, on the 5th of November, 1709, the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot, he delivered a sermon, before the lord mayor of London and the court of aldermen, into which he poured the whole collected venom of his heart. He not only inveighed, in the most indecent language, against the dissenters, and the moderate part of the church of England, whom he denominated *false brethren*, but threw out severe and pointed reflections against the principal persons in power, and inculcated, in strong and unequivocal terms, the slavish and exploded doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance; animating the people to stand up in defence of the church, which he declared was in imminent danger, and for which, he said, he sounded the trumpet, desiring them to put on the whole armour of God!(2) The majority of the court of Aldermen, being attached to the principles of the Revolution, against which these doctrines militated, refused the usual compliment to the preacher, of desiring him to print his sermon, and were even shocked at the violence of the invective. But the lord mayor, who was a zealous high-churchman, not only encouraged Sacheverell to publish his discourse, but accepted a dedication still more violent and inflammatory than the performance itself. The merit of both was magnified by the Tories, and forty thousand copies are said to have been circulated in a few weeks.(3)

No literary production ever perhaps attracted so much attention as this scurrilous sermon, which had no kind of excellence to recommend it, except what it derived from the spirit of party. It divided the opinions of the nation: and Sacheverell himself, extolled by the Tories as the champion of the church, now on the brink of ruin! and execrated by the Whigs as an enemy

(1) Publications of the Times.

(2) Burnet, book vii. See also the Sermon itself among Sacheverell's Discourses.

(3) Burnet, ubi sup.

to the Revolution, as an advocate for persecution and despotism, and a devoted friend to the Pretender, was thought of sufficient consequence to be made the object of a parliamentary prosecution. That was what he desired above all things, and what the ministry ought studiously to have avoided. But they allowed, on this occasion, their passion to overcome their prudence. Godolphin being personally attacked in the sermon, was highly irritated against the preacher; and as the offence was not deemed punishable by common law, it was resolved to proceed by impeachment. Sacheverell was accordingly taken into custody, by command of the house of commons: articles were exhibited against him at the bar of the house of lords, and a day was appointed for his trial, which, to complete the folly of this impolitic measure, was ordered to be in Westminster-hall, that the whole body of the commons might be present. (1)

The people are often wrong in their judgment, but always just in their compassion, though that sentiment is sometimes misplaced. Their compassion was roused for Sacheverell, whom they considered as an innocent victim; a meritorious individual, doomed to be crushed by the arm of power, for daring to tell the truth. They forgot all his slavish doctrines: they remembered only his violent declamations, in regard to the danger of the church and monarchy; and they saw him exposed, as they imagined, to persecution for his honest boldness. They now believed more than they formerly feared. Neglecting their private affairs, and all the common avocations of life, their concern was turned wholly toward public welfare. Many, who seldom entered the church, trembled for the safety of the established religion. They wandered about in silent amazement, anxiously gazing on each other, and looking forward to the trial of Sacheverell, as if the fate of the nation or of nature had depended upon the awful decision.

When the day arrived, the populace assembled in vast crowds, and attended the criminal to Westminster-hall. During the whole course of his trial, which lasted three weeks, they continued the same attentions; and, in the height of their frantic zeal, they destroyed several dissenting meeting-houses, insulted a number of non-conformists, some Whig members of the house of commons, and committed a variety of other outrages. London was a scene of anarchy and confusion. At last Sacheverell was found guilty; but the lenity of his sentence, in consequence of the popular tumults, was considered as a kind of triumph by the Tories. He was only suspended from preaching for three years, without being precluded from preferment, his sermon being ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. (2) The famous decree of the University of Oxford, passed in 1683, recognizing the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance, was also, by a vote of the lords, ordered to be burnt at the same time. (3)

The mildness of Sacheverell's punishment was justly ascribed, by the populace, to the timidity, not to the moderation of the ministry. Proud of their victory, they every where expressed their joy on the occasion, by bonfires and illuminations; and notwithstanding the vote of the lords, addresses were sent from all parts of the kingdom, asserting the absolute power of the crown, and condemning the doctrine of resistance, as the result of antimonarchical and republican principles. (4) Of these principles the Whigs, as a body, were violently accused by the heads of the Tories, who now wholly engrossed the confidence of their sovereign, and inspired her with jealousies of her principal servants.

The queen herself, who had long affected to adopt measures which she was not permitted to guide, was glad an opportunity of freeing herself from that political captivity, in which she was held by her popular and too powerful ministers. She accordingly took advantage of this sudden and extraordinary change in the sentiments of the people, in order to bring about a total change of the persons employed in the administration of her govern-

(1) Burnet, book vii.

(2) Ibid.

(3) *Journals of the Lords*, March, 1710.

(4) Burnet, book vii.

ment. The duke of Shrewsbury, who had distinguished himself in the cause of Sacheverell, was made chamberlain, in the room of the earl of Kent: Godolphin received an order to break his staff, as lord treasurer of Great Britain: the treasury was put in commission; and Harley, as a prelude to higher promotion, was appointed chancellor of the exchequer; while his friend, St. John, succeeded Mr. Boyle as secretary of state. The duke of Marlborough alone, of the whole party to which he belonged, remained in office: and that mark of distinction he owed to his own high reputation, not to the favour or forbearance of his enemies. Though his fall was already determined on, they were afraid that the temper of the people was not yet sufficiently prepared for the removal of so great a commander. (1)

Marlborough, whose character is one of the most complicated in modern history, appears to have been fully sensible of his own consequence, as well as of the dangerous designs of the new ministry. At the same time that he was making professions of attachment to the court of St. Germain, (2) (though for what purpose, it is impossible to determine) he wrote, in the following strong terms, to the elector of Hanover, with the *interests of whose family*, he said, he considered those of *his country* and of *all Europe* to be *inseparably connected*. "I hope," adds he, "the English nation will not permit themselves to be imposed upon by the artifice of Harley and his associates. Their conduct leaves no doubt of their design of placing the pretended prince of Wales on the throne. We feel too much already their bad intentions and pernicious views. But I expect to be able to employ all my attention, all my credit, and that of my friends, in order to advance the interests of the electoral family, and to prevent the destructive counsels of a race of men, who establish principles and form cabals, which will otherwise infallibly overturn the Protestant succession, and with it the liberty of their country and the freedom of Europe." (3)

The new ministry were no less liberal in their declarations of attachment to the house of Hanover: (4) and Harley, soon after appointed lord treasurer, and created earl of Oxford and Mortimer, was perhaps sincere in his professions. Bred up in the notions of the presbyterians, to which he still adhered, and perhaps tinged with republican principles, he had only made use of the high-church party as a ladder to his ambition; and although a sincere friend to the Protestant succession, he was accused, from this circumstance, of abetting the hereditary descent of the crown, and all the maxims of arbitrary power. (5)

In consequence of these appearances, the Pretender was encouraged to write to his sister, queen Anne. He put her in mind of the affection that ought to subsist between two persons so nearly related; he recalled to her memory her repeated promises to their common parent:—"To you," said he, "and to you alone, I wish to owe eventually the throne of my fathers. The voice of God and of nature are loud in your ear! the preservation of our family, the preventing of intestine wars, and the prosperity of our country, combine to require you to rescue me from affliction, and yourself from misery. Though restrained by your difficult situation, I can form no doubt of your preferring a brother, the last male of an ancient line, to the remotest relation we have in the world. Neither you nor the nation have received any injury at my hands: therefore, Madam, as you tender your honour and happiness—as you love your family—as you revere the memory of your father—as you regard the welfare and safety of a great people, I conjure you to meet me, in this friendly way of composing our difference! The happiness of both depends upon your determination:—you have it in your power to deliver me from the reproach that invariably follows unfortunate princes, and to render your own memory dear to posterity." (6)

(1) Burnet, book vii. *State of Europe*, 1710.

(2) *Stuart Papers*, 1710.

(3) Original Letters in the *Hanover Papers*, 1710.

(4) *Ibid*.

(5) *Stuart and Hanover Papers*. See also Bolingbroke's *Letter to Sir William Windham*, and the Duke of Berwick's *Mém.* vol. ii.

(6) *Stuart Papers*.

their country and the confederates the fruits of so many glorious victories, acquired at an enormous expense of blood and treasure.(1) "That," says M. de Torcy, speaking of the secret proposal of the English ministry to negotiate with France, without the intervention of Holland, "was like asking a sick person, labouring under a long and dangerous illness, if he would 'be cured!'"

The preliminaries, when communicated to the ministers of the confederate princes and states, served only to increase their jealousies and fears. The resignation of Philip V. was no longer insisted on. This omission particularly offended the emperor: and count de Galas, the Imperial ambassador at the court of London, in the heat of his zeal for his master's interest, having published a copy of the articles in a newspaper, as an appeal to the public, all England was thrown into a ferment. The people, always jealous of national honour, were filled with indignation at the new ministry, for negotiating secretly with France; a power, whose ambition had so long disquieted her neighbours, and whose humiliation had been the declared object of the Grand Alliance. They justly suspected the court of sinister designs; especially as the stipulations in the preliminaries fell infinitely below their expectations, after so successful a war. The more moderate Tories, ashamed of the meanness, if not the baseness of their leaders, also took part with the offended allies; and the Whigs, while they allowed the season for negotiating to be arrived, execrated the mode, and attempted to render odious the men by whom the negotiation was conducted.(2)

The English ministry, however, were not without their abettors. The pens of the most celebrated writers of the age were employed in vindication of their measures, and to render contemptible their political enemies. Defended by such powerful advocates, and encouraged by the favour of their sovereign, they determined to support the preliminaries. The queen accordingly told the parliament, on its meeting, in a speech from the throne, That, *notwithstanding the arts of those that delight in war*, both time and place were appointed for opening the treaty of a general peace; that she was resolved to improve and enlarge, by the advantages to be obtained, the interest of her subjects in trade and commerce; and that she would not only endeavour to procure all reasonable satisfaction to her allies, but to unite them in the strictest engagements, in order to render permanent the public tranquillity. The best way, however, she added, to treat of peace with effect, was to make an early provision for carrying on the war; she therefore demanded the usual supplies, and recommended unanimity.(3)

The supplies were readily granted by the commons, who also echoed back the queen's speech in an affectionate address. The lords were less complaisant. They clogged their address with a clause, "That no peace could be safe or honourable, should Spain and the Indies be allowed to remain with 'any branch of the house of Bourbon:'" and this addition to the address was carried, by a majority of the house, in spite of all the arguments of the ministry, who opposed it with the whole weight of government. The queen returned an ambiguous answer to an address so subversive of her measures; and as the vote for the obnoxious clause was known to have been procured chiefly by the influence and intrigues of the duke of Marlborough, she saw the necessity of depriving him of his employments, or of dismissing her minister, and stopping the progress of the treaty of peace. Choosing the first of those alternatives, she sent the duke a letter, telling him that she had no

(1) This accusation is even in some measure, admitted by St. John himself, who was deeply concerned in these secret negotiations. "I am afraid," says he, "that the principal spring of our actions was to have the government of the state in our hands; that our principal views were the conservation of this power, great employments to ourselves, and great opportunities of rewarding those who had helped to raise us; to break the body of the Whigs," adds he; "to render their supports (the Dutch and the other allies) useless to them, and to fill the employments of the kingdom, down to the meanest, with Tories." (*Letter to Sir William Wyndham.*) "Peace," continues he, "had been judged, with reason, to be the only solid foundation whereupon we could erect a Tory system." Ibid.

(2) Publications of the times.

(3) *Journals*, Dec. 7, 1711.

more occasion for his service; and in order to secure a majority in the house of lords, twelve gentlemen, devoted to the court, were created peers. (1)

This was an extraordinary stretch of prerogative, and could not fail to give alarm to the independent part of the nobility; as it was evident, that the sovereign, by such an arbitrary exertion of royalty, could at all times over-rule their resolutions. But as law was on the side of the crown, they were obliged to submit to the indignity put upon them. The body of the Whigs were filled with consternation at these bold measures; and as their leaders now despaired of being able to reinstate themselves in the administration by more gentle means, they are said to have planned a new revolution. It is at least certain, that the heads of the party held frequent cabals with the Dutch and Imperial ambassadors, as well as with the baron de Bothmar, envoy from the elector of Hanover, who presented, in the name of his master, a strong memorial against the projected peace; declaring, that the fruits of a glorious war would be lost, should Spain and the Indies be abandoned to the duke of Anjou. (2) And every method was taken, particularly by the earl of Sunderland and lord Halifax, to impress the people with a belief, not seemingly without reason, that the chief view of the present ministry was the restoration of the excluded family. They therefore affirmed, that the Protestant succession was in danger, and urged the necessity of sending for the elector of Hanover or his son. (3)

On the other hand, the Tories employed all the force of wit and satire, of which they were in full possession, against their political adversaries; but especially to degrade the character and ridicule the conduct of the duke of Marlborough; whose dismissal from the command of the army, after such extraordinary success, without so much as an imputation of misbehaviour in his military capacity, they were afraid would rouse the resentment of the nation against the ministry. Their chief accusation against him was, that, in order to favour his own operations in Flanders, to gratify his ambition, and to glut his inordinate avarice, he had starved the war in Spain. Alluding to the strength of the French barrier, they used a vulgar phrase, which made great impression on the people: they said, that to endeavour to subdue France, by attacking her strong towns on the side of Flanders, was "taking the bull by the horns;" that the troops and treasures of the confederates, instead of being employed in expelling Philip V. from the throne of Spain, had been thrown away on unimportant sieges, and attacks upon almost impregnable lines; that prince Eugene, having profited like Marlborough by these hostilities, had united with him in influencing the councils of the States, through the pensionary Heinsius; and that all three meant nothing, by the undecided campaigns in Flanders, but to *protract* the war, and perpetuate their own power, which was intimately connected with it. (4)

But now my dear Philip, when the prejudices of party have subsided, this accusation appears to have been malicious and unjust. It is generally agreed (at the same time it is admitted those generals had an interest and a pride in prosecuting the war), That to push France on the side of Flanders, was the most effectual way of depriving the house of Bourbon of the Spanish throne. The distance of the confederates from Spain; its vicinity to France, the necessity of conveying every thing thither by sea; the sterility of the country by reason of the indolence of the inhabitants; and the obstinate aversion of the Spaniards, in general, to a prince supported by heretics, rendered it almost impracticable to conquer that kingdom, as experience had proved, after repeated victories. But Spain might have been compelled to receive another sovereign without being utterly subdued: the duke of Marlborough took the true method of dethroning Philip V.

Though the breaking of the strong barrier of France in the Netherlands had cost the confederates much blood and treasure, as well as time, the work was, at length, nearly completed. Another campaign would probably have

(1) Burnet. Bover. Swift. Bolingbroke.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) *Mém. de Torcy*, tom. ii. *Stuart Papers*, 1711, 1712.

(4) *Parliamentary Debates*, and publications of the times.

enabled them, had they continued united, to penetrate into France, and even to take possession of Paris; so that Lewis XIV. in order to save his own kingdom, would have been obliged to relinquish the support of his grandson, and to pull him, in a manner with his own hands, from the Spanish throne. Of this the king of France was as sensible as the duke of Marlborough; (1) and hence his joy at the change of sentiments in the court of England, and the regret of the Whigs at the loss of so glorious an opportunity of advancing the interests of their country, and of fully gratifying their vengeance against that monarch.

It is, indeed, sincerely to be lamented, and possibly may to the latest posterity, that such a change should have happened at this critical period. For, however impolitic it might be, in the English ministry, to continue the war, after the year 1706, as it surely was after 1709, when all the objects of the Grand Alliance might have been obtained; yet as the war was carried on afterward, at a vast expense of blood and treasure, and with a degree of success, which, if foreseen, would perhaps have justified the prosecution of it, no proposals of peace should have been listened to, far less any desire to negotiate *secretly insinuated by a French Spy*. (2) till advantages equivalent to that additional expense had been offered. Since we had committed a *successful folly*, to use the words of my lord Bulingbroke, it was folly not to profit by it to the utmost. No stop should have been put to the career of victory, until the house of Bourbon had been completely humbled.

It was on this ground that the Whigs now so violently opposed the peace, and urged the necessity of continuing the war, that they might have an opportunity of recovering the administration, and consequently of wrestling the negotiations out of the hands of men, whom they considered as enemies to the Protestant succession, to the liberties of mankind, and to the common cause of the confederates. They admitted, that the elevation of the arch-duke to the Imperial throne had made a material alteration in the political state of Europe; that the power of the house of Austria, which all centred in the person of the emperor Charles, was very great; but they affirmed, at the same time, that was no sufficient reason for negotiating prematurely with the house of Bourbon, or accepting inadequate terms.

England and Holland held the balance; and as they had chiefly contributed toward the success of the war, they had a right to be the arbiters of peace. In order to preserve the equilibrium of power, and to effectually prevent the union of the kingdoms of France and Spain in the person of the same prince in any future time, Spain might be given, it was said, to the duke of Savoy; the most valuable of the Spanish possessions in America, to Great Britain; and Philip V. might be gratified with a principality in Italy; after which there would still remain enough to satisfy the emperor and the States, without dismembering the French monarchy. (3) But whether we had left Philip, or placed any other prince on the throne of Spain, we ought to have reduced the power of France to a state of depression from which it would not have recovered for generations to come.

While the Whigs were occupied in contemplating those extensive plans of policy, and encouraged in their schemes by the Imperial and Dutch ministers, little wonder they embraced rash resolutions, and adopted violent counsels, in order to obstruct the negotiation of a treaty, which was destined to extinguish all their hopes; to strike the sword of conquest from the hand of the confederates, and the wreath of victory from their brows; to deprive them of an opportunity, that fortune and valour had conspired to produce, and which might never return, of utterly breaking the power of their ambitious enemies, and effectually securing the civil and religious liberties of Europe.

As a last effort to recover their authority, and to prevent the ill they

(1) *Mem. de Torcy*, tom. ii.

(2) Gaultier, who was first employed to signify to the court of Versailles the inclinations of the Tory ministry toward peace, was a Catholic priest, and a spy for France in London. *Mem. de Torcy*, tom. ii.

(3) Publications of the times.

feared; the Whigs invited over prince Eugene to London. No less bold and intelligent as a politician, than able and intrepid as a commander, he made no doubt of defeating the projected treaty of peace, by embarrassing the British ministry with splendid offers of advantage, provided the queen would agree to continue the war. Among other things, he meant to propose, in the name of the emperor, that the Imperial forces in Spain should be augmented to the number of thirty thousand, and that Great Britain should be put in full possession of the commerce of that kingdom, and of the Spanish dominions in America.(1)

But, unfortunately for the Whigs, as well as for the confederates, and for the grandeur and prosperity of the united kingdoms, the duke of Marlborough was dismissed from all his employments before the arrival of prince Eugene, and rendered incapable to second his views. The commons, being chiefly Tories, were firm in their support of the ministry; and a majority had been secured in the house of lords, by the introduction of the twelve new peers. That great man was therefore obliged to return to the continent without being able to do any thing for the interest of the allies; though, during his stay in England, it is affirmed that he suggested many desperate expedients, and some violent, and even inhuman measures, for depriving the Tories of the administration.(2) But these were all prudently rejected by the Hanoverian resident and the leaders of the Whigs; as an insurrection, or popular tumult, if not finally successful, beside the mischief it might otherwise have occasioned, would have endangered the Protestant succession. They refused to employ any but legal means.

During those ineffectual intrigues, the English ministry gained a new victory over their political adversaries. Lord Townshend, who had been employed in the negotiations for peace, in 1709, had concluded a treaty with the States of the United Provinces, by which Lisle, Tournay, Menin, Douay, and several places on the Lys and the Scheldt, were guaranteed to the Dutch as a barrier, at the end of the war. And they undertook to guarantee, in return, the *Protestant Succession*; to aid with their *fleets and armies* the *Presumptive Heirs of the British Crown*, whenever that *Succession* should appear to be in danger.(3)

These engagements were perfectly conformable to the declared views of the late ministry, who had ratified the treaty, but utterly inconsistent with those of the present, as well as with their safety. They were not ignorant that the Whigs, and perhaps even the States, pretended that this perilous period was already arrived. They were also sensible, that France would with difficulty yield cities and towns that were essential to her own defence. And being determined to remove every obstacle that might retard the peace, they brought the Barrier Treaty, and all the transactions relative to it, before the house of commons, under pretence that Townshend had exceeded his instructions. The commons, intirely governed by the court, voted that several articles of the treaty were destructive to the interests of Great Britain; and therefore, that he who negotiated and signed the treaty, having no authority to insert those pernicious articles, was an enemy to the queen and the kingdom.

It is not a little surprising, that at the same time the late ministry were concluding this treaty, which had solely for its object, on the part of Great Britain, the security of the Hanoverian succession, Marlborough and Godolphin, who directed the measure, were still holding out hopes to the court of St. Germain. Godolphin is said only to have regretted his fall, as it deprived him of the power of serving effectually the excluded family, "Har-

(1) *Mem. de Torcy*, tom. ii. *Stuart Papers*, 1713.

(2) *Mem. de Torcy*, tom. ii. *Stuart Papers*, 1713. He is said to have proposed to set fire to London, in different places, in the night: that, in the midst of the confusion, the duke of Marlborough should appear at the head of a party in arms; that he should first possess himself of the Tower, the Bank, the Exchequer, and then seize the person of the queen; force her to dissolve the parliament, to call a new representative, to make a free inquiry into the clandestine correspondence with France, and to punish the guilty with death. *Id. ibid.*

(3) *Mem. de Torcy*, tom. ii. Burnet, book vii.

"Icy, I hope," said he, "will restore the king," for so he called the Pretender—"but he will make France necessary to that measure: I designed to have done the business alone." (1)

Marlborough, though perhaps less sincere in his professions, was more liberal in his promises of success. While he lamented, that he was not likely to be employed in concluding the peace, as he might, in that case, he said, have done essential service to the old cause, he assured the court of St. Germain, that the eyes of the people would be gradually opened. "They will see their interest," added he, "in restoring their king. I perceive such a change in his favour, that I think it impossible but he must succeed; but when he shall succeed, let there be no retrospect. All that has been done since the revolution must be confirmed. His business is to gain all, by offending none. As for myself," continues Marlborough, "I take God to witness, that what I have done for many years," conscious that his original desertion of his benefactor could not be vindicated, "was neither from spleen to the ROYAL FAMILY, nor ill-will to their cause, but to humble the power of France; a service as useful to the KING, as it is beneficial to his kingdom." (2)

These extracts seem to prove, that although both the late and the present ministers, Oxford excepted, intended to call the Pretender to the throne, their views in regard to that measure were very different. The former meant to connect it with the aggrandizement of Great Britain, and the humiliation of France; the latter, to lean upon France for support. And for that support they were willing to sacrifice the honour and interest of the nation; to desert the true system of European policy, under pretence of economy, and to sink into that state of abject dependence upon a rival power, which had disgraced the reigns of the second Charles and the second James.

But such observations apart, my dear Philip, the politics of England, during this period, afford an object for philosophic curiosity, to which there is perhaps no parallel in the annals of mankind. That Marlborough and Godolphin, the great leaders of the Whigs, while pursuing with zeal the views of that party, had always in contemplation the re-establishment of the family of Stuart! and that Oxford, the head of the Tories, and a reputed Jacobite, should secure, by his address, the succession of the house of Brunswick, without being able to acquire their confidence, and while he was known to be at bottom a Whig by the queen and the court of St. Germain, whose confidence he was thought to possess, and whose views he was supposed to promote! (3) are singular particulars in the history of human nature.

While the English ministry were smoothing at home the road to peace, general conferences were opened at Utrecht, for restoring tranquillity to Europe. And the earl of Strafford and the Bishop of Bristol, the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, in order to reconcile the confederates to the negotiation, declared that the preliminaries signed by Menager, and accepted by St. John, to which they artfully gave the name of *proposals*, were neither binding on the queen nor her allies. (4) This declaration composed the spirits of the confederates in some degree. But before any progress could be made in the treaty, certain unexpected incidents gave a new turn to the negotiations, and alarmed queen Anne and her Tory ministry for the fate of that peace which they had so much at heart.

The dauphin of France the only legitimate son of Lewis XIV. having died the preceding year, had been succeeded in his title, as heir to the French monarchy, by his eldest son, the duke of Burgundy. That prince also died early in the present year; and, in three weeks after, his son, the duke of Brittany. In consequence of this uncommon mortality, which has been ascribed to the ambitious intrigues of the duke of Orleans, the duke of Anjou, a sickly infant, the sole surviving son of the duke of Burgundy, only stood

(1) *Stuart Papers*, 1708.

(2) *Ibid.* 1710.

(3) Compare *Stuart and Hannover Papers*.

(4) Burnet, book vii.

between the king of Spain and the crown of France. The confederates were, therefore, filled with reasonable apprehensions, lest that union of the two monarchs, which it had been the chief object of the war to prevent, should at last be completed, after all their successes, by the death of a puny child, and the lukewarmness, if not treachery, of a principal ally. And the queen of England and her ministers were not a little at a loss how to quiet these well-grounded fears.

Extraordinary as it may seem, the British ministry had not hitherto furnished their plenipotentiaries with instructions relative to the Spanish succession. (1) These were reserved for a confidential envoy, intended to be joined with the two former, and who had been employed in the secret negotiations with France. (2) Though the earl of Strafford and the bishop of Bristol were Tories, and wholly devoted to the court, it was not thought safe to trust them with a matter so injurious to the honour and the interest of their country.

This deceitful mode of proceeding, altogether unworthy of a great nation, which, as it had borne the chief burden of the war, might openly have dictated the plan of pacification, sufficiently justifies the suspicions of the allies. That the general interests of the confederacy would be sacrificed to the eagerness of queen Anne for peace: to the selfish motives of her ministers and her own views in favour of her brother, the Pretender; that become jealous of the connexion of the confederates with the Whigs and the house of Hanover, she had entered into a private negotiation with Lewis; and was even willing, by favourable conditions, to procure support against her former friends, from a prince whose power had been so lately broken by her arms, and for whose humiliation she had exhausted the wealth, and watered the earth with the blood of her subjects!

The death of the princes of France, however, by exalting the hopes and increasing the demands of the allies, obliged the British ministry to depart from their resolution of sending a third plenipotentiary to Utrecht, (for purposes best known to themselves) and to urge Lewis XIV. as he valued the blessing of peace, to take some public step for preventing the crowns of France and Spain from being joined on the head of the same prince. To this end they suggested different alternatives, out of which the French monarch might form a proposal that ought to satisfy the allies. The principal of those were, That Philip V. should either resign the crown of Spain, (a measure that would be more acceptable to the confederates than any other) or transfer to his younger brother, the duke of Berry, his right to the crown of France; that should Philip consent to the resignation, his right to the crown of France would not only be preserved entire, but in the mean time Naples and Sicily, the hereditary dominions of the house of Savoy, with the duchy of Montserrat and Mantua, should be erected into a kingdom for him; that all those territories should be annexed to France, on Philip's accession to that crown, except the island of Sicily, which should, in such event, be given to the house of Austria; and that Spain and her American dominions should be conferred on the duke of Savoy, instead of his own dominions, and in full satisfaction of all his demands, as one of the confederates. (3)

Philip V. as soon as the question was submitted to him, wisely preferred the certain possession of the Spanish throne to the precarious prospect of a more desirable succession, with all the appendages the confederates could offer; but the hesitation of Lewis XIV. in acceding to either alternative, evidently showed he had been flattered by the British ministry, that his grandson should not be obliged to make a solemn renunciation of the crown of France, and yet be permitted to wear that of Spain and the Indies. "A king of France," said he, "succeeds not as heir, but as master of the kingdom; the sovereignty of which belongs to him, not by choice, but by birth."

(1) Swift's *Hist. of the four last Years of Queen Anne*.

(2) Mr. Prior, so well known by his sprightly poems, and who had a principal share in all the negotiations relative to the peace of Utrecht.

(3) *Mém. de Torcy*, tom ii.

"right: he is obliged, for his crown, to no will of a prior king, to no compact of the people, but to the law; and this law is esteemed the work of HIM who establishes monarchies. It can neither be invalidated by agreement, nor rendered void by renunciation: should the king of Spain, therefore, renounce his right, for the sake of peace, that act would only deceive himself, and disappoint the allies." (1)

Secretary St. John, who corresponded with the court of Versailles on this delicate subject, admitted the French nation might hold, with what justice he did not presume to say, That God alone can, in any possible instance, annul the law of succession, be the inconveniences to society ever so great; but that, in England, most men were in another way of thinking; that even such as were most superstitiously devoted to monarchy, believed that a prince might forego his right, by a voluntary renunciation; and that the person, in whose favour the renunciation was made, might be justly supported by the princes who should happen to be guarantees of the treaty. In a word, he declared, that an end must be put to all negotiation, unless the French monarch would accept the expedient proposed. Lewis was, at last, under the necessity of complying; and it was agreed, that the renunciation of Philip V. should be registered in the books of the parliament of Paris, and solemnly received and ratified by the Cortes, or states of Castile and Arragon. (2)

As soon as this important article was settled, the queen of England agreed to a suspension of arms; and the immediate delivery of Dunkirk to the British troops, was the condition of that indulgence. These circumstances naturally lead us to examine the progress of the campaign.

The duke of Ormond being appointed to the command of the British forces in Flanders, and of such foreign troops as were in British pay, in the room of the duke of Marlborough, the whole confederate army, amounting to an hundred and twenty thousand men, under prince Eugene, took the field toward the end of April. The French army, commanded by mareschal Villars, was strongly posted behind the Scheldt. But as prince Eugene found that the enemy had not taken every advantage of their situation, he made dispositions for attacking them, in hopes of concluding the war with a splendid victory; or at least of forcing Villars to retire, and leave Cambray exposed to a siege. He accordingly communicated his intentions to Ormond. And the hesitation of the English general to return a positive answer, confirmed that penetrating genius in the suspicions he had for some time entertained, that the duke had orders not to act offensively. (3) Filled with indignation

(1) *Mem. de Torcy*, tom. ii.

(2) *Mem. de Torcy*, ubi sup. Queen Anne's expressions to her parliament, on this subject, are very forcible. "For confirming the renunciations and settlements before mentioned," says she, "it is offered that they shall be ratified in the most strong and solemn manner, both in France and Spain: and that those kingdoms, as well as all the other powers engaged in the present war, shall be guarantees to the same. But the nature of this article," adds she, "is such, that it executes itself. The interest of Spain is to support it: and, in France, the persons to whom that succession is to be long, will be ready and powerful enough to vindicate their own right. France and Spain are now more effectually divided than ever; and thus, by the blessing of God, will a real balance of power be fixed in Europe, and remain liable to as few accidents as human affairs can be exempted from." (*Journals*, June 6, 1712.) Unfortunately this has not been the case; for although the monarchies of France and Spain have been hitherto divided, (not by the renunciation of Philip V. but in consequence of the recovery of the young dauphin, afterward Lewis XV.) the two courts have generally been as intimately united in policy, as if the two crowns had been placed on the head of the same prince: and the extraordinary exertions of Great Britain, both by land and sea, which hath far exceeded all human credibility in vigour, and all political calculation of the expense she could possibly bear, only could have thus long preserved the liberties of Europe.

Instead of allowing Philip V. the alternative of retaining the crown of Spain, the British ministry ought to have insisted on his absolute resignation of that crown, for the eventual succession to the crown of France, with the immediate possession of the kingdom offered him in Italy; especially as his grandfather, Lewis XIV. (as he himself informs us, in his speech to the Cortes) would have agreed more readily to this than to his renunciation of his right to the crown of France, as it afforded a prospect of extending the French monarchy. But that extension, should it even have taken place, (as we now certainly know it would not) could not have proved so dangerous to the liberties of Europe, as the *Family Compact* between the two branches of the house of Bourbon.

(3) Burnet, book vii. *Gen. Hist. of Europe*, 1712.

at a discovery so fatal to his own glory, as well as to the common cause of the confederates, the prince of Savoy made known his unhappy situation to the field-deputies of the States, and to the Imperial minister at Utrecht. The States sent immediately instructions to their ambassador at the court of London to remonstrate on the subject. And the purport of those instructions was no sooner known, than a motion was made in the House of Commons, for presenting an address to her majesty, "That speedy orders may be given to her general in Flanders, to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour, in conjunction with her allies, as the best means to obtain a safe and honourable peace." (1) A motion to the same effect was made in the House of Lords; but the ministry having now a decided majority in both houses, these salutary motions were rejected with a degree of disdain, and the remonstrances of the Dutch ambassador disregarded. Ormond continued inactive.

Nothing can place the ignominy of this cruel inaction, and the shameful duplicity of the British ministry, in a stronger light, than a letter which the States afterward sent to queen Anne. "It is impossible," say they, "but we should be surprised and afflicted, by two declarations we have lately received from your Majesty: the first, by the duke of Ormond, your general, that he could undertake nothing without new orders from You; the other, by the bishop of Bristol, your plenipotentiary to the congress at Utrecht, That, perceiving we did not answer as we ought, the proposals which you had made Us, and that we would not act in concert with your minister on the subject of peace, you would take your measures apart; and that you did not look upon yourself to be now under any engagements with Us." In regard to the first, add they, "Have we not just reason to be surprised, after the assurance which your Majesty had given Us by your letters, by your ministers, and lastly, by your general, the duke of Ormond, of your intentions that your troops should be ordered to act with their usual vigour, when we find a stop put by an order in your Majesty's name, without our knowledge, and certainly without the knowledge of your other allies, to the operations of the confederate army?—the finest and strongest, perhaps, which has been in the field during the whole course of the war; and this after they had marched, according to the resolution taken in concert with your Majesty's general, almost up to the enemy, with a great superiority both as to number and goodness of troops, and animated with a noble courage and zeal to acquit themselves bravely!—We are sorry to see so fine an opportunity lost, to the inestimable prejudice of the common cause of the High Allies.

"Nor can we forbear telling your Majesty," continue they, "that the declaration made by the bishop of Bristol, at Utrecht, has no less surprised Us, than that of the Duke of Ormond in the army. All the proposals hitherto made to Us, on the subject of Peace, were couched in very general terms. In some of the last conferences, it is true, your Majesty's ministers demanded to know whether ours were furnished with a full power, and authorized to draw up a plan for the peace. But it had been just, before such a thing was demanded of Us, that they had communicated the result of the negotiations so long treated of between your Majesty's ministers and those of the Enemy's; or, at least, they should have told Us your Majesty's thoughts, on a matter which we ought to have concerted together. Yet had that plan related only to your Majesty's interest and ours, we should perhaps have been in the wrong not to have come immediately into it; but as the plan in question concerned the interest of all the Allies, and of almost all Europe, we had very strong apprehensions, that the particular negotiations between your Majesty's ministers and those of France, and the readiness with which we consented to the congress at Utrecht, might have given his Imperial Majesty and the other Allies ground to entertain prejudicial thoughts, as if it had been the intention of your Majesty and of Us, to abandon the Grand Alliance and the common cause, by which they might

(1) Journals, May 28, 1712.
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"have been pushed on to *separate measures*. We thought these reasons strong enough to justify our conduct to your Majesty on this head; and as we had nowise engaged to enter with your Majesty into a concert to draw up a Plan of Peace, without the participation of the other members of the Grand Alliance, the backwardness we have shewn to that proposal cannot be considered as a contravention of our engagements; and, therefore, cannot serve to disengage your Majesty from yours, with respect to Us. In truth, if for such a cause, between potentates united by the strongest and strictest ties of alliance, interest, and religion, any of those potentates could quit their engagements, and disengage themselves from all their obligations, there is no tie among men that might not be broken, and we know of no engagements that could be relied on in time to come."⁽¹⁾

There would certainly have been more *frankness* and *dignity*, though not more *honesty*, and even more *advantage*, in boldly concluding at once a separate treaty with France, than in betraying the common cause by such *double dealing*. This St. John, who was himself deeply concerned in that "double dealing," very candidly acknowledges. France, says he, would have granted more to Great Britain for peace, than for a suspension of hostilities; and the allies, seeing no possibility of altering the measures of queen Anne, would neither have attempted to disturb her councils, in hopes of inducing her to continue the war, nor have prosecuted it themselves with that intemperate ardour, which proved the cause of their subsequent misfortunes. "Better conditions would have been obtained for the whole confederacy:"⁽²⁾ and the British ministry, it may be added, instead of the accumulated infamy of *treachery*, would only have merited the reproach of being guilty of a flagrant violation of PUBLIC FAITH.

During the altercation and suspense occasioned by the inactivity of the duke of Ormond, prince Eugene laid siege to Quesnoy; and, in order to encourage the confederates, and astonish the enemy, by a bold enterprise, he privately detached major-general Grovestein, with fifteen hundred choice troops, dragoons and hussars, to penetrate into the heart of France. This officer, having entered Champagne, passed the Noire, the Maese, the Moselle, and the Saar; levied contributions as far as the gates of Metz; spread consternation even to Versailles; and after ravaging the country, and carrying off a rich booty, together with a number of hostages, retired leisurely toward Trerbach. Meanwhile the siege of Quesnoy was prosecuted with such vigour, that the place was taken almost by assault, and the garrison surrendered prisoners of war.⁽³⁾

These successes greatly elevated the spirits of the Dutch and Imperialists, depressed by the inactivity of the duke of Ormond; but when, instead of an order to co-operate with them against the common enemy, which they daily expected, he made known to them a cessation of arms between France and England, their former dejection returned. Their hopes, however, were in some measure revived, when they understood that the *foreign troops* in the pay of Great Britain refused to obey his command. This refusal reduced the duke to a state of the utmost perplexity, and threw the British ministry into no small consternation. They had not only lost the confidence of the allies, but fallen under the distrust of the court of Versailles. The king of France therefore thought proper to suspend his mandate for the delivery of Dunkirk, until "all the troops in the pay of Great Britain should quit the army of the confederates." But on positive orders being sent to the duke of Ormond, to "separate the British forces from those of the allies," and assurances given to the French monarch, by the express command of queen Anne, that the confederates should receive no more of her money, the scruples of Lewis were quieted. Ormond fulfilled his instructions by retiring towards Ghent with the British troops, and Dunkirk was delivered to brigadier Hill.⁽⁴⁾

(1) Printed Letter, preserved in many periodical publications, and particularly in the *Monthly Mercury*, for June 1712.

(2) Bolingbroke's *Sketch of the Hist. and State of Europe*.

(3) Burnet, book vii. *Gen. Hist. of Europe*, 1712.

(4) *Id. ibid.* De Torcy, tom. ii.

The British forces had distinguished themselves in a remarkable manner, during the whole course of this celebrated war, and in almost every battle gave the turn to victory. Their example had perhaps been of yet greater service than their efforts, though these were transcendently heroic. Prince Eugene, however, to shew the allies that he was still able to pursue his conquests, notwithstanding the withdrawing of so gallant a body of men, advanced to Landrecy, and laid siege to that important place. Villars received orders to attempt its relief. The French general accordingly put his army in motion, as if he meant to give battle to the main body of the confederates; but, after making a feint of advancing toward their right, he turned suddenly off to the left, and marching all night, attacked unexpectedly a detachment of fourteen thousand men, which had been placed at Denain, under the earl of Albemarle, in order to favour the passage of the convoys from Marchiennes. This detachment was quickly routed, and almost utterly destroyed. Four thousand fugitives only escaped to the principal army. (1) Beside the loss sustained in the action, fifteen hundred men were drowned in the Scheldt, and two thousand fell into the hands of the victors; among whom was the earl of Albemarle, with many other officers of distinction. (2)

Prince Eugene, who was marching to the assistance of Albemarle, in order to prevent this disaster, had the mortification to arrive, when his aid could be of no use to his friends. In a fit of despair, he ordered the bridges on the Scheldt, near Denain, to be attacked, and wantonly threw away the lives of a thousand men; for had the bridges been abandoned to him, he would not have been able to cross the river, in the face of the French army. (3) He failed, however, in the attempt. Yet would he have continued the siege of Landrecy, and might perhaps have become master of the place, notwithstanding this check; but the field-deputies of the States obliged him to relinquish the enterprise, and retire to Mons. (4) Meanwhile Villars, having taken Marchiennes, where the principal magazines of the confederates were deposited; and being now uncontrolled master of the field, reduced successively Douay, Quesnoy, and Bouchain. (5) These conquests closed the operations in Flanders. No enterprise of consequence was undertaken, during the campaign, in any other quarter.

The court of Versailles was highly elated, by a success so unexpected and extraordinary. Nor was the joy of the British ministry, at the change of affairs in Flanders, less sincere, though less public. They were sensible that the body of the confederates, unless lost to all sense of prudence, would no longer attempt to continue the war, should Great Britain desert the Grand Alliance; and consequently the Whigs, their political enemies, already humbled, would become still less formidable. In this conjecture they were not deceived. The eyes of the Dutch, who had most to apprehend, were first opened to their own perilous situation, and to the necessity of renewing the conferences at Utrecht, which had been for some time interrupted. Instead of prescribing terms to the house of Bourbon, they now acceded to the plan of pacification settled between Great Britain and France. Their example was followed by the duke of Savoy and the king of Portugal. And the emperor, though resolute to continue the war, finding himself unable to support any military operations in Spain, agreed to the evacuation of Catalonia; (6) and, by that measure, indirectly acknowledged the title of Philip V.

During these approaches toward a general pacification, queen Anne was eagerly solicited by the Jacobites, to take some step in favour of the Pretender. In order to quiet the fears of the English nation, excited by his connexion with France, he had left St. Germain's the preceding summer, and now resided at the Bar, in the territories of the duke of Lorraine. And al-

(1) *Relation*, sent by the earl of Albemarle to the States, and other papers in the *Monthly Mercury* for July, August, and September, 1712.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. ii.

(4) *Ibid.*

(5) *Gen. Hist. of Europe*, 1712.

(6) *Id. ibid.* Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. ii.

though the queen's jealousy of her own authority, and perhaps her natural timidity, heightened by the insinuations of Oxford, made her decline all proposals for calling her brother into the kingdom, or repealing the Act of Settlement, she was very anxious to concert with Lewis XIV. some plan for his accession to the throne, after her death.(1) What measures were taken for that purpose, and how they were frustrated, I shall afterward have occasion to notice. It will, therefore, be sufficient at present to observe, That the earl of Oxford artfully broke the designs of the queen, and rendered abortive the schemes of the Jacobites, by dividing their councils.

Oxford, however, continued to forward the negotiations for peace as necessary to the security of his own power, which he hoped to preserve during the life of his mistress; and as the declining health of the queen left room to believe that her death could be no distant event, it is not impossible but the lord treasurer, in secretly supporting the parliamentary settlement of the crown, might flatter himself with the prospect of extending his administration even into the reign of her successor. From these, or similar motives, he defeated the intrigues of the Jacobites, at the same time that he hastened the restoration of tranquillity to Europe. And the treaties between the different powers, so long negotiated, were at last signed at Utrecht, on the 31st day of March, in the year 1713, by the plenipotentiaries of France, England, Portugal, Prussia, Savoy, and the United Provinces; the emperor resolving to continue the war, and the king of Spain refusing to sign the stipulations until a principality should be provided, in the Low Countries, for the princess Orsini, the favourite of his queen.(2)

The chief articles of this famous pacification were to the following purport: That, whereas the security and liberties of Europe, can by no means bear the union of the crowns of France and Spain under one and the same prince, Philip V. now established on the Spanish throne, shall renounce all right to the crown of France; that the dukes of Berry and Orleans, the next heirs to the French monarchy after the infant Dauphin, shall, in like manner, renounce all right to the crown of Spain, in the event of their accession to the crown of France: That, in default of Philip V. and his male issue, the succession of Spain and the Indies shall be secured to the duke of Savoy; that the island of Sicily shall be instantly ceded, by his Catholic majesty, to the same prince, with the title of king; that France shall also cede to him the vallies of Pragels, Oulx, Sezenne, Bardonnache, and Chateau-Dauphin, with the forts of Exilles and Fenestrelles, and restore to him the duchy of Savoy and the country of Nice, with their dependencies: That the full property and sovereignty of both banks, and the navigation of the Maragnon, or river of Amazons, in South America, shall belong to the king of Portugal: That Spanish Guelderland, with the sovereignty of Neufchatel and Valengin, shall be ceded to the king of Prussia, in exchange for the principality of Orange, and the lordships of Chalons and Chatelbelin, in the kingdom of France and country of Burgundy, and that his regal title shall be acknowledged: That the Rhine shall form the boundary of the German empire on the side of France; and that all fortifications, beyond that river, claimed by France, or in the possession of His Most Christian Majesty, shall either be relinquished to the emperor or destroyed: That in Italy, the kingdom of Naples, the duchy of Milan, and the Spanish territories on the Tuscan shore, shall be ceded to the house of Austria; that the sovereignty of the Spanish Netherlands shall likewise be secured to the house of Austria; but that the elector of Bavaria (to whom they had been granted by Philip V.) shall retain the sovereignty of such places as are still in his possession, until he shall be reinstated in all his German dominions, except the Upper Palatinate, and also be put in possession of the island of Sardinia, with the title of king: That Luxemburg, Namur, and Charleroy, shall be given to the States-general of the United Provinces, as a barrier, together with Mons, Menin, Tournay, and other places already in their possession: That Lislé,

(1) *Stuart Papers*, 1712, 1713. *Duke of Berwick's Mem.* vol. ii.

(2) *Id. ibid.* *Mém. de Noailles*,

Aire, Bethune, and St. Venant, shall be restored to France : That, on the part of Great Britain, the French monarch shall acknowledge the title of queen Anne, and the eventual succession of the family of Hanover to the British throne; that the fortifications of Dunkirk (the cause of much jealousy to England, and raised at vast expence to France) shall be demolished, and the harbour filled up; that certain places in North America and the West Indies shall be ceded or restored by France to Great Britain; namely, the island of St. Christopher, (which had long been possessed jointly by the French and English, but from which the French had been expelled, in 1702); Hudson's Bay and Streights, (where the French had founded a settlement, but without dispossessing the English, and carried on a rival trade during the war); the town of Placentia, in the island of Newfoundland (where the French had been suffered to establish themselves, through the negligence of government); and the long disputed province of Nova Scotia, (into which the French had early intruded themselves, out of which they had been frequently driven, and which had been finally conquered by an army from New England in 1710): That the island of Minorca and the fortress of Gibraltar (conquered from Spain) shall remain in the possession of Great Britain; and that the Assiento, or contract for furnishing the Spanish colonies in South America with negroes, shall belong to the subjects of Great Britain, for the term of thirty years.(1)

That these conditions, especially on the part of Great Britain, were very inadequate to the success and expence of the war, will be denied by no intelligent man, whose understanding is not warped by political prejudices; and the commercial treaty, which was concluded at the same time, between France and England, was evidently, as I shall afterward have occasion to shew, to the disadvantage of the latter kingdom. The other confederates had more cause to be satisfied, and the emperor Charles VI. as much as any of them: yet was he obstinate in refusing to sign the general pacification, though two months were allowed him to deliberate on the terms. But he had soon reason to repent his rashness in resolving to continue the war alone: for although he had prudently concluded a treaty with the Hungarian malecontents, in consequence of which twenty-two regiments of his rebel-subjects entered into his service, the Imperial army on the Rhine, commanded by prince Eugene, was never in a condition to face the French under Villars, who took successively Worms, Spire, Keiserlautern, and the important fortress of Landau. He forced the passage of the Rhine; attacked and defeated general Vaubonne in his entrenchments, and reduced Friburg, the capital of Brisgaw, before the close of the campaign.(2)

Unwilling to prosecute a disastrous war, the emperor began seriously to think of peace; and conferences, which afterward terminated in a pacific treaty, were opened, between prince Eugene and mareschal Villars, at Rastadt. The terms of this treaty, which was concluded on the 6th of March, 1714, were less favourable to the emperor than those offered at Utrecht. The king of France, retained Landau, which he had formerly proposed to cede, together with several fortresses beyond the Rhine, which he had agreed to demolish. He got the electors of Bavaria and Cologne fully re-established in their dominions and dignities; the elector of Bavaria consenting to relinquish the island of Sardinia to the emperor, in return for the Upper Palatinate, and the king of France to acknowledge, in form, the electoral dignity of the duke of Hanover.(3) The principal articles, in regard to Italy and the Low Countries, were the same with those settled at Utrecht.

About the time that the treaty of Rastadt was concluded, the king of Spain acceded to the general pacification; being persuaded by his grand-

(1) Printed Treaties, in the *Monthly Mercury*. Tindal's *Contin. of Rapin, &c.* The *Assiento*, which led to a lucrative contraband trade to the Spanish Main, proved the most advantageous article in favour of Great Britain. It was, however, no sacrifice on the part of Spain, the same privilege having been formerly enjoyed by France.

(2) Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xxiii. *State of Europe*, 1713.

(3) Printed Treaty in the *Monthly Mercury*, &c.

father, Lewis XIV. to forego his absurd demand in favour of the princes of Orsini. But Philip V. although now freed from all apprehensions on the part of the confederates, was by no means in quiet possession of his kingdom. The Catalans were still in arms, and the inhabitants of Barcelona had come to a resolution of defending themselves to the last extremity; not, however, as has been represented by some historians, from any romantic idea of establishing an independent republic, but with a view of preserving their lives and their civil rights, all who had revolted being threatened with the justice of the sword. Had the court of Madrid used a more moderate language, Barcelona would have capitulated immediately after the departure of the Imperialists. But as nothing was talked of by the Spanish ministers and generals but severe retribution, the people became furious and desperate.(1)

Vast preparations were made for the reduction of this important place. And the duke of Berwick, being a third time invested with the chief command in Spain, sat down before it with an army composed of fifty battalions of French, and twenty of Spanish foot, together with fifty-one squadrons of horse; while another army, divided into different bodies, kept the country in awe, and a French and Spanish fleet cut off all communication with the town by sea. He had eighty-seven pieces of heavy cannon, fifteen hundred thousand weight of powder, and every thing else in profusion, that could be thought of for facilitating a siege. The garrison of Barcelona consisted of sixteen thousand men, and the fortifications were formidable, especially on the side toward the land. The duke of Berwick made his attack on the side next the sea, where the operations were more easy, by reason of certain eminences, behind which several battalions might be placed under cover; and where the curtains of the bastions being much raised, offered a fair mark for the cannon of the besiegers.(2)

After the trenches had been opened about a month, a breach was made in the bastion of St. Clara, and a lodgment effected; but the assailants were suddenly driven from their post, with the loss of a thousand men. This misfortune, and the vigorous resistance of the besieged, determined the duke of Berwick to hazard no more partial attacks. He resolved to lay the front of the place so completely level, that he might enter it, as it were, in line of battle. And he accomplished his purpose, by patience and perseverance. But before he ordered the general assault, he summoned the town to surrender. So great, however, was the obstinacy of the citizens, that although their provisions were almost exhausted, though seven breaches had been made in the body of the place, and no probability remained of their receiving either aid or supply, they hung out a flag of defiance, and refused to listen to any terms of capitulation!—The assault was made and repelled with fury. At length, after struggling from daybreak till three in the afternoon, and being driven from most of their works, the inhabitants demanded a parley. It was granted them. But they could obtain no conditions, except a promise that their lives should be safe, and that the town should not be plundered. That promise was religiously observed by the duke of Berwick, who had lost ten thousand men during the siege, and the citizens about six thousand.(3) All Catalonia submitted; and the Catalans were disarmed, and stript of their ancient privileges.

This, my dear Philip, to use the language of an elegant historian, was the last flame of that great fire, kindled by the will of Charles II. of Spain, which had so long laid waste the finest countries in Europe.(4) I ought now to carry forward the adventures of Charles XII. and the affairs of the North; but perspicuity requires, that I first elucidate those intrigues, which we have seen gathering in the court of England.

(1) Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. ii.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) *Ibid.* ubi sup.

(4) Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. xxii.

LETTER XXIV.

Great Britain, from the Peace of Utrecht, to the Suppression of the Rebellion, in 1715, with some Account of the Affairs of France, and the Intrigues of the Court of St. Germain's.

THE peace of Utrecht, though in itself an unpopular measure, afforded the English ministry a momentary triumph over their political adversaries, and highly raised the hopes of the Jacobites who flattered themselves, that the restoration of general tranquillity would enable the queen to take some effectual step in favour of the Pretender, whose interests she seemed now to have sincerely at heart. But it will be necessary, my dear Philip, the better to illustrate this matter, to go a few years back, and collect such particulars relative to the court of St. Germain's, as could not readily enter into the general narration.

In the beginning of the year 1711, the abbé Gaultier, who was employed in the secret negotiations between France and England, waited upon the duke of Berwick, at St. Germain's, with proposals from the earl of Oxford, for the restoration of the Pretender. These proposals were in substance, That, provided queen Anne should be permitted to enjoy the crown in tranquillity during her life, she would secure to her brother the possession of it, after her death; and that sufficient stipulations should be signed, on his side, for the preservation of the church of England and the liberties of the kingdom.(1) These preliminaries being settled, says the duke of Berwick, who conducted the affairs of the Pretender, we consulted on the means of executing the business; but the abbé could not, at that time, enter into any particulars, as the lord treasurer had not yet fully explained to him his intentions. It was necessary, Oxford said, that the peace should be concluded before the English ministry could venture upon so delicate a measure.(2)

Meanwhile such of the Jacobites as were nearest the person of the queen, perceiving her inclinations, urged her perpetually to concert some plan for the restoration of the Pretender. Sincere in her own attachment to the church of England, she signified her desire that he should abjure popery, and place himself in a capacity of being *served*. But finding him obstinate, she replied, when urged by the duke of Buckingham to alter the succession in his favour, "How can I serve him? He takes not the least step to oblige me, in what I most desire. You know a papist cannot enjoy this crown in peace. But the example of the father has no weight with the son; he prefers his religious errors to the throne of a great kingdom. How, therefore, can I undo what I have already done! He may thank himself for his exclusion. He knows I love my own family better than any other. All would be easy, if he would enter the pale of the church of England. Advise him to change his religion; as that only can turn the opinion of the people in his favour."(3)

The duke of Buckingham conveyed this answer to the court of St. Germain's: and, at the same time, seconded the request of the queen. But his arguments were all lost on the Pretender, who was a zealous Catholic, and made a matter of conscience in adhering to his religion, in defiance of all

(1) Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. ii.

(2) *Ibid.* "Though it appeared to me," adds the duke of Berwick, "that one of these points was no hindrance to the other; yet, in order to shew that we would omit nothing to promote the interest of the Pretender, and to give proofs of our sincerity, we wrote to all the Jacobites to join with the court. And their influence contributed greatly to make the queen's party so superior in the house of commons, that every thing was carried there according to her wishes." This information is confirmed by the *Stuart and Hanover Papers*.

(3) *Stuart Papers*, 1712.

prudential considerations ;(1) an irrefragable proof of the most incurable and dangerous weakness in a prince, however commendable in a private person. For, as a sensible writer observes, if a king is not willing to go to heaven in the same way with his people, they will scarce acknowledge the legality of his authority on earth.(2) And a man who could relinquish his hopes of a great kingdom, for a speculative point of faith, discovered a spirit of bigotry, that would have sacrificed all civil engagements to the propagation of that faith. He was not fit to be trusted with power

The majority of the Tories, however, in their vehement zeal for the hereditary descent of the crown, overlooked the danger of the Pretender's attachment to the Romish religion ; and assured him, That should he only *conform*, in appearance, to the church of England, without the formality of a public recantation, they would endeavour to procure the *immediate* repeal of the Act of Settlement.(3) But Oxford, who never lost sight of the Protestant succession, or the security of his own power, assured the duke of Berwick, by the abbé Gaultier, on his return to France, in 1712, That the Pretender must still have patience ; that the least hint of queen Anne's intentions in favour of her brother would give the Whigs occasion to exclaim loudly against the court, and might not only destroy the necessary business of the peace, but perhaps occasion a change in the ministry, and even a revolution in the state ; that it was beside necessary to make sure of the army, the requisite steps for which could not be taken till after the peace was signed, when it would be reduced, and such officers only retained as could be depended on.(4)

The plausibility of these arguments quieted the Jacobites, and the court of St. Germain's, for a time. But when the peace was concluded, and the army reduced, yet no effectual step taken in favour of the Pretender, his own uneasiness and the anxiety of his partisans began to return. They pressed Oxford to fulfil his engagements ; representing to him, That, as there never could be a house of commons better disposed to second the views of the queen, he had only to propose the repeal of the Act of Settlement, and it would immediately be voted. It was necessary, he replied, to proceed more gently in the business ; but that they might make themselves easy, as he was seriously at work in the cause.(5) "In this manner," says the duke of Berwick, "did the lord-treasurer amuse us ; and it was difficult to prevent his "doing so. To have broke with him, would have proved the utter ruin of "our affairs, as he had the administration of England in his hands, and entirely governed queen Anne. We were, therefore, forced to *pretend* to "trust him ; but we neglected not, at the same time, privately to concert "measures with the duke of Ormond, and other well affected persons, that "we might be able to bring about the restoration of the Pretender, if Oxford "should fail us."(6)

Oxford, indeed, stood on such dangerous ground, that he durst not undertake any bold measure, whatever might be his inclinations. Equally distrusted by both Whigs and Tories, he was destitute of friends : his whole security consisted in the jealousy of the two parties, and his whole business was to balance them. In order to silence the clamours of the Whigs, he prevailed upon the queen to declare, in her speech to the parliament, contrary to her own inclinations and to truth, That "the most perfect friendship subsisted between her and the house of Hanover," at the same time that she mentioned what she had done for securing the Protestant succession.(7) This declaration had the desired effect. But Oxford was less successful in other measures.

The peace was generally disliked by the people, and all impartial men reprobated the treaty of commerce with France, as soon as the terms were

(1) *Stuart Papers*, 1712.

(2) Macpherson, *Hist. Brit.* vol. ii.

(3) *Stuart Papers*, 1712.

(4) Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. ii.

(5) *Ibid.*

(6) *Mem.* vol. ii.

(7) *Journals*, Ap. 9, 1712.

known. Exception was particularly taken against the eighth and ninth articles, importing, "That Great Britain and France should mutually enjoy all the privileges in trading with each other, which either granted to the most favoured nation; that all prohibitions should be removed, and no higher duties imposed on the French commodities than on those of any other people." The ruinous tendency of these articles was perceived by the whole trading part of the kingdom. It was accordingly urged, when a bill was brought into the house of commons, for confirming them, that our trade with Portugal, the most beneficial of any, would be lost, should the duties on French and Portuguese wines be made equal, the freight from Portugal being higher, and the French wines more generally agreeable to the taste of the English nation. And if we did not consume the wines of Portugal, it was unreasonable to think the Portuguese would continue to purchase our manufactures, in balance for which we received, in bullion or specie, near a million sterling annually; that we could expect from France no equivalent for this loss, as the French had established woollen manufactures, sufficient not only to supply themselves, but even to rival us in foreign markets; that our silk manufacture, which employed a number of people, and saved a vast sum annually to the nation, would be ruined, should a free importation of silk stuffs, from France, be permitted; and likewise our trade to Italy and Turkey, where we disposed of great quantities of woollen goods, in exchange for the raw material of this manufacture; that the ruin of our manufactures of linen and paper would also be the consequence of a free importation of those articles from France, as the cheapness of labour and provisions in that kingdom would enable the French to undersell us, even in our own markets.⁽¹⁾ These, and similar arguments, induced the more moderate Tories to join the Whigs, and the bill was rejected by a majority of nine votes.

Encouraged by this success, and justly alarmed for the safety of the Protestant succession, the Whigs endeavoured to awaken the fears of the people, by several virulent speeches in parliament, against the Pretender, at the same time that they solicited the elector of Hanover to come over in person, or to send the electoral prince of England. Both these proposals the elector very prudently rejected. But, in order to gratify, in some degree, the ardour of his partisans, to embarrass the British ministry, and even to intimidate queen Anne, he allowed Schutz, his envoy at the court of London, to demand a writ for the electoral prince to sit in the house of peers, as duke of Cambridge.⁽²⁾ Oxford and his associates were filled with consternation at a request so unexpected, and the queen was agitated with all the violence of passion. Her resentment was increased by the exultation of the Whigs. Seeming to derive vigour from her very terror, she declared, That she would sooner suffer the loss of her crown, than permit any prince of the house of Hanover to come over to Britain to reside, in her lifetime. And Schutz was forbid to appear any more at court, under pretence that he had exceeded his instructions.⁽³⁾

Whether the elector had ever any serious intention of sending his son to England may be questioned, though he represented, in a memorial to queen Anne, "That for the security of her royal person, her kingdoms, and the Protestant religion, it seemed necessary to settle in Britain some prince of the electoral family;"⁽⁴⁾ but it is certain that the Jacobites had formed a design of bringing over the Pretender, and that he himself and his adherents entertained the most sanguine expectations of his speedy exaltation to the throne. These expectations were heightened by the promised regulation of the army. The duke of Argyll, the earl of Stair, and all other officers of distinction, whom the Jacobites and more violent Tories suspected would support the Act of Settlement, were removed from their military employments; and the command of the whole regular troops in the kingdom was

(1) *Parl. Debates*, 1713. Burnet, book vii.

(2) *Hanover Papers*, April, 1714.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) *Hanover Papers*, May, 1714.

vested in the hands of the duke of Ormond and his creatures, who were known to be well affected to the excluded family.

This measure, however, of which St. John, now created lord Bolingbroke, not Oxford, was the author, is said to have been dictated by a jealousy of the ambitious designs of the Whigs and the house of Hanover (who are accused of having formed a scheme for seizing the reins of government) rather than by any attachment to the interests of the Pretender. But be that as it may, we know that a measure fatal to the Pretender's views was adopted by the British ministry, in order to quiet the fears of the elector and to engage him to keep his son at home; queen Anne's fears from the family of Hanover being ultimately more than a balance for her affection for her own.

Information having been obtained, by the vigilance of the earl of Whar-ton, that certain Irish officers were enlisting men for the Pretender, they were taken into custody. The people were alarmed, and the Whigs added artfully to their fears. The lord treasurer, in concert with the Whigs, wrought so much on the natural timidity of the duke of Shrewsbury, that he joined him on this occasion; and, through their combined influence, the majority of the cabinet-council agreed to issue a proclamation, promising a reward of five thousand pounds for apprehending the Pretender, should he land in Great Britain. The two houses of parliament voted an address of thanks to the queen for her attention to the religion and liberties of the kingdom; and the commons, in their zeal for the Protestant succession, extended the reward for apprehending the Pretender to one hundred thousand pounds.(1)

That prince, however, persuaded that the queen and the chief nobility and gentry, whatever steps they might take to quiet the populace, were sincerely in his interest, did not yet despair of being able to ascend the throne of his ancestors:—and the prospect of a change in the ministry inspired him with new hopes. Bolingbroke, by flattering the prejudices of his mistress, had gradually supplanted the earl of Oxford in her confidence. He represented to her the languor of the lord treasurer's measures: he gave insinuations concerning his secret intrigues with the Whigs; and he suggested to her, that to pay any attention, in future, to the house of Hanover, was incompatible with her service.(2) Similar representations were made by the duke of Ormond, and other Jacobites, whom the duke of Berwick eagerly solicited to procure the removal of the lord high treasurer, as a necessary prelude to the accomplishment of the queen's designs in favour of her brother.(3) Oxford was accordingly deprived of his office. But the queen's death, which happened only four days after, and before the new administra-

(1) Journals, June 24, 1714. *Hanover and Stuart Papers*, 1714.

(2) *Hanover Papers*, July 20, 1714.

(3) Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. ii. The plan which the duke of Berwick had formed for the accomplishment of these designs, and which he communicated first to lay before the earl of Oxford, was, that the Pretender should go privately over to the queen his sister, who should immediately assemble the two houses of parliament, and explain her brother's incontestable right, and the resolution she had taken to restore what belonged to him, by all laws divine and human; that she should, at the same time, assure them she would pass such acts as might be thought necessary for the support of their religion and liberty; that she then should introduce the Pretender into parliament, and say, "Here he is, my lords and gentlemen, ready to promise you to keep all I have engaged for him, and to swear to the observance of every act of parliament; therefore require of you instantly to repeal all the acts passed against him, and to acknowledge him as my heir and your future sovereign, that he may owe you some good will for having concurred with me, in what your conscience, your duty, and your honour, should have prompted you before this time to propose." *Ibid.*

Such an unexpected step, though somewhat romantic at first sight, the duke imagined would so much have astonished the factious, and delighted the well-affected, that there would not have been the least opposition to the queen's demands, in no person could have doubted but she had taken effectual measures to secure obedience. But as the earl of Oxford returned no answer to this proposal the marshal Berwick very justly concluded, That the lord high treasurer's only motive, in all the advances he had hitherto made to the court of St. Germain, had been his own interest, in endeavouring to join the Jacobites with the Tories, and by such means to secure a majority in parliament in favour of the peace; and that, as soon as the treaty was concluded, he thought of nothing but to be upon good terms with the Whigs and the house of Hanover. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* ubi sup.

tion was properly formed, left open the succession to the elector of Hanover, and disappointed the hopes of the Pretender and his adherents.

The character of this princess, who died in the fiftieth year of her age, and the thirteenth of her reign, is neither striking nor complicated. Though not altogether destitute of female accomplishments, she had nothing captivating, as a woman, either in her manner or person: she could only be reputed sensible and agreeable. Her failure of duty as a daughter excepted, her conduct in private life appears to have been highly exemplary. She was a loving wife, a tender mother, a warm friend, and an indulgent mistress. As a sovereign, notwithstanding the illustrious events of her reign, she is entitled to little praise: she possessed neither vigour of mind, splendid talents, nor a deep penetration into human affairs. A prey to the most enslaving timidity, and continually governed by favourites, she can hardly be said to have ever thought for herself, or to have acted according to her own inclinations. But as her popularity concealed the weakness of her personal authority, the great abilities of her principal servants, to whom she owed that popularity, threw a splendid veil over the feeble qualities of queen Anne.

During an interval of her illness, which was a kind of lethargic dozing, brought on by violent agitation of mind, on account of the critical state of her affairs, she delivered the treasurer's staff to the duke of Shrewsbury. That nobleman was attached to the excluded family; but his caution had hitherto made him temporize, and it was now too late to take any effectual step in favour of the Pretender. The Whigs were highly elated at the near prospect of an event, which they flattered themselves would not only dispel all their fears, in regard to the Protestant Succession, but prove alike friendly to their power and to their principles. The Tories were depressed in an equal degree; and the Jacobites were disconcerted, all their projects being yet in embryo. Animated with the ardour of their party, and perhaps by a zeal for the welfare of their country, the dukes of Somerset and Argyle boldly entered the council-chamber, without being summoned. Though their presence was little acceptable, and so unexpected, that their appearance filled the council with consternation, they were desired by the timid Shrewsbury to take their places, and thanked for their readiness to give their assistance at such a crisis. Other Whig members joined them; and a multitude of the nobility and gentry being assembled, as soon as the queen expired, orders were given, agreeable to the act of settlement, to proclaim GEORGE, elector of Brunswick, King of Great Britain.⁽¹⁾ A regency was appointed according to his nomination, his title was owned by foreign princes and states, and all things continued quiet in England until his arrival.

George I. ascended the throne of Great Britain in the fifty-fourth year of his age; and the same prudence, which had hitherto distinguished him, in his negotiations with the British court, was conspicuous throughout his reign. In contradistinction to the ungenerous and impolitic maxim, too frequently embraced by the princes of the house of Stuart, of trusting to the attachment of their friends, without rewarding them, and attempting, by favouring the friends of their enemies, he made it a rule never to forget his friends, and to set his enemies at defiance. Conformable to this mode of thinking, which he perhaps carried to excess, he placed not only the administration, but all the principal employments of the kingdom, both civil and military, in the hands of the Whigs. The treasury and admiralty were put in commission; the command of the army was taken from the duke of Ormond, and restored to the duke of Marlborough; the duke of Argyle was made commander in chief of the forces in Scotland; the great seal was given to lord Cowper, the privy seal to the earl of Wharton, and the government of Ireland to the earl of Sunderland. Lord Townshend and Mr. Stanhope were appointed secretaries of state; the duke of Somerset was nominated master of the horse, Mr. Pulteney secretary at war, and Mr. Walpole paymaster-general. A new parliament was called, in which the interest of the

(1) *Monthly Mercury* for July 1714. *Tindal's Contin. of Rapin*, vol. vi.

Whigs predominated; and a secret committee, chosen by ballot, was appointed to examine all the papers and enquire into all the negotiations relative to the late peace, as well as to the cessation of arms, by which it was preceded.

The *Committee of Secrecy* prosecuted their inquiry with the greatest eagerness; and in consequence of their report, the commons resolved to impeach lord Bolingbroke, the earl of Oxford, and the duke of Ormond, of high treason. The grounds of these impeachments were, the share which Oxford and Bolingbroke had in the clandestine negotiations with France, and Ormond's acting in concert with Villars, after the fatal suspension of arms.⁽¹⁾ More timid, or conscious of superior guilt, Bolingbroke and Ormond made their escape to the continent, while Oxford continued to attend his duty in parliament, and was committed to the Tower. His behaviour, throughout the prosecution, was firm and manly. When impeached by the commons at the bar of the house of lords, all the arguments of his friends being found insufficient to acquit him, he spoke to the following purport:

"The whole charge against me may be reduced to the negotiating and concluding the peace of Utrecht: and that peace, bad as it is represented, has been approved of by two successive parliaments. As I always acted by the immediate directions and commands of the queen, my mistress, and never offended against any known law, I am justified in my conscience, and unconcerned for the life of an insignificant old man; but I cannot remain unconcerned, without the highest ingratitude, for the reputation of the best of queens. Gratitude binds me to vindicate her memory.

"My lords," added he, "if ministers of state, acting by the immediate command of their sovereign, are afterward to be made accountable for their proceedings, it may, one day or other, be the case of every member of this august assembly. I do not doubt, therefore, that, out of regard to yourselves, your lordships will give me an equitable hearing; and I hope that, in the prosecution of this enquiry, it will appear I have merited not only the *indulgence*, but the favour of the *present government*."⁽²⁾ The government seems at last to have been made sensible of the truth of this assertion; for Oxford, when brought to his trial, after lying near two years in prison, was dismissed for want of accusers, the commons not choosing to appear against him.

To these prosecutions, which have been represented as vindictive, and the partiality of the king to the Whigs, the rebellion that disturbed the beginning of this reign has been ascribed; but very unjustly. The prosecutions were necessary, in order to free the nation from the imputation of having connived at a shameful breach of public faith: and if George I. had not thrown himself into the hands of the Whigs, he must soon have returned to Hanover. Of all the parties in the kingdom, they only were sincerely attached to his cause, or could now be said firmly to adhere to the principles of the Revolution. The more moderate Tories might perhaps have been gained, but the animosity between them and the Whigs was yet too keen to admit of a coalition. Beside such a coalition, though it might have existed, in appearance, some factious leaders, and produced a momentary calm, would have been dangerous to the established government.

The Tories were in general inclined to Jacobitism. The heads of the party, both in England and Scotland, held a secret correspondence with the Pretender; and, although no regular concert had been formed, a conspiracy toward an insurrection appeared among them, from one end of the island to the other, and the most artful means were employed to inflame the body of the people, as well as to secure particular adherents. The disbanded officers were gained by money;⁽³⁾ scandalous libels were published against the electoral family; the Pretender's manifestoes were every where dispersed; all the Whigs were brought under the description of dissenters, and the cry of the danger of the church was revived.

During these discontents and cabals, which were chiefly occasioned by the

(1) *Report of the Committee of Secrecy.*

(2) *Parl. Hist.* 1715.

(3) *Duke of Berwick's Mem.* vol. ii.

disappointment of the Jacobites and more violent Tories, in consequence of the premature death of queen Anne, the zeal and loyalty of the Whigs only could have supported king George upon the throne of Great Britain; and a small body of foreign troops was only wanting, to have made the contest doubtful between the house of Stuart and that of Hanover. Such a body of troops the duke of Ormond, and other zealous Jacobites in England, eagerly solicited from the Pretender, as necessary to render their designs in his favour successful.

Convinced of the reasonableness of this demand, the duke of Berwick used all his influence, but in vain, to procure a few regiments from the court of Versailles. (1) Lewis XIV. now broken by years and infirmities, and standing on the verge of the grave, was unwilling to engage in a new war, or hazard any measure that might disturb the minority of his great-grandson. He therefore declined taking openly any part in the affairs of the Pretender: and the vigilance of the earl of Stair, the British ambassador in France, effectually prevented any secret aids from operating to the disadvantage of his master.

The Pretender, however, had still hopes of being able to ascend the throne of his ancestors, by means of his English adherents, and the assistance of the Scottish Jacobites, who had already provided themselves with arms, and were ready to rise at his command. His brother, the duke of Berwick, and the fugitive lord Bolingbroke, to whom he had delivered the seals, as secretary of state, were less sanguine in their expectations; yet they flattered themselves, that some bold step would be taken, which might encourage the court of France to interpose in his favour. But the misconduct of the duke of Ormond disappointed all these hopes.

This nobleman, after his impeachment, had retired to his house at Richmond, where he lived in great state, and was surrounded by the whole body of the Tories, of which he was supposed to be the head. He seemed to have set up the standard against his sovereign. And he assured the Pretender, he would hold his station as long as possible; and when he could maintain it no longer, that he would retire to the North or West of England, where he had many friends, among whom he had distributed a number of reduced officers, and in one of those quarters begin an insurrection. He had even settled a relay of horses, in order to proceed with more expedition when the dangerous moment should arrive. (2) But Ormond, though personally brave, was destitute of that vigour of spirit, which is necessary for the execution of such an undertaking. When informed that a party of the guards had orders to surround his house and seize his person, he lost all presence of mind, and hastily made his escape to France; without leaving any instructions for his friends, who were waiting for the summons to take up arms, and eager to act under his command. (3)

The unexpected flight of Ormond gave a fatal stab to the cause of the Pretender. It not only disconcerted the plans of his English adherents, but confirmed the court of Versailles in the resolution of yielding him no open assistance. If a man, on whose credit the highest hopes of the Jacobites rested, was under the necessity of abandoning his country, without being able to strike a blow, the French ministry very reasonably concluded, that the Tory party could not be so powerful, or so ripe for an insurrection as they had been represented.

The death of Lewis XIV. which happened soon after, farther embarrassed the Pretender's affairs. "No prince," says the duke of Berwick, "was ever so little known as this monarch. He has been represented as a man not only cruel and false, but difficult of access. I have frequently had the honour of audiences from him, and have been very familiarly admitted to his presence; and I can affirm, that his *pride* was only in appearance. He was born with an *air of majesty*, which struck every one so much, that nobody could approach him without being seized with awe

(1) Duke of Berwick's *Mém.* vol. ii.

(2) *Ibid*

(3) *Ibid*.

"and respect; but as soon as you spoke to him, he softened his countenance, and put you quite at ease. He was the most polite man in his kingdom: and his answers were accompanied with so many obliging expressions, that if he granted your request, the obligation was doubled, by the manner of conferring it; and, if he refused, you could not complain." (1) It was that air of majesty, mentioned by the duke of Berwick, which so disconcerted the old officer, who came to ask a favour of Lewis XIV. that he could only say, in a faltering voice, "I hope your majesty will believe I do not thus tremble before your enemies!" The character of this prince I have already had occasion to draw, and to exhibit in various lights.

The duke of Orleans, who was appointed by the parliament of Paris, regent during the minority of Lewis XV. in contradiction to the will of the deceased monarch, affected privately to espouse the interests of the house of Stuart; but the exhausted state of France, and the difficulty of maintaining his own authority against the other princes of the blood, induced him publicly to cultivate a good understanding with the court of Great Britain, and even to take, though with seeming reluctance, all the steps pointed out by the earl of Stair, for defeating the designs of the Jacobites. Of those the most important, was the stopping of some ships laden with arms and ammunition; an irreparable loss to the Pretender, as he could neither procure money, nor leave to buy up a fresh quantity of such articles in any other country. (2)

Notwithstanding these discouragements, the indigent representative of the unfortunate family of Stuart did not relinquish his hopes of a crown: nor did his partisans, either in England or Scotland, abate of their ardour in his cause. But ardour, unless governed by prudence, is a wild energy, that often brings ruin on the party it was intended to serve. It required all the cool experience of the duke of Berwick, and the great talents of lord Bolingbroke, to moderate the zeal of the English and Scottish Jacobites. The Highlanders were impatient to take up arms: they had entered into a regular concert for that purpose: they knew their force; and, confident of success, they entreated the Pretender to place himself at their head, or at least to permit them to rise in vindication of his just rights. Some account must here be given of this singular race of men.

The Highlanders are the reputed descendants of the ancient Caledonians, or original inhabitants of North Britain, and value themselves on having had the rare fortune of never being subjected to the law of any conqueror. From the victorious arms of the Romans, they took refuge in their rugged mountains, and there continued to enjoy their independency, while that ambitious people remained masters of the southern parts of this island. Nor has the sword of Dane, of Saxon, or of Norman, ever reduced them to submission.

But although independent, the Highlanders were by no means free. Divided into a variety of tribes or Clans, under chiefs who exercised an arbitrary jurisdiction over them, the body of the people were in a great measure slaves, subjected to the imperious will of their lords. And from that law of will, which it was the common interest and the pride of all the heads of Clans to support, there lay no appeal; for although the Highland chiefs acknowledged the sovereignty of the king of Scotland, and held themselves bound to assist him in his wars, they admitted not his control in their private concerns; in their treatment of their own vassals, or in their disputes with hostile Clans. His mediation was all he could presume to offer. Nor was that often obtruded upon them; the Scottish monarchs in general being happy, if they could prevent these barbarous and predatory tribes from pillaging the more opulent and industrious inhabitants of the Low Countries. (3)

(1) Duke of Berwick's *Mém.* vol. ii.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) In palliation of these cruel inroads, it has been said, that the Highlanders having been driven from the Low Country, by invasion, have, from time immemorial, thought themselves, "entitled to make reprisals upon the property of their invaders!" (*Dalrymple's Mém. of Great Britain.*) The same plea has been urged by the American savages, as an apology for pillaging the European settlements, and with more plausibility, as the era of invasion is not immemorial.

The remote situation of the Highlanders, and their ignorance of any language but that of their rude ancestors, commonly known by the name of Erse, farther contributed to perpetuate their barbarity and slavery. They had no means of making known their grievances to the throne, and few of becoming acquainted with the benefits of civil government, with the arts, or accommodations of civil life.

The servitude of the Highland vassals, however, was alleviated by certain circumstances connected with their condition. All the people of every Clan bore the name of their hereditary chief, and were supposed to be allied to him, in different degrees, by the ties of blood. This kindred-band, or admitted claim of a common relationship, which in small Clans was a strong curb upon the oppressive spirit of domination, and in all led to a freedom of intercourse highly flattering to human pride, communicated to the vassal Highlanders, along with the most implicit submission to their chiefs, a sentiment of conscious dignity, and a sense of natural equality, not to be found among the subjects of other petty despots or feudal lords. And that idea of personal importance, as well as the complaisance of the Highland chiefs, was heightened by the perpetual wars between the different Clans; in which every individual had frequent opportunity of displaying his prowess, and of discovering his attachment to his leader, in the head of his family. The ties of blood were strengthened by those of interest, of gratitude, and mutual esteem.

Those wars, and the active life of the Highlanders in times of peace, when they were entirely employed in hunting or in herding their cattle, (the labours of husbandry among them being few) habituated them to the use of arms, and hardened them to the endurance of toil, without greatly wasting their bodily strength or destroying their agility. Their ancient military weapons, in conjunction with a target or buckler, were a broad-sword, for cutting or thrusting at a distance, and a dirk, or dagger, for stabbing in close fight. To these, when they became acquainted with the use of fire arms, they added a musket, which was laid aside in battle, after the first discharge. They occasionally carried also a pair of pistols, that were fired as soon as the musket was discharged, and thrown in the face of the enemy, as a prelude to the havoc of the broad-sword; which was instantly brandished by every arm, gleaming like the corruscations of lightning, in order to infuse terror into the heart and to conquer the eye of the foe, and which fell on the head, or on the target of an antagonist, with the shock of thunder. Want of perseverance and of union, however, has generally rendered the efforts of the Clans, as a body, abortive, notwithstanding their prowess in combat, and exposed them to the disgrace of being routed by an inferior number of regular troops.

The dress of the Highlanders was well suited to their arms, to their moist mountainous country, and to their mode of life. Instead of breeches they wore a light woollen garment, called the *kilt*, which came as low as the knee: a thick cloth jacket; a worsted plaid, six yards in length, and two in breadth, wrapped loosely round the body; the upper fold of which rested on the left shoulder, leaving the right arm at full liberty. In battle they commonly threw away the plaid, that they might be enabled to make their movements with more celerity, and their strokes with greater force. They fought not in ranks, but in knots or separate bands, condensed and firm.

Such were the people who under their numerous chieftains, had formed a regular confederacy, and were zealous to take arms for the restoration of the family of Stuart to the throne of Great Britain. Strongly prepossessed in favour of the hereditary descent of the crown, the Highlanders could form no conception of a parliamentary right to alter the order of succession, from political considerations. It contradicted all their ideas of kingship, and even of clanship. They therefore thought themselves bound, by a sacred and indispensable obligation, to re-instate in his lineal inheritance the excluded prince, or to perish in the bold attempt.

The Pretender's southern friends were no less liberal in their professions of zeal in his cause. They pressed him to land in the West of England:

where his person would be as safe, they affirmed, as in Scotland, and where he would find all other things more favourable to his views, although they had yet taken no decisive measures for a general insurrection; though they still continued to represent arms and foreign troops as necessary to such a step, and were told that the Pretender was not only incapable of furnishing them with either, but assured that he could not bring along with him so many men as would be able to protect him against the peace-officers. (1)

In order to compose the spirit of the Highlanders, who seemed to fear nothing so much, as that the business of restoring their king would be taken out of their hands, and the honour appropriated by others, they were informed, that the Pretender was desirous to have the rising of his friends in England and Scotland so adjusted, that they might mutually assist each other; and that it was very much to be wished all hostilities in Scotland could be suspended, until the English were ready to take up arms. (2) A memorial drawn up by the duke of Berwick, had been already sent, by lord Bolingbroke, to the Jacobites in England, representing the unreasonableness of desiring the Pretender to land among them, before they were in a condition to support him. They were now requested to consider seriously, if they were yet in such a condition; and assured, that as soon as an intimation to that purpose should be given, and the time and place of his landing fixed, the Pretender was ready to put himself at their head. They named, as a landing place, the neighbourhood of Plymouth, and said they hoped the western counties were in a good posture to receive the king; (3) but they offered no conjecture at the force they could bring into the field, or the dependence that might be placed in the persons who had engaged to rise.

This, as lord Bolingbroke very justly observes, was not the answer of men who knew what they were about. A little more precision was surely necessary in dictating a message, that was expected to be attended with such important consequences. The duke of Ormond, however, set out from Paris, and the Pretender, from his temporary residence at Bar, on the frontiers of Lorrain, in order to join their common friends. Some agents were sent to the West, some to the North of England, and others to London, to give notice that both were on their way. And their routes were so directed, that Ormond was to sail from the coast of Normandy a few days before the Pretender arrived at St. Malo, to which place the duke was to send immediate notice of his landing, and of the prospect of success. (4)

But the Pretender's imprudence, and the vigilance of the English government, defeated the designs of his adherents in the West, and broke, in its infancy, the force of a rebellion, which threatened to deluge the kingdom in blood. Governed by priests and women, he had unwisely given, in the beginning of September, a secret order to the earl of Mar, already appointed his commander in chief for Scotland, to go immediately into that kingdom, and to take up arms. (5) Mar, who had been secretary of state for Scotland, during the reign of queen Anne, and who had great influence in the Highlands, did not hesitate a moment to obey. He instantly left London, attended by lieutenant-general Hamilton, who had long served with distinction in Holland and Flanders; and as soon as he reached his own country, having assembled about three hundred of his friends and vassals, he proclaimed the Pretender, under the name of James VIII. of Scotland, and set up his standard at Braemar, summoning all good subjects to join him, in order to restore their rightful sovereign to the throne of his ancestors, and deliver the nation from the tyranny of George, duke of Brunswick, usurper of the British monarchy. (6)

In consequence of this proclamation, and a declaration by which it was followed, Mar was soon joined by the marquisses of Huntley and Tullibardine.

(1) Bolingbroke's *Letters to Sir William Wyndham*.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) Bolingbroke, *ubi sup.*

(4) *Ibid.*

(5) Duke of Berwick's *Mém.* vol. ii.

(6) *Ibid.*

dine, the earls Mareschal and Southesk, and all the heads of the Jacobite Clans. With their assistance, he was able in a few weeks to collect an army of near ten thousand men, well armed and accoutred. He took possession of the town of Perth, where he established his head-quarters, and made himself master of almost all that part of Scotland which lies beyond the Frith of Forth.

This was great and rapid success. But the duke of Argyle had already received orders to march against the rebels, with all the forces in North Britain; and the Pretender's affairs had suffered, in the mean time, an irreparable injury in another quarter. The jealousy of government being roused by the unadvised insurrection of Mar, the lords Landsdown and Duplin, the earl of Jersey, sir William Wyndham, and other Jacobite leaders, who had agreed to raise the West of England, were taken into custody, on suspicion. The whole plan of a rebellion, in that part of the kingdom, was disconcerted. The gentlemen were intimidated, the people were over-awed; so that Ormond, when he landed, was denied a night's lodging, in a country where he expected to head an army and re-establish a king.⁽¹⁾ He returned to France with the discouraging news; but, as soon as the vessel that carried him could be refitted, astonishing as it may seem, he made a second attempt to land in the same part of the island. What he could propose, by this second attempt, his best friends could never comprehend; and are of opinion, that a storm, in which he was in danger of being cast away, and which forced him back to the French coast, saved him from a yet greater peril—that of perishing in an adventure, as full of extravagant rashness, and as void of all reasonable meaning, as any of those which have rendered the knight of La Mancha immortal.⁽²⁾

The Pretender's affairs wore a better appearance, for a time, in the North of England. Mr. Foster, a gentleman of some influence in Northumberland, with the lords Derwentwater, Widrington, and other Jacobite leaders, there took up arms, and assembled a considerable force. But as their troops consisted chiefly of cavalry, they wrote to the earl of Mar to send them a reinforcement of infantry. This request was readily complied with. Brigadier Mackintosh was ordered to join them, with eighteen hundred Highlanders. In the mean time, having failed in an attempt upon Newcastle, and being informed that Mackintosh had already crossed the Forth, they marched northward to meet him. On their way, they were joined by a body of horse, under the earls of Carnwath and Wintoun, the viscount Kenmure, and other Jacobite leaders. They passed the Tweed at Kelso; and having formed a junction with Mackintosh, a council of war was called, in order to deliberate on their future proceedings.

In this council, little unanimity could be expected, and as little was found. To march immediately toward the West of Scotland, and press the duke of Argyle on one side, while the earl of Mar attacked him on the other, seemed the most rational plan; as a victory over that nobleman, which they could scarce have failed to obtain, would have put the Pretender at once in possession of all North Britain. Such a proposal was made by the earl of Wintoun, and agreed to by all the Scottish leaders; but the English insisted on repassing the Tweed, and attacking general Carpenter, who had been sent, with only nine hundred horse, to suppress the rebellion in Northumberland.

From an uncomplimentary obstinacy, mingled with national jealousy, the rebels adopted neither of those plans, nor embraced any fixed resolution. The English insurgents persisted in their refusal to penetrate into Scotland. Part of the Highlanders, equally obstinate, attempted in disgust to find their way home; and the remainder reluctantly accompanied Mackintosh and Foster, who entered England by the western border, leaving general Carpenter on the left.

These leaders proceeded, by the way of Penrith, Kendal, and Lancaster, to Preston, where they were in hopes of increasing their numbers, by the

(1) Bolingbroke's *Letter to Sir William Wyndham*.

(2) *Ibid.*

rising of the Catholics of Lancashire. But before they could receive any considerable accession of strength, or erect proper works for the defence of the town, they were informed that general Willis was ready to invest it, with six regiments of cavalry, and one battalion of infantry. They now prepared themselves for resistance, and repelled the first attack of the king's troops with vigour; but Willis being joined next day by a reinforcement of three regiments of dragoons, under general Carpenter, the rebels lost all heart, and surrendered at discretion.⁽¹⁾ Several reduced officers, found to have been in arms against their sovereign, were immediately shot as deserters; the noblemen and gentlemen were sent prisoners to London, and committed to the Tower; while the common men were confined in the castle of Chester, and other secure places in the country.

The same day that the rebellion in England was extinguished, by the surrender of Foster and his associates at Preston, the rebels in Scotland received a severe shock from the royal army. The earl of Mar, after having wasted his time in forming his army, with unnecessary parade, at Perth,⁽²⁾ took a resolution to march into England, and join his southern friends. With this view he marched to Auchterarder, where he reviewed his forces, and halted a day, before he attempted to cross the Forth. The duke of Argyle, who lay on the southern side of that river, instead of waiting to dispute the passage of the rebels, marched over the bridge of Stirling, as soon as he was informed of their design, and encamped within a few miles of the earl of Mar, with his left to the village of Dumblaine, and his right toward Sheriff-Muir. His army consisted only of two thousand three hundred infantry, and twelve hundred cavalry; that of the rebels, of about nine thousand men, chiefly infantry. They came in sight of each other in the evening, and lay all night on their arms.

At day-break Argyle, perceiving the rebels in motion, drew up his troops in order of battle. But, on the nearer approach of the enemy, finding himself out-flanked, and in danger of being surrounded, he was under the necessity of altering his disposition, by seizing on certain heights to the north-east of Dumblaine. In consequence of this movement, which was not made without some degree of confusion, the left wing of the royal army fell in with the centre of the rebels, composed of the Clans, headed by Glengary, Sir Donald Macdonald's brothers, the captain of Clanronald, Sir John Maclean, Glenco, Campbell of Glenlyon, Gordon of Glenbucket, and other chieftains. The combat was fierce and bloody, and the Highlanders seemed at one time discouraged, by the loss of one of their leaders; when Glengary, waving his bonnet, and crying aloud, "Revenge! revenge!" they rushed up to the muzzle of the muskets of the king's troops, pushed aside the bayonets with their targets, and made great havoc with their broad-swords. The whole left wing of the royal army was instantly broken and routed; general Witham, who commanded it, flying to Stirling, and declaring that all was lost.

Meanwhile the duke of Argyle, who conducted in person the right wing of the royal army, consisting chiefly of horse, had defeated the left of the rebels, and pursued them with great slaughter, as far as the river Allen, in which many of them were drowned. This pursuit however, though hot, was by no means rapid. The rebels, notwithstanding their habitual dread of cavalry, the shock of which their manner of fighting rendered them little able to resist, frequently made a stand, and endeavoured to renew the combat. And if Mar, who remained with the victorious part of his army, had possessed any tolerable share of military talents, Argyle would never have dared to revisit the field of battle. He might even have been overpowered by numbers, and cut off by one body of the rebels, when fatigued with combating the other. But no such attempt being made, nor the advantage on the left properly improved, the duke returned triumphant to the scene of action; and Mar, who had taken post on the top of an hill, with about five thousand of the flower of his army, not only forbore to molest the king's troops, but

(1) Willis's *Dispatches*. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. ii.

(2) Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. ii.

retired during the following night, and made the best of his way to Perth.(1) Next morning the duke of Argyle, who had been joined by the remains of his left wing, perceiving that the rebels had saved him the trouble of dislodging them, drew off his army toward Stirling, carrying along with him the enemy's artillery, bread-waggons, and many prisoners of distinction.(2) The number killed was very considerable, amounting to near a thousand men on each side.

This battle, though by no means decisive, proved fatal, in its consequences, to the affairs of the Pretender in Scotland. Lord Lovat, the chief of the Frasers, who seemed disposed to join the rebels, now declared for the established government, and seized upon the important post of Inverness, from which he drove Sir John Mackenzie; while the earl of Sutherland, who had hitherto been over-awed, appeared openly in the same cause. Against these two noblemen, Mar detached the marquis of Huntley and the earl of Seaforth, with their numerous vassals. But the rebel chiefs, instead of coming to immediate action, suffered themselves to be amused with negotiations; and both, after some hesitation, returned to their allegiance under king George. The marquis of Tullibardine also withdrew from the rebel army, in order to defend his own country against the friends of government; and the Clans disgusted at their failure of success, dispersed on the approach of winter, with their usual want of perseverance.

The Pretender, who had hitherto resisted every solicitation to come over, took the unaccountable resolution, in this desperate state of his affairs, of landing in the North of Scotland. He accordingly set sail from Dunkirk in a small vessel, and arrived at Peterhead, attended only by six gentlemen. He was met at Fetterosse by the earls of Mar and Mareschal, and conducted to Perth. There a regular council was formed, and a day fixed for his coronation at Scone. But he was diverted from all thoughts of that vain ceremony by the approach of the duke of Argyle; who having been reinforced with six thousand Dutch auxiliaries, advanced toward Perth, notwithstanding the rigour of the season.

As that town was utterly destitute of fortifications, excepting a simple wall, and otherwise unprovided for a siege, the king's troops took possession of it without resistance. Mar and the Pretender had retired to Montrose; and, seeing no prospect of better fortune, they embarked for France, accompanied with several other persons of distinction.(3) General Gordon and earl Mareschal proceeded northward with the main body of the rebels, by a march so rapid as to elude pursuit. All who thought they could not hope for pardon, embarked at Aberdeen for the continent. The common people were conducted to the hills of Badenoch, and there quietly dismissed. The whole country submitted to Argyle.

Such, my dear Philip, was the issue of a rebellion, which had its origin, as we have seen, in the intrigues in favour of the Pretender, during the latter years of the reign of queen Anne, not in the measures of the new government, as represented by the Jacobite writers. Its declared object was the restoration of the family of Stuart to the throne of Great Britain; and that many intelligent men have supposed, would have been attended with fewer inconveniences than the accession of the house of Hanover. But they who reflect, that the Pretender was a bigoted papist, and not only obstinately refused to change his religion, though sensible it incapacitated him from legally succeeding to the crown, but studiously avoided, in his very manifestoes, giving any open and unequivocal assurance, that he would maintain the civil and religious liberties of the nation, as by law established,(4) will

(1) *London Gazette*, Nov. 21, 1715. *Duke of Berwick's Mem.* vol. ii. *Account of the Battle of Dumbaine*, printed at Edinburgh in 1715, and *Tindal's Contin. of Rapin*, vol. vii.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) *Duke of Berwick's Mem.* vol. ii. *Tindal's Contin.* ubi sup.

(4) See *Bolingbroke's Letter to Sir William Wyndham*, in which many curious proofs of the Pretender's duplicity and bigotry are given. When the draught of a declaration, and other papers, to be dispersed in Great Britain, were presented to him by his secretary, "he took exception against several passages, and particularly against those wherein

find reason to be of another opinion. They will consider the suppression of this rebellion, which defeated the designs of the Jacobites, and in a manner extinguished the hopes of the Pretender, as an event of the utmost importance to the happiness of Great Britain.—The earl of Derwentwater, lord Kenmure, and a few other rebel prisoners, were publicly executed; but no blood was wantonly spilt. These executions were dictated by prudence, not by vengeance.

We must now turn our eyes toward another quarter of Europe, and take a view of the king of Sweden and his antagonist, Peter the Great. The king of Sweden particularly claims our attention at this period; as, among his other extravagant projects, he had formed a design of restoring the Pretender.

LETTER XXV.

Russia, Turkey, and the Northern Kingdoms, from the Defeat of Charles XII. at Pultowa, 1709, to the Death of Peter the Great, in 1725.

THE defeat of the king of Sweden at Pultowa, as I have already had occasion to notice, was followed by the most important consequences. Charles XII. who had so long been the terror of Europe, was obliged to take shelter in the Turkish dominions, where he continued a fugitive, while his former rival, the Russian monarch, victorious on every side, restored Augustus to the throne of Poland; deposed Stanislaus, expelled the Swedes, and made himself master of Livonia, Ingria, and Carelia.⁽¹⁾

The circumstances attending these conquests are too little interesting to merit a particular detail. I shall therefore pass them over, and proceed to the intrigues of Charles and Poniatowski at the Ottoman court, which gave birth to more striking events. I cannot help, however, here observing, that the king of Denmark having declared war against Sweden, soon after the defeat of the Swedish monarch at Pultowa, in hopes of profiting by the misfortunes of that prince, and invaded Scania or Schonen, his army was defeated, with great slaughter, near Elsingburgh, by the Swedish militia, and a few regiments of veterans, under general Steenbock.

Charles XII. was so much delighted with the news of this victory, and enraged at the enemies that had risen up against him in his absence, that he could not forbear exclaiming on this occasion, "my brave Swedes! should it please God that I once more join you, we will beat them all!" He had then, indeed, a near prospect of being able to return to his capital as a conqueror, and to take severe vengeance on his numerous enemies.

It is a maxim of the Turkish government, to consider as sacred the persons of such unfortunate princes as take refuge in the dominions of the grand seignior, and to supply them liberally with the conveniences of life, according to their rank, while within the limits of the Ottoman empire. Agreeable to this generous maxim, the king of Sweden was honourably conducted to Bender; and saluted on his arrival, with a general discharge of the artillery. As he did not choose to lodge within the town, the seraskier, or governor of the province, caused a magnificent tent to be erected for him on the banks of the Niester. Tents were also erected for his principal attendants; and these tents were afterward transformed into houses: so that the camp of the unfortunate monarch became insensibly a considerable village. Great numbers of strangers resorted to Bender to see him. The

"a direct promise of securing the churches of England and Ireland was made. He was told," he said, "that he could not in conscience make such a promise." The draughts were accordingly altered by his priests; "and the most material passages were turned with all the jesuitical prevarication imaginable." (Ibid.) In consequence of these alterations, Bolingbroke refused to countersign the declaration.

(1) Voltaire's *Hist. of Russia*, chap. xix.

Turks and neighbouring Greeks came thither in crowds. All respected and admired him. His inflexible resolution to abstain from wine, and his regularity in assisting publicly twice a-day at divine service, made the Mahometans say he was a true Mussulman, and inspired them with an ardent desire of marching under him to the conquest of Russia. (1)

That idea still occupied the mind of Charles. Though a fugitive among Infidels, and utterly destitute of resources, he was not without hopes of yet being able to dethrone the czar. With this view, his envoy at the court of Constantinople delivered memorials to the grand vizier; and his friend Poniatowski, who was always dressed in the Turkish habit, and had free access every where, supported these solicitations by his intrigues. Achmet III. the reigning sultan, presented Poniatowski with a purse of a thousand ducats, and the grand vizier said to him, "I will take your king in one hand, and a sword in the other, and conduct him to Moscow at the head of two hundred thousand men." (2) But the czar's money soon changed the sentiments of the Turkish minister. The military chest, which Peter had taken at Pukowa, furnished him with new arms to wound the vanquished Charles, whose blood-earned treasures were turned against himself. All thoughts of a war with Russia were laid aside at the Porte.

The king of Sweden, however, though thus discomfited in his negotiations, by means of the czar's gold, as he had been in the field by the army of that prince, was not in the least dejected. Convinced that the Sultan was ignorant of the intrigues of the grand vizier, he resolved to acquaint him with the corruption of his minister. And Poniatowski undertook the execution of this hazardous business.

The grand seignior goes every Friday to the mosque, or Mahometan Temple, surrounded by his Soleks; a kind of guards, whose turbans are adorned with such high feathers as to conceal the sultan from the view of the people. When any one has a petition to present, he endeavours to mingle with the guards, and holds the paper aloft. Sometimes the Sultan condescends to receive the petition himself, but he more commonly orders an Aga to take charge of it, and causes it to be laid before him on his return from the mosque. Poniatowski had no other method of conveying the king of Sweden's complaint to Achmet.

Some days after receiving the petition, which had been translated into the Turkish language, the Sultan sent a polite letter to Charles, accompanied with a present of twenty-five Arabian horses; one of which having carried his Sublime Highness, was covered with a saddle ornamented with precious stones, and furnished with stirrups of massy gold. But he declined taking any step to the disadvantage of his minister, whose conduct he seemed to approve. The ruin of the grand vizier, however, was at hand. Through the intrigues of Poniatowski, he was banished to Kaffa in Crim Tartary, and the bull, or seal of the empire, was given to Numan Kupruli, grandson to the great Kupruli, who took Candia from the Venetians.

This new minister, who was a man of incorruptible integrity, could not bear the thoughts of a war against Russia, which he considered as alike unnecessary and unjust. But the same attachment to justice, which made him averse to making war upon the Russians, contrary to the faith of treaties, induced him to observe the rights of hospitality toward the king of Sweden, and even to enlarge the generosity of the Sultan to that unfortunate prince. He sent Charles eight hundred purses, every purse containing five hundred crowns, and advised him to return peaceably to his own dominions; either through the territories of the emperor of Germany, or in some of the French vessels which then lay in the harbour of Constantinople, and on board of which the French ambassador offered to convey him to Marseilles.

But the haughty and inflexible Swede, who still believed he should be able to engage the Turks in his project of dethroning the czar, obstinately rejected this, and every other proposal, for his quiet return to his own domi-

(1) *Hist. Charles XII.* liv. v.

(2) *Ibid.*

nions. He was constantly employed in magnifying the power of his former rival, whom he had long affected to despise; and his emissaries took care, at the same time, to insinuate that Peter was ambitious to make himself master of the Black Sea, to subdue the Cossacks, and to carry his arms into Crim Tartary.⁽¹⁾ But the force of these insinuations, which sometimes alarmed the Porte, were generally broken by the more powerful arguments of the Russian ministers.

While the obstinacy of the king of Sweden, in refusing to return to his own dominions, in any other character than that of a conqueror, made his fate thus depend upon the caprice of viziers; while he was alternately receiving favours and affronts from the great enemy of Christianity, himself a devout Christian; presenting petitions to the Grand Turk, and subsisting upon his bounty in a desert, the Russian monarch was exhibiting to his people a spectacle not unworthy of the ancient Romans, when Rome was in her glory. In order to inspire his subjects with a taste for magnificence, and to impress them with an awful respect for his power, he made his public entry into Moscow (after reinstating Augustus in the throne of Poland under seven triumphal arches, erected in the streets, and adorned with every thing that the climate could produce, or a thriving commerce furnish. First in procession marched a regiment of guards, followed by the artillery taken from the Swedes; each piece of which was drawn by eight horses, covered with scarlet housings hanging down to the ground. Next came the kettle-drums, colours, and standards, won from the same enemy, carried by the officers and soldiers who had captured them. These trophies were followed by the finest troops of the czar; and, after they had filed off, the litter in which Charles XII. was carried at the battle of Pultowa, all shattered with cannon shot, appeared in a chariot made on purpose to display it. Behind the litter marched all the Swedish prisoners, two and two; among whom was count Piper the king of Sweden's prime minister, the famous mareschal Renchild, the count de Lewenhaupt, the generals Slipenbach, Stackelberg, and Hamilton, with many inferior officers, who were afterward dispersed through Great Russia. Last in procession came the triumphant conqueror, mounted on the same horse which he rode at the battle of Pultowa, and followed by the generals who had a share in the victory: the whole being closed by a vast number of waggons, loaded with the Swedish military stores, and preceded by a regiment of Russian guards.⁽²⁾

This magnificent spectacle, which augmented the veneration of the Muscovites for the person of Peter, and perhaps made him appear greater in their eyes, than all his military achievements and civil institutions, furnished Charles with new arguments for awakening the jealousy of the Porte. The grand vizier Kupruli, who had zealously opposed all the designs of the king of Sweden, was dismissed from his office, after having filled it only two months, and the seal of the empire was given to Baltagi Mahomet, bashaw of Syria. Baltagi, on his arrival at Constantinople, found the interest of the Swedish monarch prevailing in the seraglio. The Sultana Walide, mother of the reigning emperor; Ali Kumurgi, his favourite; the Kislar Aga, chief of the Black Eunuchs; and the Aga of the Janizaries, were all for a war against Russia. Achmet himself was fixed in the same resolution. And he gave orders to the grand vizier to attack the dominions of the czar with two hundred thousand men. Baltagi was no warrior, but he prepared to obey.⁽³⁾

The first violent step of the Ottoman court was the arresting of the Russian ambassador, and committing him to the castle of the Seven Towers. It is the custom of the Turks to begin hostilities with imprisoning the ministers of those princes against whom they intend to declare war, instead of ordering them to leave the dominions of the Porte. This barbarous custom, at which even savages would blush, they pretend to vindicate, on a suppo-

(1) Voltaire, ubi sup. These particulars this lively author had partly from Poniatowski himself, and partly from M. de Feriol, the French ambassador at the Porte.

(2) Voltaire's *Hist. of Russia*; chap. xix. *Hist. Charles XII.* liv. v.

(3) Id. *ibid.*

sition that they never undertake any but just wars ; and that they have a right to punish the ambassadors of the princes with whom they are at enmity, as accomplices in the treachery of their masters.

But the true origin of so detestable a practice seems to be the ancient and hereditary hatred and contempt of the Turks for the Christian powers, which they take every occasion to show ; (1) and the meanness of the latter, who from motives of interest, and jealousy of each other, continually support a number of ambassadors, considered as little better than spies, at the court of Constantinople, while the grand seignior is too proud to send an ambassador to any court in Christendom. It is a disrespect to the Christian name, and the office of resident, that betrays the honest Mussulman into this flagrant breach of the law of nations ; a law which his prejudices induce him to think ought only to be observed toward the faithful, or those eastern nations, who, though not Mahometans, equal the Turks in stateliness of manners, and decline sending any ambassadors among them, except on extraordinary occasions. In consequence of these prejudices, or whatever may have given rise to the practice, the Russian ambassador was imprisoned, as a prelude to a declaration of war against his master.

The czar was not of a complexion tamely to suffer such an injury : and his power seemed to render submission unnecessary. As soon as informed of the haughty insult, he ordered his forces in Poland to march toward Moldavia ; withdrew his troops from Livonia, and made every preparation for war, and for opening with vigour the campaign on the frontiers of Turkey. Nor were the Turks negligent in taking measures for opposing, and even humbling him. The khan of Crim Tartary was ordered to hold himself in readiness with forty thousand men, and the troops of the porte were collected from all quarters.

Gained over, by presents and promises, to the interests of the king of Sweden, the khan at first obtained leave to appoint the general rendezvous of the Turkish forces near Bender, and even under the eye of Charles, in order more effectually to convince him, that the war was undertaken solely on his account. But Baltagi Mahomet, the grand vizier, who lay under no such obligations, did not choose to flatter a foreign prince so highly at the expense of truth. He was sensible, that the jealousy of the sultan at the neighbourhood of so powerful a prince as Peter ; at his fortifying Azoph ; and at the number of his ships on the Black Sea and the Palus Mæotis, were the real causes of the war against Russia. He therefore changed the place of rendezvous. The army of the porte was ordered to assemble in the extensive and fertile plains of Adrianople, where the Turks usually muster their forces when they are going to make war upon the Christians. There the troops that arrive from Asia and Africa, are commonly allowed to repose themselves for a few weeks, and to recruit their strength before they enter upon action. But Baltagi, in order to anticipate the preparations of the czar, began his march toward the Danube, within three days after reviewing his forces.

Peter had already taken the field at the head of a formidable army, which he mustered on the frontiers of Poland, and planned his route through Moldavia and Walachia ; the country of the ancient Daci, but now inhabited by Greek Christians, who are tributary to the grand seignior. Moldavia was at this time governed by Demetrius Cantemir ; a prince of Grecian extraction, and who united in his character the accomplishments of the ancient Greeks, the use of arms, and the knowledge of letters. This prince fondly imagined that the conqueror of Charles XII. would easily triumph over the grand vizier, Baltagi, who had never made a campaign, and who had chosen for his Kiaia, or lieutenant-general, the superintendent of the customs at Constantinople. He accordingly resolved to join the czar, and made no doubt but all

(1) The insults to which Christian traders in Turkey are exposed, even at this day, are too horrid to be mentioned, and such as the inordinate love of gold only could induce any man of spirit to submit to, however small his veneration for the religion of the cross. Consuls and ambassadors, though vested with a public character, and more immediately intitled to protection, are not altogether exempted from such insults.

his subjects would readily follow his example, as the Greek patriarch encouraged him in his revolt. Having concluded a secret treaty with prince Cantemir, and received him into his army, Peter thus encouraged, advanced farther into the country. He passed the Niester, and reached at length the northern banks of the Pruth, near Jassi the capital of Moldavia.⁽¹⁾

But the Russian monarch, by confiding in the promises of the Moldavian prince, soon found himself in as perilous a situation, on the banks of the Pruth, as that of his rival, the king of Sweden at Pultowa, in consequence of relying on the friendship of Mazeppa. The Moldavians, happy under the Turkish government, which is seldom fatal to any but the grandees, and affects great lenity toward its tributary provinces, refused to follow the standard of Cantemir, or to supply the Russians with provisions. Meanwhile the grand vizier, having passed the Pruth, advanced against the czar with an army of two hundred and fifty thousand men, and in a manner encompassed the enemy. He formed an entrenched camp before them, the river Pruth running behind him; and forty thousand Tartars were continually harassing them on the right and left.

As soon as Poniatowski, who was in the Ottoman camp, saw an engagement was become inevitable, he sent an express to the king of Sweden; who, although he had refused to join the Turkish army, because he was not permitted to command it, immediately left Bender, anticipating the pleasure of beholding the ruin of the czar. In order to avoid that ruin, Peter decamped under favour of the night; but his design being discovered, the Turks attacked his rear by break of day, and threw his army into some confusion. The Russians, however, having rallied behind their baggage waggons, made so strong and regular a fire upon the enemy, that it was judged impracticable to dislodge them, after two terrible attacks, in which the Turks lost a great number of men. In order to avoid the hazard of a third attempt, the grand vizier determined to reduce the czar and his exhausted army by famine. This was the most prudent measure he could have adopted. The Russians were not only destitute of forage and provisions, but even of the means of quenching their thirst. Notwithstanding their vicinity to the river Pruth, they were in great want of water; a body of Turks, on the opposite bank, guarding, by a continual discharge of artillery, that precious necessary of life.

In this desperate extremity, when the loss of his army seemed the least evil that could befall him, the czar, on the approach of night, retired to his tent, in violent agitation of mind; giving positive orders that no person whatsoever should be admitted to disturb his privacy—to behold his exquisite distress, or shake a great resolution he had taken of attempting, next morning, to force his way through the enemy with fixed bayonets. The czarina, Catharine, a Livonian captive of low condition, whom he had raised to the throne, and who accompanied him in this expedition, boldly exposing her person to every danger, thought proper to break through these orders. She ventured, for once, to disobey; but not from a womanish weakness. Catharine's mind alone rode out that storm of despair, in which the prospect of unavoidable death or slavery had sunk the whole camp. Entering the melancholy abode of her husband, and throwing herself at his feet, she entreated the czar to permit her to offer, in his name, proposals of peace, to the grand vizier. Peter, after some hesitation, consented. He signed a letter which she presented to him; and the czarina having made choice of an officer, on whose fidelity and talents she could depend; accompanied her suit with a present, according to the custom of the east.

"Let the czar send to me his prime minister!" said Baltagi, with the haughty air of a conqueror, "and I shall then consider what is to be done." The vice-chancellor, Shaffiroff, immediately repaired to the Turkish camp, and a negotiation took place. The grand vizier at first demanded, that Peter, with his whole army, should surrender prisoners of war. The vice-chancellor replied, That the Russians would perish to a man, sooner than submit to such dishonourable conditions; that his master's resolution was

(1) Voltaire's *Hist. Russian Emp.* part ii, chap. i. *Hist. Charles XII.* liv. v.

already taken: he was determined to open a passage with the point of the bayonet. Baltagi, though little skilled in military affairs, was sensible of the danger of driving to despair a body of thirty-five thousand brave and disciplined troops, headed by a gallant prince. He granted a suspension of arms for six hours. And before the expiration of that term, it was agreed by the Russian minister, That the czar should restore the city of Azoph, destroy the harbour of Tangarok, and demolish the forts built on the Palus Mæotis or sea of Zebach; withdraw his troops from Poland, give no farther disturbance to the Cossacks, and permit the Swedish monarch to return into his own kingdom.(1)

On these conditions, Peter was allowed to retire with his army. The Turks supplied him with provisions; so that he had plenty of every thing in his camp, only two hours after signing the treaty. He did not, however, a moment delay his retreat, aware of the danger of intervening accidents. And just as he was marching off, with drums beating and colours flying, the king of Sweden arrived impatient for the fight, and happy in the thought of having his enemy in his power. Poniatowski met him with a dejected countenance, and informed him of the peace. Inflamed with resentment, Charles flew to the tent of the grand vizier, and keenly reproached him with the treaty he had concluded. "I have a right," said Baltagi, with a calm aspect, "to make either peace or war. And our law commands us to grant peace to our enemies, when they implore our clemency." "And does it command you," subjoined Charles in a haughty tone, "to stay the operations of war, by an unmeaning treaty, when you might impose the law of the conqueror? Did not fortune afford you an opportunity of leading the czar in chains to Constantinople!" The grand vizier, thus pressed, replied, with an imperious frown, "And who would have governed his empire in his absence? It is not proper that all crowned heads should leave their dominions!" Charles made answer only by a sarcastic smile. Swelling with indignation, he threw himself upon a sofa, and darting on all around him a look of disdain, he stretched out his leg, and entangling his spur in Baltagi's robe, purposely tore it. The grand vizier took no notice of this splenetic insult, which he seemed to consider as an accident; and the king of Sweden, farther mortified by that magnanimous neglect, sprung up, mounted his horse, and returned with a sorrowful heart to Bender.(2)

Baltagi Mahomet, however, was soon made sensible of his error, in not paying more attention to the claims of Charles XII. For although the grand seignior was so well pleased with the treaty concluded with the czar, when the news first reached Constantinople, that he ordered public rejoicings to be held for a whole week, Poniatowski and the other agents of Charles soon found means to persuade him, that his interests had been betrayed. The grand vizier was disgraced. But the minister who succeeded Baltagi in that high office was yet less disposed to favour the views of the king of Sweden. His liberal allowance of five hundred crowns a-day, beside a profusion of every thing necessary for his table, was withdrawn, in consequence of his intrigues. All his attempts to kindle a new war between the Turks and Russians proved ineffectual; and the Divan, wearied out with his perpetual importunities, came to a resolution to send him back, not with a numerous army, as a king whose cause the sultan meant to abet, but as a troublesome fugitive whom he wanted to dismiss, attended by a sufficient guard.

To that purport Achmet III. sent Charles a letter; in which, after styling him *the most powerful among the kings who worship Jesus, brilliant in majesty, and a lover of honour and glory*, he very positively requires his departure. "Though we had proposed," says the sultan, "to march our victorious army once more against the czar, we have found reason to change our resolution. In order to avoid the just resentment which we had expressed at his delaying to execute the treaty concluded on the banks of the Pruth,

(1) Voltaire's *Hist. Russian Emp.* part. ii. chap. i. *Hist. Charles XII.* liv. v.

(2) *Hist. Charles XII.* liv. v. Voltaire had all these particulars from Poniatowski, who was present at this interview.

"and afterward renewed at our sublime porte, that prince has surrendered into our hands the castle and city of Azoph; and endeavoured, through the mediation of the ambassadors of England and Holland, our ancient allies, to cultivate a lasting peace with us. We have therefore granted his request; and delivered to his plenipotentiaries, who remain with us as hostages, our imperial ratification, having first received his from their hands. You must, therefore, prepare to set out, under the protection of providence, and with an honourable guard, on purpose to return to your own dominions, taking care to pass through those of Poland in a peaceable manner."⁽¹⁾

Although this letter is sufficiently explicit, it did not extinguish the hopes of the king of Sweden. He still flattered himself that he should be able to involve the porte in a new war with Russia: and he had almost accomplished his aim. He discovered that the czar had not yet withdrawn his troops from Poland. He made the sultan acquainted with that circumstance. The grand vizier was disgraced, for neglecting to enforce the execution of so material an article in the late treaty; and the Russian ambassador was again committed to the castle of the Seven Towers. This storm, however, was soon dissipated. The czar's plenipotentiaries, who had not yet left the porte, engaged that their master should withdraw his troops from Poland. The treaty of peace was renewed; and the king of Sweden was given to understand that he must immediately prepare for his departure.

When the order of the porte was communicated to Charles, by the bashaw of Bender, he replied, that he could not set out on his journey until he had received money to pay his debts. The bashaw asked, how much would be necessary. The king, at a venture, said a thousand purses. The bashaw acquainted the porte with this request; and the sultan, instead of a thousand, granted twelve hundred purses. "Our imperial munificence," says he, in a letter to the bashaw, "hath granted a thousand purses to the king of Sweden, which shall be sent to Bender, under the care and conduct of the most illustrious Mehemet Bashaw, to remain in your custody until the departure of the Swedish monarch; and then be given him, together with two hundred purses more, as a mark of our imperial liberality, above what he demands."

Notwithstanding the strictness of these orders, Grothusen, the king of Sweden's secretary, found means to get the money from the bashaw before the departure of his master, under pretence of making the necessary preparations for his journey; and a few days after, in order to procure farther delay, Charles demanded another thousand purses. Confounded at this request, the bashaw stood for a moment speechless, and was observed to drop a tear. "I shall lose my head," said he, "for having obliged your majesty!" and took his leave with a sorrowful countenance. He wrote, however, to the porte in his own vindication; protesting that he did not deliver the twelve hundred purses, but upon a solemn promise from the king of Sweden's minister, that his master would instantly depart.

The bashaw's excuse was sustained. The displeasure of Achmet fell wholly upon Charles. Having convoked an extraordinary Divan, he spoke to the following effect, his eyes flashing with indignation: "I hardly ever knew the king of Sweden, except by his defeat at Pultowa, and the request he made to me for an asylum in my dominions. I have not, I believe, any need of his assistance, or any cause to love or to fear him. Nevertheless, without being influenced by any other motive than the hospitality of a Mussulman, directed by my natural generosity, which sheds the dew of beneficence upon the great as well as the small, upon strangers as well as my own subjects, I have received, protected, and maintained himself, his ministers, officers, and soldiers, according to the dignity of a king; and for the space of three years and a half, have never withheld my hand from loading him with favours. I have granted him a considerable guard

(1) Voltaire, *Hist. Ch.* XII. liv. vi.

"to conduct him back to his own kingdom. He asked a thousand purses to pay some debts, though I defray all his expenses: instead of a thousand, I granted him twelve hundred purses; and having received these, he yet refuses to depart, until he shall obtain a thousand more, and a stronger guard, although that already appointed is fully sufficient. I therefore ask you, whether it will be a breach of the laws of hospitality to send away this prince? and whether foreign powers can reasonably tax me with cruelty and injustice, if I should be under the necessity of using force to compel him to depart." (1)

All the members of the Divan answered, That such a conduct would be consistent with the strictest rules of justice. An order to that effect was accordingly sent to the bashaw of Bender, who immediately waited upon the king of Sweden, and made him acquainted with it. "Obey your master, if you dare!" said Charles, "and leave my presence instantly." The bashaw did not need this insult to animate him to his duty. He coolly prepared to execute the commands of his sovereign; and Charles, in spite of the earnest entreaties of his friends and servants, resolved, with three hundred Swedes, to oppose an army of Turks and Tartars, having ordered regular entrenchments to be thrown up for that purpose. After some hesitation, occasioned by the uncommon nature of the service, the word of command was given. The Turks marched up to the Swedish fortifications, the Tartars being already waiting for them, and the cannon began to play. The little camp was instantly forced, and the whole three hundred Swedes made prisoners.

Charles, who was then on horseback, between the camp and his house, took refuge in the latter, attended by a few general officers and domestics. With these, he fired from the windows upon the Turks and Tartars; killed about two hundred of them, and bravely maintained his post, till the house was all in flames, and one half of the room fell in. In this extremity, a centinel, named Rosen, had the presence of mind to observe, that the chancery house, which was only about fifty yards distant, had a stone roof, and was proof against fire; that they ought to sally forth, take possession of that house, and defend themselves to the last extremity. "There is a true Swede!" cried Charles, rushing out, like a madman, at the head of a few desperadoes. The Turks at first recoiled, from respect to the person of the king; but suddenly recollecting their orders, they surrounded the Swedes, and Charles was made prisoner, together with all his attendants. Being in boots, as usual, he entangled himself with his spurs, and fell. A number of janizaries sprung upon him. He threw his sword up into the air, to save himself the mortification of surrendering it: and some of the janizaries taking hold of his legs, and others of his arms, he was carried in that manner to the bashaw's quarters. (2)

The bashaw gave Charles his own apartments, and ordered him to be served as a king, but not without taking the precaution to plant a guard of janizaries at the chamber door. Next day he was conducted toward Adrianople, as a prisoner in a chariot covered with scarlet. On his way he was informed by the baron Fabricius, ambassador from the duke of Holstein, that he was not the only Christian monarch that was a prisoner in the hands of the Turks; that his friend Stanislaus, having come to share his fortunes, had been taken into custody, and was only a few miles distant, under a guard of soldiers, who were conducting him to Bender. "Run to him, my dear Fabricius!" cried Charles,—"desire him never to make peace with Augustus, and assure him that our affairs will soon take a more flattering turn." Fabricius hastened to execute his commission, attended by a janizary; having first obtained leave from the bashaw, who in person commanded the guard.

So entirely was the king of Sweden wedded to his own opinions, that although abandoned by all the world, stript of great part of his dominions, a fugitive among the Turks, whose liberality he had abused, and now led captive, without knowing whither he was to be carried, he still reckoned on the

(1) Voltaire, *Hist. Ch.* XII. liv. vi.

(2) Voltaire, *ubi sup.*

favours of fortune, and hoped the Ottoman court would send him home at the head of an hundred thousand men !—This idea continued to occupy him during the whole time of his confinement. He was at first committed to the castle of Demirtash, in the neighbourhood of Adrianople ; but afterward allowed to reside at Demotica, a little town about six leagues distant from that city, and near the famous river Hebrus, now called Merizza. There he renewed his intrigues ; and a French adventurer, counterfeiting madness, had the boldness to present, in his name, a memorial to the grand seignor. In that memorial the imaginary wrongs of Charles were set forth in the strongest terms, and the ministers of the Porte accused of extorting from the Sultan an order, in direct violation of the laws of nations, as well as of the hospitality of a Mussulman—an order in itself utterly unworthy of a great emperor, to attack, with twenty thousand men, a sovereign who had none but his domestics to defend him, and who relied upon the sacred word of the sublime Achmet.

In consequence of this intrigue, as was supposed, a sudden change took place in the seraglio. The Mufti was deposed ; the khan of Tartary, who depends upon the grand seignor, was banished to Rhodes, and the bashaw of Bender confined in one of the islands of the Archipelago. One vizier was disgraced and another strangled. But these changes in the ministry of the Porte, produced none in the condition of the king of Sweden, who still remained a prisoner at Demotica ; and, lest the Turks should not pay him the respect due to his royal person, or oblige him to condescend to any thing beneath his dignity, he resolved to keep his bed, during his captivity, under pretence of sickness. This resolution he kept for ten months.(1)

While the naturally active and indefatigable Charles, who held in contempt all effeminate indulgencies, and had set even the elements themselves at defiance, was wasting, from caprice, his time and his constitution in bed, or harrassing his mind with fruitless intrigues, the northern princes, who had formerly trembled at his name, and whom he might still, by a different conduct, have made tremble, were dismembering his dominions. General Steenbock, who had distinguished himself by driving the Danes out of Schonen, and defeating their best troops with an inferior number of Swedish militia, defended Pomerania, Bremen, and all his master's possessions in Germany, as long as possible. But he could not prevent the combined army of Danes and Saxons from besieging Stade ; a place of great strength and importance, situated on the banks of the Elbe, in the duchy of Bremen. The town was bombarded or reduced to ashes, and the garrison obliged to surrender, before Steenbock could come to their assistance.

The Swedish general, however, with twelve thousand men, pursued the enemy, though twice his number, and overtook them at a place called Gadesbush, in the duchy of Mecklenburg, in December 1712. He was separated from them, when he first came in sight, by a morass. The Danes and Saxons, who did not decline the combat, were so posted as to have this morass in front, and a wood in the rear. They had the advantage of numbers and situation ; yet Steenbock, notwithstanding these adverse circumstances, passed the morass at the head of his troops, and began one of the most furious and bloody battles that ever happened between the rival nations of the North. After a desperate conflict of three hours the Danes and Saxons were totally routed, and driven off the field with great slaughter.

But Steenbock stained the honour of his victory, by burning the flourishing, though defenceless, town of Altena, belonging to the king of Denmark. In consequence of that severity, many thousands of the inhabitants perished of hunger and cold. All Germany exclaimed against so shocking an insult on humanity ; and the ministers of Poland and Denmark wrote to the Swedish general, reproaching him with an act of cruelty committed without necessity, and which could not fail to awaken the vengeance of Heaven and earth against him. The enlightened but unfeeling Goth replied, That he never should have exercised such rigour, had it not been with a view to teach^{the}

(1) *Hist. Char. XII. liv. vii.*

enemies of Sweden to respect the laws of nations, and not to make war, for the future, like barbarians. They had not only, he observed, laid waste the beautiful province of Pomerania, but sold near an hundred thousand of its inhabitants to the Turks; and the torches whice had laid Altona in ashes, he affirmed, were no more than a just retaliation for the red-hot bullets, which had wrapt in flames the more valuable city of Stade.(1)

Had the king of Sweden appeared in Pomerania, while his subjects carried on the war with such implacable resentment, and even with success, against their numerous enemies, he might perhaps have retrieved his ruinous fortune. His troops, though so widely separated from his person, were still animated by his spirit. But the absence of a prince is always prejudicial to his affairs, and more especially prevents his generals from making a proper use of their victories. Steenbock lost, almost instantly, the fruits of his valour and conduct; which, at a happier crisis, would have been permanent conquests. Though victorious, he could not prevent the junction of the Russians, Danes, and Saxons, who obliged him to seek an asylum for himself and his gallant army in Toningen, a fortress in the duchy of Holstein.

That duchy was then subjected to the most cruel ravages of any part of the North. The young duke of Holstein, nephew of Charles XII. and presumptive heir to the crown of Sweden, was the natural enemy of the king of Denmark, who had endeavoured to strip his father of his dominions, and to crush himself in the very cradle. The bishop of Lubeck, one of his father's brothers, and administrator of the dominions of this unfortunate ward, now beheld himself in a very critical situation. His own territories were already exhausted by continual contributions; the Swedish army claimed his protection; and the forces of Russia, Denmark, and Saxony, threatened the duchy of Holstein with immediate desolation. But that danger was seemingly removed by the address of the famous baron de Goertz, who wholly governed the bishop, and was the most artful and enterprising man of his time; endowed with a genius amazingly penetrating, and fruitful in every resource.

Goertz had a private conference with general Steenbock, at which he promised to deliver up to him the fortress of Toningen, without exposing the bishop-administrator, his master, to any inconvenience: and he gave, at the same time, the strongest assurances to the king of Denmark, that he would defend the place to the utmost. The governor accordingly refused to open the gates; but the Swedes were admitted partly within the walls, and partly under the cannon of the town, in consequence of a pretended order from the young duke, who was yet a minor. This indulgence, however, procured by so much ingenious deceit, proved of little use to the brave Steenbock, who was soon obliged to surrender himself prisoner of war, together with his whole army.(2)

The territories of Holstein now remained at the mercy of the incensed conquerors. The young duke became the object of the king of Denmark's vengeance, and was doomed to pay for the abuse which Goertz had made of his name. Finding his original project thus rendered abortive, the baron formed a scheme for establishing a neutrality in the Swedish provinces in Germany. With this view, he privately entered into a negotiation, and at the same time, with the several princes, who had set up claims to any part of the territories of Charles XII. all which, the kingdom of Sweden excepted, were ready to become the property of those who wanted to share them. Night and day he continued passing from one province to another. He engaged the governor of Bremen and Verden to put those two duchies into the hands of the elector of Hanover, by way of sequestration, in order to prevent the Danes from taking possession of them for themselves; and he prevailed with the king of Prussia to accept, in conjunction with the duke of Hol-

(1) *Hist. Char. XII.* liv. vii.

(2) *Hist. of the Russian Emp.* part ii. chap. iv.

stein, of the sequestration of Stetin, which was in danger of falling a prey to the Russians.

In the mean time the czar was pushing his conquests in Finland. Having made a descent at Elsingford the most southern part of that cold and barren region, he ordered a feigned attack to be made on one side of the harbour, while he landed his troops on the other, and took possession of the town. He afterward made himself master of Abo, Borgo, and the whole coast; defeated the Swedes near Tavestius, a post which commanded the Gulph of Bothnia; penetrated as far as Vaza, and reduced every fortress in the country. Nor were the conquests of Peter confined to the land. He gained a complete victory over the Swedes by sea, and made himself master of the island of Oeland.

These successes, but more especially his naval victory, furnished the czar with a new occasion of triumph. He entered Petersburg, as he formerly had Moscow, in procession, under a magnificent arch, decorated with the insignia of his conquests. After that pompous ceremony, which filled every heart with joy, and inspired every mind with emulation, Peter delivered a speech worthy of the founder of a great empire. "Countrymen and friends," said he, "is there one among you who could have thought, twenty years ago, that he should fight under me upon the Baltic, in ships built by ourselves? or that we should establish settlements in those countries now conquered by our valour and perseverance?—Greece is said to have been the birth place of the arts and sciences. They afterward took up their abode in Italy; whence they have spread themselves, at different times, over every part of Europe. It is at last our turn to call them ours, if you will second my designs, by joining study to obedience. The arts and sciences circulate through this globe, like the blood in the human body; and perhaps they may establish their empire among us, in their return back to Greece, their native country. I dare even venture to flatter myself, that we will one day put the nations most highly civilized to the blush, by our polished manners and illustrious labours." (1)

During these important transactions, so fatal to the power and the glory of Sweden, Charles continued to keep his bed at Demotica. Meanwhile the regency at Stockholm, driven to despair by the desperate situation of their affairs, and the absence of their sovereign, who seemed to have utterly abandoned his dominions, had come to a resolution no more to consult him in regard to their proceedings. And the senate went in a body to the princess Ulrica Eleonora, the king's sister, and entreated her to take the government into her own hands, until the return of her brother. She agreed to the proposal; but finding that their purpose was to force her to make peace with Russia and Denmark, a measure to which she knew her brother would never consent, on disadvantageous terms, she resigned the regency, and wrote a full and circumstantial account of the whole matter to the king.

Roused from his affected sickness, by what he considered as a treasonable attempt upon his authority, and now despairing of being able to make the Porte take arms in his favour, Charles signified to the grand vizier his desire of returning, through Germany, to his own dominions. The Turkish minister neglected nothing which might facilitate that event. In the mean time the king of Sweden, whose principles were perfectly despotic, wrote to the senate, that if they pretended to assume the reins of government, he would send them one of his boots, from which they should receive their orders!—and all things being prepared for his departure, he set out with a convoy consisting of sixty loaded waggons, and three hundred horse.

On his approach to the frontiers of Germany, the Swedish monarch had the satisfaction to learn, that the emperor had given orders he should be received, in every part of the Imperial dominions, with the respect due to his rank. But Charles had no inclination to bear the fatigue of so much pomp and ceremony. He therefore took leave of his Turkish convoy, as

(1) *Hist. of the Russian Emp.* part ii. chap. v.

soon as he arrived at Targowitz, on the confines of Transylvania; and assembling his attendants, desired them to give themselves no farther concern about him, but to proceed with all expedition to Stralsund in Pomerania. The king himself, in disguise, attended only by two officers, arrived at that place, after making the tour of Germany. And without considering the wretched state of his affairs, he immediately dispatched orders to his generals, to renew the war against all his enemies with fresh vigour. (1)

The approach of winter, however, prevented any military operations being prosecuted until the spring. Meanwhile the king of Sweden was employed in recruiting his armies: and in order to strengthen his interest, he gave his only surviving sister, Ulrica Eleanora, in marriage to Frederic prince of Hesse Cassel, who had distinguished himself in the Imperial service in the Low Countries, and was esteemed a good general. But Charles, on the opening of the campaign, was surrounded by such a multitude of enemies, that valour or conduct, without a greater force, could be of little service. The German troops of the elector of Hanover, now king of Great Britain, together with those of Denmark, invested the strong town of Wismar, while the combined army of Prussians, Danes, and Saxons, marched toward Stralsund, to form the siege of that important place. The czar was at the same time in the Baltic, with twenty ships of war, and an hundred and fifty transports, carrying thirty thousand men. He threatened a descent upon Sweden; and all that kingdom was in arms, expecting every moment an invasion.

Stralsund, the strongest place in Pomerania, is situated between the Baltic Sea and the lake of Franken, near the Straits of Gella. It is inaccessible by land, unless by a narrow causeway, guarded by a citadel, and by other fortifications which were thought impregnable. It was defended by a body of twelve thousand men, commanded by Charles XII. in person, and besieged by the kings of Prussia and Denmark, assisted by the gallant prince of Anhalt, with an army three times the number of the Swedes. The allies were animated by a love of glory and of conquest; the Swedes by despair, and the presence of their warlike king. Unfortunately, however, for the latter, it was discovered that the sea, which, on one side, secured the Swedish entrenchments, was at times fordable.

In consequence of this discovery, the Swedes were unexpectedly attacked at night. While one body of the besiegers advanced upon the causeway that led to the citadel, another entered the ebbing tide, and penetrated by the shore into the Swedish camp, before their approach was so much as suspected. The Swedes thus surprised, and assailed both in flank and rear, were incapable of resistance. After a terrible slaughter, they were obliged to abandon their entrenchments: to evacuate the citadel, and take refuge in the town, against which their own cannon were now pointed by the enemy, who henceforth pushed the siege with unremitting vigour. (2)

In order to deprive the king of Sweden and his little army of all succours, or of even the possibility of escape, the allies had begun their operations with chasing the Swedish fleet from the coast of Pomerania, and taking possession of the isle of Usedom, which made a gallant defence. They now resolved to make themselves masters of the isle of Rugen, opposite Stralsund, and which serves as a bulwark to the place. Though sensible of the importance of Rugen, and of the designs of the enemy, Charles was not able to place in it a sufficient garrison. Twenty thousand men, under the prince of Anhalt, were landed in that island, without any loss. The king of Sweden hastened to its relief, the same day, with four thousand choice troops.

Putting himself at the head of this small body, and observing the most profound silence, Charles advanced at midnight against the invaders. But he did not find them unprepared. The prince of Anhalt, aware what incre-

(1) *Hist. Charles XII.* liv. vii. "These particulars," says Voltaire, "which are so consistent with the character of Charles XII. were first communicated to me by M. Fabricius, and afterward confirmed to me by count Croissy, ambassador from the regent of France to the king of Sweden." *Id. ibid.*

(2) *Hist. Charles XII.* lib. viii. *Mém. de Brandenbourg*, tom. ii.

dible things the unfortunate monarch was capable of attempting, had ordered a deep fosse to be sunk as soon as he landed, and fortified it with chevaux de frize. The king of Sweden, who marched on foot, sword in hand, was not therefore a little surprised, when plucking up some of the chevaux de frize, he discovered a ditch. He was not, however, disconcerted. Having instantly formed his resolution, he leaped into the fosse, accompanied by the boldest of his men, and attempted to force the enemy's camp.

The impetuosity of the assault threw the Danes and Prussians at first into some confusion. But the contest was unequal. After an attack of twenty minutes, the Swedes were repulsed, and obliged to repass the fosse. The prince of Anhalt pursued them into the plain. There the battle was renewed with incredible fury, and victory obstinately disputed; until Charles had seen his secretary, Grothusen, fall dead at his feet; the generals, Dardoff and Daring, killed in his sight, and the greater part of his brave troops cut to pieces. He himself was wounded; and being put on horseback by Poniatsowski, who had saved his life at Pultowa, and shared his misfortunes in Turkey, he was obliged to make the best of his way to the sea-coast, and abandon Rugen to its fate.⁽¹⁾

Stralsund was now reduced to the last extremity. The besiegers were arrived at the counterscarp, and had already begun to throw a gallery over the principal ditch. The bombs fell as thick as hail upon the houses, and half the town was reduced to ashes. Charles, however, still preserved his firmness of mind. One day, as he was dictating some letters, a bomb bursting in the neighbourhood of his apartment, his secretary dropped his pen. "What is the matter?" said the king, with a degree of chagrin, as if ashamed that any one belonging to him should be capable of fear. "The bomb!" sighed the intimidated scribe, unable to utter another word. "Write on!" cried Charles, with an air of indifference; "what relation has the bomb to the letter that I am dictating?" But he was soon obliged to admit less heroic ideas. After two desperate attacks, during which the king of Sweden fought among his grenadiers, like a private man, the besiegers made themselves masters of the hornwork. The grand assault was every moment expected; and Charles was determined to sustain it; but the danger of falling into the hands of his enemies, and being a second time made prisoner from his obstinacy, induced him to listen to the entreaties of his friends, and quit a place which he was no longer able to defend. He accordingly embarked in a small vessel, that was fortunately in the harbour; and, by favour of the night, passing safely through the Danish fleet, reached one of his own ships, which landed him in Sweden.⁽²⁾ Stralsund surrendered next day.

The king of Sweden not choosing to visit his capital in his present unfortunate circumstances, passed the winter at Carlscroon; from which he had set out, in a very different condition, after fifteen years before, animated with all the high hopes of a youthful hero, ready to give law to the North, and who flattered himself with nothing less than the conquest of the world. Those hopes ought now to have been moderated. But Charles had not yet learned to profit by adversity. Unhappily for his subjects, he found, in his distress, a minister who encouraged his most extravagant projects, and even suggested new schemes of aggrandizement. This was the baron de Görtz, whom I have already had occasion to mention, and who, from a congeniality of ideas, became the particular favourite of the king of Sweden, after his return to his own dominions. To such a king and such a minister, nothing seemed impossible. When all Europe expected that Sweden would be invaded, and even over-run by her numberless enemies, Charles passed over into Norway, and made himself master of Christiansa. But the obstinate defence of the citadel of Fredericaball, the want of provisions, and the approach of a Danish army, obliged him to abandon his conquest.

Meanwhile Wismar, the only town that remained to Charles on the

(1) *Hist. Cher.* XII. liv. viii. *Mém de Brandenburg*, tom. ii.

(2) *Id. ibid.*

frontiers of Germany, had surrendered to the Danes and Prussians; who, jealous of the Russians, would not allow them so much as to be present at the siege. Of this jealousy, which alienated the czar's mind from the cause of the confederates, and perhaps prevented the ruin of Sweden, Goertz took advantage. He ventured to advise his master to purchase a peace from Russia at any price; intimating, that the forces of Charles and Peter, when united, would be able to strike terror into all Europe. Nor did he conceal the sacrifices necessary to be made, in order to procure such an union. He declared that, disgusted as the czar was with his allies, there would be a necessity of giving up to him many of the provinces to the east and north of the Baltic. And he entreated the king to consider, that, by relinquishing those provinces, already in the possession of Peter, and which he himself was in no condition to recover, he might lay the foundation of his future greatness. (1) Pleased with this mighty project, without building upon it, Charles furnished his minister with full power to treat with the czar, or any other prince with whom he should think proper to negotiate.

Goertz accordingly, by himself or his agents, secretly entered into negotiations, which he conducted at the same time with the heads of the English Jacobites; and with the courts of Petersburg and Madrid. Alberoni, the Spanish minister, a man of the most boundless ambition, and in genius not inferior to the northern statesman, had resolved to place the Pretender on the throne of Great Britain; and the duke of Ormond, whose zeal knew no bounds, projected a marriage between that prince and Anna Petrowna, daughter of the czar. In consequence of these intrigues, count Gillemborg, the Swedish ambassador at the court of London, was taken into custody, and Goertz in Holland. They were set at liberty, however, after an imprisonment of six months, and Goertz renewed his negotiations with the court of Russia. Peter proceeded cautiously; but conferences were, at last, appointed to be held in the island of Oeland. And every thing seemed to promise the conclusion of a treaty, which would probably have changed the face of affairs in Europe, when an unexpected event, fortunately for the repose of mankind, rendered abortive all the labours of the baron de Goertz.

This was the death of the king of Sweden. Having undertaken a second expedition into Norway, instead of attempting to recover any of his fertile German provinces, he sat down before Fredericshall, in the month of December, when the ground was as hard as iron, and the cold so intense, that the soldiers on duty frequently dropt down dead. In order to animate them, he exposed himself to all the rigour of the climate, as well as to the dangers of the siege; sleeping even in the open air, covered only with his cloak! One night, as he was viewing them carrying on their approaches by starlight, he was killed by an half-pound ball, from a cannon loaded with grape-shot. Though he expired, without a groan, the moment he received the blow, he had instinctively grasped the hilt of his sword, and was found with his hand in that position, so truly characteristic of his mind. (2)

No prince perhaps ever had fewer weaknesses, or possessed so many eminent, with so few amiable qualities, as Charles XII. of Sweden. Rigidly just, but void of lenity; romantically brave, but blind to consequences; profusely generous, without knowing how to give; temperate, without delicacy; and chaste, without acquiring the praise of continence, because he seems to have been insensible to the charms of the sex; a stranger to the pleasures of society, and but slightly acquainted with books; a Goth in his manners, and a savage in his resentments; resolute even to obstinacy, inexorable in vengeance, and inaccessible to sympathy, he has little to conciliate our love or esteem. But his wonderful intrepidity and perseverance in enterprise, his firmness under misfortune, his contempt of danger, and his enthusiastic passion for glory, will ever command our admiration.

The death of Charles was considered as a signal for a general cessation of arms. The prince of Hesse, who commanded under the king, immediately

(1) *Hist. Char. XII.* liv. viii. *Mem. de Brandenburg*, tom. ii.

(2) *Ibid.*

raised the siege of Fredericshall, and led back the Swedes to their own country. Nor did the Danes attempt to molest them on their march.(1)

The first act of the senate of Sweden, after being informed of the fate of their sovereign, was to order the baron de Goertz to be arrested; and a new crime was invented for his destruction. He was accused of having "slanderously misrepresented the nation to the king!" He had at least encouraged the king in his ambitious projects, which had brought the nation to the verge of ruin. He had invented a number of oppressive taxes, in order to support those projects; and, when every other resource failed, he had advised his master, to give to copper money the value of silver! an expedient productive of more misery than all the former. In resentment of these injuries, Goertz, though found guilty of no legal crime, was condemned to lose his head, and executed at the foot of the common gallows.(2)

The Swedes having thus gratified their vengeance, at the expense of the reputation of a king, whose memory they still adore, proceeded to the regulation of their government. By a free and voluntary choice, the states of the kingdom elected Ulrica Eleanora, sister of Charles XII. for their queen. But they obliged her by a solemn act, to renounce all hereditary right to the crown, that she might hold it entirely by the suffrage of the people; while she bound herself, by the most sacred oaths, never to attempt the re-establishment of arbitrary power. And sacrificing, soon after, the love of royalty to conjugal affection, she relinquished the crown to her husband, the prince of Hesse, who was chosen by the states, and mounted the throne on the same conditions with his royal consort.

The new government was no sooner established than the Swedes turned their views toward peace. It was accordingly brought about by different treaties. One with the king of Great Britain, as elector of Hanover, to whom the queen of Sweden agreed to cede the duchies of Bremen and Verden, in consideration of a million of rix-dollars; another with the king of Prussia; who restored Stralsund and the isle of Rugen, and kept Stetin, with the isles of Usedom and Wollin; and a third with the king of Denmark, who retained part of the duchy of Sleswick, conquered from the duke of Holstein, and gave up Wismar, on condition that the fortifications should not be rebuilt.(3) The war with Russia still continued; but an English squadron being sent to the assistance of Sweden, the czar thought proper to recall his fleet, after committing the most terrible depredations on the coasts of that kingdom. New negotiations were opened at Nystadt; where a treaty of peace was, at last, concluded between the hostile crowns, by which the czar was left in possession of the provinces of Livonia, Esthonia, and Ingria, with part of Carelia and part of Finland.(4)

Peter henceforth took the title of emperor, which was soon formally acknowledged by all the European powers. He had now reached the highest point of human greatness; but he was yet to receive an increase of glory. Persia being at that time, as almost ever since, distracted by civil wars, he marched to the assistance of the lawful prince, Sha Thomas, (whose father had been murdered and his throne seized by an usurper) every where carrying terror before him. And in return for this seasonable support, as well as to procure his future protection, the new Sophi put him in possession of three provinces, bordering on the Caspian Sea, which composed the greater part of the ancient kingdom of the Medes.

But although this extraordinary man deserves much praise as a warrior, and was highly successful as a conqueror, extending his dominions from the most southern limits of the Caspian, to the bottom of the Baltic Sea; though great in a military he was still greater in a civil capacity. As he had visited

(1) *Mém. de Brandenburg*, tom. ii. This appearance of harmony has led to a general belief, that the king of Sweden fell a sacrifice to the sufferings of his own subjects, and the fears of his enemies. He is said to have been shot with a blunderbuss, by one of the officers of his army. No proof of such treason hath ever been produced; nor have any circumstances been offered that can entitle it to historical credibility.

(2) *Hist. Char. XII.* art. viii.

(3) *Contin. Puffend.* lib. vii.

(4) *Treaty in Voltaire's Hist. of the Russian Emp.* vol. ii

England and Holland, in the early part of his reign, to acquire a knowledge of the useful arts, he made a journey into France, in 1717, in order to become acquainted with those which are more immediately connected with elegance. A number of ingenious artists, in every branch, allured by the prospect of advantage, followed him from France, to settle in Russia. And, on his return to Petersburg, he established a board of trade, composed partly of natives and partly of foreigners, in order that justice might be impartially administered to all. One Frenchman began a manufactory of plate-glass for mirrors; another set up a loom, for working rich tapestry, after the manner of the Gobelines; and a third succeeded in the making of gold and silver lace: linen cloth was made at Moscow, equal in fineness to that of the Low Countries; and the silks of Persia were manufactured at Petersburg in as great perfection as at Ispahan.(1)

Nor was the attention of Peter, in a civil line, confined merely to arts and manufactures. He extended his views to all the departments of government, and to every beneficial improvement. A lieutenant-general of police, destined to preserve order from one end of the empire to the other, was now appointed. In consequence of this salutary institution, the large towns were freed from the nuisance of public beggars; a uniformity of weights and measures was established, and provision made for the education of youth. The same wise policy regulated and new modelled the courts of law, while it corrected the abuses in religion. The great canal, which joins the Caspian Sea to the Baltic, by means of the Wolga, was finished; and engineers were sent to make the tour of the Russian empire, in order to furnish exact charts of it, that mankind might be made acquainted with the immensity of its extent.

But Peter, after all his noble institutions, and his liberal attempts to civilize his people, was himself no better than an enlightened barbarian. Inventive, bold, active, and indefatigable, he was formed for succeeding in the most difficult undertakings, and for conceiving the most magnificent designs; but unfeeling, impatient, furious under the influence of passion, and a slave to his own arbitrary will, he was shamefully prodigal of the lives of his subjects, and never endeavoured to combine their ease or happiness with his glory and personal greatness. He seemed to consider them as made solely for his, not he for their, aggrandizement. His savage ferocity and despotic rigour turned itself even against his own blood. Alexis, his only son by his first wife, having led an abandoned course of life, and discovered an inclination to obstruct his favourite plan of civilisation, he made him sign, in 1718, a solemn renunciation of his right to the crown. And lest that deed should not prove sufficient to exclude the czarowitz from the succession, he assembled an extraordinary court, consisting of the principal Russian nobility and clergy, who condemned that unhappy, though seemingly weak and dissolute prince, to suffer death,—but without prescribing the manner in which it should be inflicted.(2) The event, however, took place, and suddenly.

Alexis was seized with strong convulsions, and expired soon after the dreadful sentence was announced to him; but whether in consequence of the agony occasioned by such alarming intelligence, or by other means, is uncertain.(3) We only know, that Peter then had, by his beloved Catharine, an infant son, who bore his own name, and whom he designed for his successor; and as the birth of this son had probably accelerated the prosecution, and increased the severity of the proceedings against Alexis, whom his father had before threatened to disinherit, it is not impossible but the friends of Catharine might hasten the death of the same prince, in order to save the court from the odium of his public execution, and the emperor from the excruciating reflections that must have followed such an awful transaction.

A gentleman, however, who was present on the occasion, strongly insi-

(1) Voltaire, *Hist. of the Russian Emp.* vol. ii.

(2) Voltaire, *ubi sup.*

(3) Voltaire has taken great pains to clear up this matter; yet, after all, he has left it doubtful. *Hist. Russ.* part ii. chap. x.

nates that Alexis was taken off by a dose of poison, administered by order of his father.⁽¹⁾ And a writer of high authority⁽²⁾ affirms, that the czar, with his own hand, cut off the head of his son. But probability, as well as the general character of Peter, forbid us to credit such narratives. After having taken the trouble of bringing to a public trial his disobedient son, whom he could at a single nod have got privately dispatched; after endeavouring to vindicate his conduct to the world, in an elaborate declaration, explaining his motives for so doing, the czar was too wise to hazard the infamy of being reputed an assassin. And had punishment, whether public or private, been inflicted on the czarowitz, by authority, it would have been avowed. The great, the imperious, the inexorable Peter, would have scorned to hide the rigour of his justice beneath the veil of an incidental distemper, or to fulfil the sentence of the law by a preparation of poison under the name of medicine. He surely meant to put a period to the life of Alexis; but he was too magnanimous to execute as a cowardly murderer, what he could command as a sovereign and a judge. The life of that prince having been declared forfeited, the emperor had only to let fall the suspended blow. He had no new reproach to fear; all Europe being already acquainted with his purpose, and held in awful expectation of the event.

The principal crime of which the ill-fated Alexis was convicted (for he was questioned even as to his private thoughts) was that of having *wished* for the death of his father!—If the eldest sons of kings were ALL to be judged by this criterion, few palaces would be free from blood. Another atrocious crime was, his having absconded and taken shelter in the imperial dominions; “raising against us,” says Peter, “his father and his lord, numberless calumnies and false reports, as if we did persecute him, and that even his life was not safe, if he continued with us.”⁽³⁾ That the fears of the czarowitz were well founded, sufficiently appeared, when drawn from this asylum, on a promise of pardon, he was first compelled to relinquish his right to the succession, and afterward condemned to suffer death.

It cannot be improper here to observe, That although Peter had long been dissatisfied with the conduct of his son Alexis, he never threatened to disinherit him, until he had a near prospect of issue by Catharine; and, as his first letter to the czarowitz containing such threat, is only dated a few days before she was delivered of a son, it seems very questionable, whether it was written before or after that event. Then, indeed, he spoke out. “I am determined at last,” says he, “to signify to you my final purpose; willing, however, to defer the execution of it for a time, to see if you will reform. If not, know that I am resolved to deprive you of the succession, as I would lop off an useless branch.”—“We cannot in conscience,” adds Peter in his Declaration, “leave him after us the succession to the throne of Russia; foreseeing that, by his vicious courses, he would entirely *destroy the glory of our nation, and the safety of our dominions*, which, through God’s providence, we have *acquired and established by incessant application*, causing our people to be *instructed in all sorts of civil and military sciences*.” This, if impartially true, might be a sufficient reason for disinheriting a son and heir of empire, but not surely for putting him to death. That measure could only be dictated by a tyrannical and jealous policy, in order to prevent his disturbing the government under the legal successor.

The death of the czarowitz, whatever might be its cause, was soon followed by that of young Peter; whom the emperor, on the renunciation of Alexis, had ordered his subjects, of all ranks and conditions, to acknowledge as lawful heir to the crown, “by oath before the holy altar, upon the holy Gospels, kissing the cross!” But Catharine continued nevertheless to maintain her ascendancy over the violent temper and ungovernable spirit of her husband. That ascendancy was truly extraordinary. One day, in the height of his passion, and in order to display the omnipotence of his power,

(1) See the *Memoirs* of Peter Henry Bruce, Esq. published in 1782.

(2) Lamberti.

(3) *Czar’s Declaration*.

Peter broke a magnificent mirror. "See," said he, "how with one stroke of my hand I can, in a moment, reduce that glass to its original dust!"—"True," replied Catharine, coolly, "you have destroyed the finest ornament of your palace; but will the absence of that ornament improve the beauty of the imperial mansion?" The czar's choler instantly subsided. The very sound of her voice was sufficient to calm his rage, when no other person durst approach him.

As a prelude to the eventual succession of the czarina, Peter himself, after his return from his Persian expedition, assisted personally at her solemn coronation. That ceremony, the meaning of which was well understood, added great weight to the already respectable character of Catharine; so that, on the death of the emperor, in the beginning of the year 1725, she quietly succeeded to the throne, and reigned in a manner becoming of the widow of Peter the Great.(1)

The following lines, which are commonly quoted as part of the czar's epitaph, form a panegyric not unworthy of him:

"Let Antiquity be dumb,
 "Nor boast her ALEXANDER or her CÆSAR.
 "How easy was victory
 "To Leaders who were followed by Heroes!
 "And whose Soldiers felt a noble Disdain
 "At being thought less vigilant than their Generals!
 "But HE,
 "Who in this *Place* first knew Rest,
 "Found Subjects base and inactive,
 "Unwarlike, unlearned, untractable,
 "Neither covetous of Fame nor fearless of Danger;
 "Creatures under the name of Men,
 "But with Qualities rather brutal than rational!
 "Yet even These
 "He polished from their native Ruggedness;
 "And breaking out, like a new Sun,
 "To illuminate the Minds of a People,
 "Dispelled their Night of Hereditary Darkness;
 "And, by the Force of his invincible Influence,
 "Taught them to conquer,
 "Even the *Conquerors* of Germany.
 "Other Princes have commanded victorious armies;
 "PETER THE GREAT created them."

This panegyric would have been as just as it is elegant, had Peter not left the body of his people as he found them, in a state of the most abject servitude to the nobles, who are themselves every moment at the mercy of the capricious will of the sovereign. These evils, which still in some measure remain, must be effectually eradicated, before the Russian empire can attain to any high degree of population, culture, or general civilisation.

(1) I am sensible that a less favourable account of the latter years of Catharine has been given, by some late travellers; but the tongue of scandal is busy in every country, and travellers are commonly most industrious in collecting defamatory anecdotes.

LETTER XXVI.

General View of the Affairs of Europe, from the Death of Lewis XIV. in 1715, to the Death of the Emperor, Charles VI. in 1740.

THE period on which we are now entering is happily distinguished by few great events, for great events are generally connected with great calamities. The war, that had so long ravaged the finest part of Europe, had ceased at the peace of Utrecht, and discord seemed to have left the earth with the restless spirit of Lewis XIV. but a certain degree of agitation remained, like the rolling of the waves after a storm.

The progress of the rebellion in Great Britain, against the authority of George I. and with a view of restoring the family of Stuart, I have already had occasion to trace. The speedy and fortunate suppression of that rebellion, as must ever be the case in all free governments, increased the influence of the crown. The Whig-ministry, no longer under any apprehensions from the encroachments of arbitrary power, and willing utterly to crush their political enemies, without foreseeing the stab they were giving to public liberty, framed a bill for repealing the Triennial Act (lately thought essential, by their own party, to the freedom of the English constitution,) and for *extending the duration of parliaments* to the term of SEVEN YEARS. This bill, though warmly opposed by the Tories (who now, in contradiction to their principles, took the popular side of all questions,) and by many independent and unprejudiced members of both houses, was carried by a great majority: and the king, by the uniform support of the Whigs, who in their love of power forgot their republican maxims, found himself firmly seated on the British throne.

The authority of the duke of Orleans, regent of France, during the minority of Lewis XV. was yet less perfectly established. He had a powerful faction to struggle with; and therefore judged it prudent to strengthen himself by alliances. But it will be proper, my dear Philip, before I enter into the particulars of those alliances, to turn your eye, for a moment, toward another quarter of Europe.

The Turks, who are far from being profound politicians, happily remained quiet while the Christian princes were most deeply embroiled among themselves; but no sooner was the general peace concluded, than Achmet III. commenced hostilities against the Venetians, and made himself master of the Morea, or ancient Peloponnesus. The emperor Charles VI. as guarantee of the treaty of Carlowitz, by which this territory had been assigned to the republic of Venice, was bound, in honour, to declare war against the Turks for infringing it:—and the pope, alarmed at the progress of the Infidels, urged his Imperial Majesty to stand forth in defence of Christendom. Charles accordingly assembled a powerful army, under the celebrated prince Eugene; who passed the Danube, and defeated the grand vizier Ali, at Peterwaradin. The year following the same general undertook the siege of Belgrade. The Turks advanced to its relief, and besieged him in his camp. His danger was imminent: but military skill and disciplined valour triumphed over numbers and savage ferocity. He sallied out of his entrenchments; and, falling suddenly upon the enemy, routed them with great slaughter, and took their cannon, baggage, and every thing belonging to their camp. Belgrade surrendered immediately after.

The consequence of these two victories was the peace of Passarowitz, by which the Porte ceded to the emperor Belgrade and all the Bannat of Temeswar. But the Venetians, on whose account the war had been undertaken, did not recover their possessions in Greece: the Morea was left, and still remains in the hands of the Turks.

What time the arms of the emperor were employed against the Infidels, a

new enemy was rising up against him in Christendom, and even from the bosom of the Catholic church. Philip V. of Spain, having lost his first queen, Maria Louisa of Savoy, had married, in 1714, Elizabeth Farnese, presumptive heiress to the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Tuscany, with all the territories belonging to them. This marriage, which not a little alarmed the emperor, was chiefly brought about by the intrigues of Alberoni, an Italian priest, and a native of Placenza, who soon rose to the highest favour at the court of Madrid, and was honoured by the pope with a cardinal's hat. The princess Ursini, who had long directed all things in Spain, and who, it is said, might have shared the throne, had she not hoped to govern more absolutely, and less invidiously, by means of another, was now ordered to quit the kingdom. The new queen, who was a woman of spirit, governed alone her too easy husband, and Alberoni governed the queen, by flattering her ambition. (1)

The bold, rather than correct, or illuminated genius of that minister, made him form the most extraordinary projects. The principal as well as most rational of these, though in itself sufficiently romantic, was to recover all the territories that Spain had ceded at the peace of Utrecht, but more especially her Italian dominions. This idea seems to have occupied the mind of Alberoni when he negotiated the marriage of Philip V. with the princess of Parma, whose interest in Italy was great, and for whose offspring those speculative conquests were designed, as all hopes of their succeeding to the Spanish monarchy were cut off by the children of the first bed. In order to enable him to execute that ambitious project, which was highly flattering to the queen, he laboured indefatigably, and with no small degree of success, to put the Spanish finances on a respectable footing, while he new-modelled and greatly augmented both the army and navy.

Alberoni, however, did not rely merely on the resources of Spain for the execution of so great an undertaking. He extended his negotiations and intrigues to every court in Europe. He endeavoured to engage the Turks, notwithstanding their losses, to continue the war against the emperor, whom he meant to strip of his Italian conquests. He persuaded Philip V. that his renunciation was invalid, and that he had still a better right than the duke of Orleans, not only to the crown of France, in case of the death of Lewis XV. without male issue, but also to the regency during the minority of that prince. In hopes of bringing about this important revolution, and becoming prime minister of both France and Spain, he accordingly inflamed the French malecontents. He also encouraged the Scottish Jacobites, with whom he held a secret correspondence; and he had formed a scheme, in conjunction with the duke of Ormond, the baron de Goertz, and Charles XII. of Sweden, who thirsted after revenge on the house of Hanover, of acquiring a new and powerful ally to his master, by placing the Pretender on the throne of Great Britain. But all these dazzling projects soon vanished into air, and this meteor of a moment disappeared with them.

We have already seen in what manner the intrigues of the baron de Goertz were defeated, by the seizure of the papers of Gyllemburg, the Swedish ambassador at the court of England, and the subsequent death of Charles XII. Those of Alberoni were defeated, in like manner, by the seizure of the papers of prince Cellamar, the Spanish ambassador at the court of France. The project of prince Cellamar and his confederates was, to land a body of Spanish troops in Brittany, in order to favour the assembling the malecontents of Poitou; to seize the person of the duke of Orleans, and oblige him to resign the regency to Philip V. On the discovery of this plot, cardinal Polignac, one of the principal conspirators, was confined to his abbey; the duke and duchess of Maine were taken into custody; the prince de Dombes and the count d'Eu were ordered to retire from court; the Spanish ambassador was conducted to the frontiers; five gentlemen of Brittany were executed, and the duke of Orleans found his authority thenceforth more firmly established. (2)

(1) *Mem. de Noailles*, tom. iii.

(2) *Duke of Berwick's Mem.* vol. ii. *Mem. de Brandenburg*, tom. ii. •

The formerly precarious state of that authority, and the dangerous intrigues of Alberoni, had induced the regent of France, in 1716, to enter into a league with England and Holland; and the violent ambition of the court of Spain, which seemed to know no bounds, now disposed those three powers, in conjunction with the emperor, to form the famous **QUADRUPLE ALLIANCE**, as a dyke against its fury. After the articles which provided for the maintaining of the peace of Utrecht; the principal stipulations in that treaty were, That the duke of Savoy, in consideration of certain places in Italy, should exchange with the emperor the island of Sicily for that of Sardinia, of which he should take the regal title; and that the emperor should confer on Don Carlos, eldest son of the young queen of Spain, the investiture of the duchies of Parma, Placenza, and Tuscany, on the death of the present possessors without issue.

This formidable alliance made no alteration in the temper of Alberoni. The article that regarded the eventual succession of Don Carlos was rejected with scorn by the Spanish court which had already taken possession of Sardinia, under pretence of assisting the Venetians against the Turks, and of great part of the island of Sicily. The consequence of this obstinacy, and of these unprovoked hostilities, was a declaration of war against Spain, by France and England.

But, before that measure was embraced, every method had been tried, though ineffectually, to adjust matters by negotiation: Alberoni sought only to gain time, by amusing the ministers of the two crowns. He did not, however, succeed in his scheme. George I. even while he negotiated, sent a powerful fleet into the Mediterranean, under sir George Byng, who, being vested with very ample powers, and finding every proposal to induce the Spaniards to accede to a cessation of arms treated with disdain, proceeded to execute his ultimate instructions. He accordingly engaged the Spanish fleet near the coast of Sicily, and took or destroyed twenty-one ships out of twenty-seven, fourteen of which were of the line: yet could he not prevent the Spanish troops, commanded by the marquis de Leda, from making themselves masters of the citadel of Messina, the town having surrendered before his arrival. But, by his activity in transporting German troops into Sicily, both the town and citadel were soon recovered: and the Spaniards made overtures for evacuating the island. The recovery of Sicily was followed by the surrender of Sardinia.

In the mean time the duke of Berwick conducted a French army toward the frontiers of Spain, and made himself master of St. Sebastian and Fontarabia; the duke of Ormond failed in his attempt to land a Spanish army in Great Britain; and the duke of Berwick, having made preparations for opening the next campaign with the siege of Roses and Pampeluna, Philip V. acceded to the terms prescribed by the Quadruple Alliance, and Alberoni was disgraced. (1)

While this Italian priest, the son of a peasant, and formerly the curate of a petty village near Parma, was ambitiously attempting to change the political state of Europe, a great and real change was brought about in the commercial world, in the finances of nations and the fortunes of individuals, by a Scottish adventurer, named John Law. Professionally a gamester, and a calculator of chances, Law had been obliged to abandon his native country, for having killed his antagonist in a duel. He visited several parts of the continent: and, on his arrival at Paris, he was particularly struck with the confusion into which the ambition of Lewis XIV. had thrown the French finances. To remedy that evil appeared a task worthy of his daring genius:—and he flattered himself that he could accomplish it. The greatness of the idea recommended it to the duke of Orleans, whose bold spirit and sanguine temper induced him to adopt the wildest projects.

Law's scheme was, by speedily paying off the immense national debt, to clear the public revenue of the enormous interest that absorbed it. The introduction of paper-credit could alone effect this amazing revolution, and

(1) Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. ii. *Mem. de Brandenburg*, tom. ii.

the exigencies of the state seemed to require such an expedient. Law accordingly established a bank, which was soon declared royal, and united with the Mississippi or West India company, from whose commerce the greatest riches were expected, and which soon swallowed up all the other trading companies in the kingdom. It undertook the management of the trade to the coast of Africa; it also obtained the privileges of the old East India company, founded by the celebrated Colbert, which had gone to decay, and given up its trade to the merchants of St. Malo; and it, at length, engrossed the farming of the national taxes.

The Mississippi company, in a word, seemed established on such solid foundations, and pregnant with such vast advantages, that a share in its stock rose to above twenty times its original value. The cause of this extraordinary rise deserves to be traced.

It had long been believed, on the doubtful relations of travellers, that the country in the neighbourhood of the river Mississippi contained inexhaustible treasures. Law availed himself of this credulity, and endeavoured to encourage it by mysterious reports. It was whispered, as a secret, that the celebrated, but supposed fabulous mines of St. Barbe, had at length been discovered; and that they were much richer than even fame had reported them. In order to give the greater weight to this deceitful rumour, a number of miners were sent out to Louisiana, to dig, as was pretended, the abundant treasure; with a body of troops sufficient to defend them against the Spaniards and Indians, as well as to protect the precious produce of their toils!

The impression which this stratagem made upon a nation naturally fond of novelty, is altogether astonishing. Every one was eager to obtain a share in the stock of the new company: the *Mississippi Scheme* became the grand object, and the ultimate aim of all pursuits.⁽¹⁾ Even Law himself, deceived by his own calculations, and intoxicated with the public folly, had fabricated so many notes, that the chimerical value of the funds, in 1719, exceeded four-score times the real value of the current coin of the kingdom, which was almost all in the hands of government.

This profusion of paper, in which only the debts of the state were paid off, first occasioned suspicion, and afterwards spread a general alarm. The late financiers, in conjunction with the great bankers, exhausted the Royal Bank, by continually drawing upon it for large sums. Every one wanted to convert his notes into cash; but the disproportion of specie was immense. Public credit sunk at once; and a tyrannical edict, forbidding private persons to keep by them above five hundred livres, served only to crush it more effectually, and to inflame the injured and insulted nation against the Regent. Law, who had been appointed comptroller-general of the finances, and loaded with respect, was now execrated and obliged to fly from a country he had beggared, without enriching himself, in order to discharge the debts of the crown.⁽²⁾ The distress of the kingdom was so great, and the public creditors so numerous, that government was under the necessity of affording them relief. Upward of five hundred thousand sufferers, chiefly fathers of families, presented their whole fortunes in paper; and government, after liquidating these debts, which are said to have originally amounted to a sum too in-

(1) The adventurers were not satisfied with a bare association with the company, which had obtained the disposal of that fine country. The proprietors were applied to from all quarters for large tracts of land for plantations; which, it was represented, would yield, in a few years, an hundred times the sum necessary to be laid out upon them. The richest and most intelligent men in the nation were the most forward in making these purchases; and such as could not afford to become purchasers, solicited the management of plantations, or even to be employed in cultivating them!—During this general infatuation, all persons who offered themselves, whether natives or foreigners, were promiscuously and carelessly crowded into ships, and landing on the burning sands of the Biloxi, a district in West Florida, between Pensacola and the mouth of the Mississippi, where a French settlement had been inconsiderately formed, and where these unhappy men perished in thousands, of want and vexation; the miserable victims of a political imposture, and of their own blind avidity. Raynal, *Hist. Philos. et Politique*, liv. xvi.

(2) Voltaire, Raynal, and other French authors.

credible to be named, charged itself with the enormous debt of sixteen hundred and thirty-one millions of livres, to be paid in specie.(1)

Thus ended, in France, the famous *MISSISSIPPI SCHEME*; so ruinous to the fortune of individuals, but ultimately beneficial to the state, which it relieved from an excessive load of debt, though it threw the finances, for a time, into the utmost disorder. Its effects, however, were not confined to that kingdom. Many foreigners had adventured in the French funds, and the contagion of stock-jobbing infected other nations. Holland received a slight shock; but its violence was more peculiarly reserved for England, where it appeared in a variety of forms, and exhausted all its fury. The *SOUTH SEA SCHEME*, evidently borrowed from that of Law, first excited the avidity of the nation. But it will be necessary, before I enter upon that subject, to give some account of the nature of the *Stocks*, and the rise of the *South Sea Company*.

Nothing my dear Philip, is so much talked of in London, or so little understood, as the *NATIONAL DEBT*, the *PUBLIC FUNDS*, and the *STOCKS*: I shall, therefore, endeavour to give you a general idea of them. The *National Debt* is the residue of those immense sums which government has, in times of exigency, been obliged to raise, by way of voluntary loan, for the public service, beyond what the annual revenue of the crown could supply, and which the state has not hitherto found it convenient to pay off. The *Public Funds* consist of certain ideal aggregations, or masses of the money thus deposited in the hands of government, together with the general produce of the taxes appropriated by parliament to pay the interest of that money; and the surplus of these taxes, which have always been more than sufficient to answer the charge upon them, composes what is called the *SINKING FUND*, as it was originally intended to be applied toward the reduction, or *sinking* of the national debt. The *Stocks* are the whole of this public and funded debt; which being divided into an infinity of portions or shares, bearing a known interest, but different in the different funds, may be readily transferred from one person to another, and converted into cash for the purposes of business or pleasure, and which rise or fall in value according to the plenty or scarcity of money in the nation, or the opinion the proprietors have of the security of public credit.

Such is the present state of the *Stocks*; which are subject to little fluctuation, except in times of national danger or calamity. For as the public creditors have long given up all expectation of ever receiving their capital from government, the *Stocks* are not much affected by great national prosperity, unless when attended with a sudden or extraordinary influx of money. A strong probability, amounting to a speculative certainty, that the interest of the national debt will continue to be regularly paid, without any farther reduction, must raise the *Stocks* nearly as high as they can go; and this is the common effect of peace and tranquillity. Formerly, however, the case was otherwise. The loans were chiefly made by corporations, or great companies of merchants; who, beside the stipulated interest, were indulged with certain commercial advantages. To one of those companies was granted, in 1711, the monopoly of a projected trade to the Spanish settlements on the South Sea, an entire freedom to visit which, it was supposed, England would obtain, either from the house of Austria or that of Bourbon, in consequence of the prodigious successes of the war.

At the peace of Utrecht, no such freedom was obtained. But the *Assiento*, or contract for supplying the Spanish colonies with negroes, conveyed to Great Britain by the commercial treaty with Philip V. as well as the singular privilege of sending, annually to the fair of Porto Bello a ship of five hundred tons burden, laden with European commodities, was vested exclusively in the *SOUTH SEA COMPANY*. By virtue of this contract, British factories were established at Carthagena, Panama; Vera Cruz, Buenos Ayres, and other Spanish settlements: and the company was farther permitted to freight, in the ports of the South Sea, vessels of four hundred tons burden,

(1) Voltaire.

in order to convey its negroes to all the towns on the coasts of Mexico and Peru; to equip them as it pleased; to nominate the commanders of them, and to bring back the produce of its sales in gold or silver, without being subject to any duty of import or export. (1)

Nor was this all. The agents of the British South Sea Company, under cover of the importation which they were authorized to make by the ship sent annually to Porto Bello, poured in their commodities on the Spanish colonies, without limitation or reserve. Instead of a vessel of five hundred tons burden, as stipulated by the treaty, they usually employed one of a thousand tons, exclusive of water and provisions: she was accompanied by three or four smaller vessels, which supplied her wants, and mooring in some neighbouring creek, furnished her clandestinely with fresh bales of goods, in order to replace such as had been previously sold. (2)

By these various advantages, the profits of the South Sea Company became excessively great, and the public supposed them yet greater than they really were. Encouraged by such favourable circumstances, and by the general spirit of avaricious enterprise, sir John Blount, one of the directors, who had been bred a scrivener, was tempted to project, in 1719, the infamous SOUTH SEA SCHEME. Under pretence of enabling government to pay off the national debt, by lowering the interest, and reducing all the funds into one, he proposed that the South Sea Company should become the sole public creditor.

A scheme so plausible, and so advantageous to the state, was readily adopted by the ministry, and soon received the sanction of an act of parliament. The purport of this act was, That the South Sea Company should be authorized to buy up, from the several proprietors, all the funded debts of the crown, which then bore an interest of five *per cent.* and that, after the expiration of six years, the interest should be reduced to four *per cent.* and the capital be redeemable by parliament. (3) But as the directors could not be supposed possessed of money sufficient for so great an undertaking, they were empowered to raise it by different means; and particularly by opening books of subscription, and granting annuities to such public creditors as should think proper to exchange the security of the crown for that of the South Sea Company, with the emoluments which might result from their commerce. (4)

While this affair was in agitation, the stock of the South Sea Company rose from one hundred and thirty, or thirty pounds on the hundred above its primary value, to near four hundred pounds, or four times the price paid by the first subscribers; and in order to raise it still higher, Blount, the projector of the scheme, circulated a report, on the passing of the bill, that Gibraltar and Minorca would be exchanged for some places in Peru, by the cession of which the British trade to the South Sea would be much enlarged. In consequence of this rumour, which operated like contagion, by exciting hopes of prodigious dividends, the subscription-books were no sooner opened than persons of all ranks and conditions, as well as all ages and sexes, crowded to the South Sea house, eager to become proprietors of the stock. The first purchases were, in a few weeks, sold for double the money paid for them; and the delusion, or rather the infatuation, was carried so far, that stock sold, at last, for ten times its original price. New projectors started up every day, to avail themselves of the avarice and credulity of the nation; and the Welch copper company, the York building company, and many others, were formed.

No interested project was so absurd as not to meet with encouragement, during the public delirium; but the South Sea scheme continued to be the

(1) Anderson's *Hist. of Commerce*, vol. ii.

(2) Ibid. See also Robertson's *Hist. of America*, book viii.

(3) See the printed act.

(4) These emoluments, as we have already seen, were very great; yet so intelligent a writer as Dr. Smollet has said, "That in the scheme of Law there was something substantial; an exclusive trade to Louisiana promised some advantage; but the South Sea scheme promised no commercial advantage of any consequence." (*Hist. of Eng.* vol. x.) So liable are men of the greatest talents to be the dupes of ignorance or prejudice!

great object of attraction. At length, however, to use the phrase of the times, the *bubble* began to *burst*. It was discovered, that such as were thought to be in the secret had disposed of all their stock, while the tide was at its height. An universal alarm was spread. Every one wanted to sell, and no body to buy, except at a very reduced price. The South Sea stock fell as rapidly as it had risen, and to the lowest ebb; so that, in a little time, nothing was to be seen of this bewitching scheme but the direful effects of its violence—the wreck of private fortunes, and the bankruptcy of merchants and trading companies! nor any thing to be heard but the ravings of disappointed ambition; the execrations of beggared avarice; the pathetic wailings of innocent credulity, the grief of unexpected poverty, or the frantic howlings of despair!—The timely interposition and steady wisdom of parliament only could have prevented a general bankruptcy.

A committee of the house of commons was chosen by ballot, to examine all the books, papers, and proceedings relative to the execution of the South Sea act; and this committee discovered, that before any subscription could be made, a fictitious stock of five hundred and seventy-four thousand pounds had been disposed of by the directors, in order to facilitate the passing of the bill. Mr. Aislabie, chancellor of the Exchequer, who had shared largely in the stock, was expelled the house of commons, and committed to the Tower, for having promoted the destructive execution of “the South Sea scheme, “with a view to his own exorbitant profit; and having combined with the “directors in their pernicious practices, to the ruin of public credit.” Mr. secretary Craggs and his father, also great delinquents, died before they underwent the censure of the house; but the commons resolved, nevertheless, that Mr. Craggs, senior, was “a notorious accomplice with Robert “Knight, treasurer to the South Sea company, and some of the directors, in “carrying on their scandalous practices: and, therefore, that all the estate “of which he was possessed at the time of his death, should be applied to— “ward the relief of unhappy sufferers by the South Sea scheme.”(1) The estates of the directors were also confiscated by act of parliament, and directed to be applied to the same purpose, after a certain allowance was deducted for each director, according to his conduct and circumstances.

The commons having thus punished the chief promoters of this iniquitous scheme, by stripping them of their ill-got wealth, proceeded to repair, as far as possible, the mischief it had occasioned. They accordingly prepared a bill for that purpose. On the inquiries relative to the framing of this bill, it appeared, That the whole capital stock of the South Sea company, at the end of the year 1720, amounted to thirty-seven millions eight hundred thousand pounds; that the stock allotted to all the proprietors did not exceed twenty-four millions five hundred thousand pounds; that the remaining capital stock belonged to the company, in their corporate capacity, being the profit arising from the execution of the fraudulent stock-jobbing scheme. Out of this, it was enacted, that seven millions should be paid to the public sufferers. It was likewise enacted, that several additions should be made to the stock of the proprietors, out of that possessed by the company in their own right; and that, after such distributions, the remaining capital stock should be divided among the proprietors. By these wise and equitable regulations, public credit was restored, and the ferment of the nation gradually subsided.

The discontents and disorders occasioned by the South Sea scheme encouraged the English Jacobites to think of making a new attempt to change the line of succession. But the same want of concert, secrecy, and success, attended this, as every other plan for the restoration of the unfortunate family of Stuart. George I. who had spies in every popish court, and who had, by alliances, made almost every European potentate his friend, was informed, by the regent of France, of the conspiracy hatching against his government. In consequence of this information, Christopher Layer, a young gentleman of the Middle-Temple, was taken into custody, condemned,

(1) Journals of the Commons, 1721.

and executed, for having enlisted men for the service of the Pretender. The duke of Norfolk, the earl of Orrery, Dr. Atterbury bishop of Rochester, lord North and Grey, with many other suspected persons of less note, were committed to the Tower. But they were acquitted, for want of evidence, except the bishop of Rochester, who was degraded, deprived of his benefice, and banished the kingdom for life.(1)

As Dr. Atterbury was a man of distinguished talents, and intimately connected with the heads of the Tory party, his cause was warmly pleaded in the house of peers. Lord Bathurst, turning towards the bench of bishops, who had discovered peculiar animosity against the prisoner, said he could hardly account for the inveterate malice and rancour with which some men pursued the learned and ingenious prelate, unless they were infatuated with the superstition of certain savages, who fondly believe that they inherit, not only the spoils, but the abilities, of any great man whom they destroy.(2) When the bishop of Rochester arrived at Calais, he met lord Bolingbroke on his return from exile, and had the spirit to observe, smiling, that they were exchanged!

Soon after this conspiracy was defeated, died Philip duke of Orleans, regent of France, one of the most elegant, accomplished, and dissipated men of his time. As a prince, he possessed great talents for government, which he did not fail to exert during his administration. Notwithstanding his precarious situation, he governed France with more absolute authority than any minister since cardinal Richelieu, and took many important steps for the benefit of the kingdom; but his own libertine example, and the necessity of making the oppressed people forget their miseries in a perpetual round of amusements, introduced an universal corruption of manners, which spread itself even to foreign nations.(3) He was succeeded in the administration, but not in the regency, the king being come of age, by the duke of Bourbon. This minister was soon supplanted by cardinal Fleury, a man of a mild and pacific disposition, who had been preceptor to Lewis XV. and who, at the advanced age of seventy-three, took upon him the cares of government.

Fortunately for the happiness of mankind, sir Robert Walpole, who began about the same time to acquire an ascendant in the councils of Great Britain, and who soon after became prime minister, possessed a disposition no less pacific than that of Fleury. In consequence of this coinciding mildness of temper, the repose of Europe was continued, with less interruption, for almost twenty years. Meanwhile several treaties were negotiated between its different kingdoms and states, for securing more effectually, as was pretended, the objects of the Quadruple Alliance, and the balance of power. One of these treaties, concluded privately at Vienna, between the emperor and the Spanish monarch, excited the jealousy of George I. who was under apprehensions for the safety of his German dominions, as well as of some secret article in favour of the Pretender, many of whose adherents were then entertained at the court of Madrid. It also gave umbrage to the French and Dutch, as it granted to the subjects of the house of Austria greater advantages, in their trade with Spain, than those enjoyed by any other nation:(4) and it guaranteed a new East India company, lately established at Ostend, which France, England, and Holland, were equally desirous of suppressing.

In order to counteract the treaty of Vienna, another was concluded at

(1) Tindal. Smollett.

(2) *Parl. Debates*, 1722.

(3) The death of the duke of Orleans was distinguished by a very singular circumstance. Having neglected his usual time of bleeding, he was seized with an apoplexy, in the arms of the duchess de Talaris, and instantly expired. Augustus II. king of Poland, when informed of this circumstance, wantonly exclaimed, in the words of scripture, "O may I die the death of this just man?" alluding to his paying at once the debt of nature and the debt of love. *Mém. de Brandenburgh*, tom. ii.

(4) Count Königseck, the Imperial ambassador at the court of Madrid had procured these advantageous conditions for his master Charles VI. by flattering the queen of Spain with a prospect of a match between her son Don Carlos, and the archduchess Maria Theresa, heiress to all the extensive dominions of the House of Austria. *Mém. de Brandenburgh*, tom. ii.

Hanover, between the three offended powers, and the kings of Prussia, Denmark, and Sweden. Overawed by this formidable confederacy, the emperor and the king of Spain remained quiet. The king of Great Britain, however, fitted out three stout squadrons, one of which he sent to the West Indies, under admiral Hosier, who had orders to block up the Spanish galleons in the harbour of Porto Bello, and to seize them, if they attempted to come out. In cruising off that unhealthy coast, where he was restrained from obeying the dictates of his courage, the greater part of his officers and men were swept away by the diseases of the climate; his ships were ruined by the worms, and he himself is supposed to have died of a broken heart.

The Spaniards, in resentment of this insult, laid siege to Gibraltar, but without success; and a reconciliation was soon after brought about, through the mediation of France. It was agreed, That the charter of the Ostend East India Company should be suspended for seven years; that the stipulations in the Quadruple Alliance, but particularly those relative to the succession of Don Carlos to the duchies of Parma, Placenza, and Tuscany, should be fulfilled; and that all differences should be adjusted by a congress. This congress, which was held at Soissons, produced the treaty of Seville, by which all grounds of dispute were finally removed.

During these negotiations died George I. a prudent and virtuous prince, whose attachment to his German dominions, which has been much magnified, was made use of by the Tories to render him odious to the English nation. He was succeeded by his son, George II. whose accession made no alteration in the system of British politics. The administration was wisely continued in the hands of the Whigs, the only true friends to the Protestant succession, or to the principles of the revolution: and the same Tory faction, which had so frequently attempted to thwart the measures, and overturn the throne of the first George, continued their violent opposition in parliament, during the more early part of the reign of George II. The heads of this faction namely, Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Shippen, Mr. Hungerford, and others, being men of great abilities, were soon joined by certain disgusted courtiers, of equal, if not superior talents, who hoped, by such coalition, to humble their successful rivals, and get into their own hands the highest employments of the state. Mr. Pulteney, the finest speaker of the house of commons, and lately a member of administration, already made one of their number. Lord Carteret and the earl of Chesterfield, the most distinguished orators in the house of peers, afterward joined the phalanx.

This powerful body, by continually opposing the measures of government, and passionately railing against continental connexions, soon acquired great popularity, and at last became formidable to the throne. The patriotic, or country party, as the members in opposition affected to call themselves, were always predicting beggary and ruin in the midst of the most profound peace, and the highest national prosperity; and a small standing army, which it was thought prudent to keep up, was represented as an engine of despotism. The liberties of the people were believed by many to be in danger. But those liberties, or at least the freedom of the constitution, has suffered more from a pernicious system of domestic policy, which that violent opposition at first made necessary, than from the so-much-dreaded military establishment.

When the wheels of government are clogged, and the machine rendered almost stationary, by the arts of an ambitious faction, the whole influence of the crown must be employed, in order to accelerate their motion. The force of opposition must be broken: its ablest members must be drawn over to the side of royalty, by the emoluments of office or the splendour of titles; by the highest honours and employments of the state. If this cannot be effected, if nothing less will content their pride than an entirely new arrangement of the servants of the crown, a measure always disagreeable to a sovereign, and often dangerous, as it may possibly be attended with the loss of his throne:—if the heads of opposition cannot be taught silence, or induced to change sides, without a total change of administration, the king must either resign his minister, or that minister must secure a majority in the national assem-

bly by *other means*. (1) No minister ever understood these means better than Sir Robert Walpole. Possessed of great abilities, and utterly destitute of principle, he made no scruple of employing the money voted by parliament, in order to corrupt its members. Having discovered that almost every man had his price, he bought many; and to gain more, he let loose the wealth of the treasury at elections. (2) The fountain of liberty was poisoned in its source.

This, my dear Philip, is an evil interwoven with the very frame of our mixed government, and which renders it, in many respects, inferior to a mere monarchy, regulated by laws, where corruption can never become a necessary engine of state. To say, that it is absolutely necessary, in our government, would perhaps be going too far; but experience proves, that it has generally been thought so, since the revolution, when the powers of the crown were abridged. The opportunity which able and ambitious men have, by the freedom of debate in parliament, and which they have seldom failed to exercise, of obstructing our public measures, renders the *influence* of the crown in some degree necessary: and that is but a more refined species of *corruption*, or a milder name for the same thing.

Our patriotic ancestors, who so gloriously struggled for the abolition of the more dangerous parts of the prerogative, certainly did not foresee the weight of this enslaving influence, which the entire collecting and management of an immense public revenue has thrown into the scale of government, by giving rise to such a multitude of officers, created by, and removeable at, the royal pleasure; and by the frequent opportunities of conferring particular obligations, by preference in loans, lottery-tickets, contracts, and other money-transactions; an influence too great for human virtue to withstand, and which has left us little more than the shadow of a free constitution. (3) The revolution was an over-hasty measure: it guarded only against the direct encroachments of the crown. The subsequent provisions were few: and the Whigs, formerly so jealous of liberty, were afterward so fully employed, one while in combating their political enemies, in order to preserve the parliamentary settlement of the crown, and at another in opposing the violent faction occasioned by the Hanoverian succession, which it had been their great object to bring about, that they had no leisure to attend to the new bias of the constitution. In their anxiety for the security of that succession, stimulated by the lust of power, they shamefully neglected the independency of parliament, as well as the freedom of elections, in which it has its origin, till the malady was too inveterate to admit of a speedy cure. The Septennial Bill was a cruel stab to liberty.

Let us not, however, despair. Some late laws relative to elections, and for excluding from the house of commons contractors and money-jobbers, will greatly contribute to restore, if not to perfect the British constitution. But the friends of monarchy will perhaps question, whether an independent parliament would be a *public good* in this *licentious* kingdom? And that question is not without its difficulties. Yet we know, that *corruption* is a *public evil*; that it is the parent of *licentiousness*, and of every enslaving vice. And as

(1) Some men of patriotic principles have fondly imagined, that a good minister must always be able to command such a majority, merely by the rectitude of his measures; but experience has evinced, that in factious times, all the weight of government is often necessary to carry even the best measures.

(2) "To destroy British liberty," says lord Bolingbroke, "with an army of Britons, is not a measure so sure of success as some people may believe. To corrupt the parliament is a slower, but a more effectual method." *Disert. on Parties*, Letter x.

(3) "Nothing," as lord Bolingbroke very justly remarks, "can destroy the constitution of Britain, but the people of Britain; and whenever the people of Britain become so degenerate and base, as to be induced by corruption (for they are no longer in danger of being awed by prerogative) to choose persons to represent them in parliament, whom they have found by experience to be under an influence arising from private interest—dependants upon a court, and the creatures of a minister; or others, who bring no recommendation, but that which they carry in their purses; then will that trite proverbial speech be verified in our case, that the *corruption of the best things are the worst*: for then will that very change in the state of property and power, which improved our constitution so much, contribute to the destruction of it." *Disert. on Parties*, Let. xvii.

the reigning family is now fully established on the throne, without a competitor, government happily can have no occasion for *undue* influence, in order to carry any wholesome measure. I shall, therefore, conclude my observations on this subject with the memorable words of lord Belingbroke:—"The integrity of *parliament* is a kind of PALLADIUM, a tutelary goddess, who "protects our state"(1)—and if ever she is finally removed, we must bid adieu to all the blessings of a free people. The forms of our constitution, and the names of its different branches, may remain, but we shall not be, on that account, the less slaves.

In consequence of the treaty of Seville, confirmed by another at Vienna, Don Carlos took quiet possession of the duchies of Parma and Placenza, on the succession becoming vacant, the emperor withdrawing his troops. By the treaty of Vienna, the emperor also agreed, That the Ostend company, which had given so much umbrage to France, England, and Holland, should be totally dissolved, on condition that the contracting powers, in the treaty of Seville, should guarantee the PRAGMATIC SANCTION, or domestic law, by which the succession to the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria were secured to the heirs female of the emperor Charles VI. in case he should die without male issue. The proposal was acceded to; and the peace of Europe continued undisturbed, till the death of Augustus II. king of Poland.(2)

On this event, Stanislaus Leczinski, whom Charles XII. had invested with the sovereignty of Poland, in 1704, and whom Peter the Great had dethroned, now become father-in-law to Lewis XV. was a second time chosen king. But the emperor, assisted by the Russians, obliged the Poles to proceed to a new election. The elector of Saxony, son of the late king of Poland, who had married the emperor's niece, was raised to the throne, under the name of Augustus III. and Stanislaus, as formerly, was forced to abandon his crown.

Though the distance of his situation, and the pacific disposition of his minister, prevented the king of France from yielding effectual support to his father-in-law, a sense of his own dignity determined him to take revenge upon the emperor, for the insult he had suffered in the person of that unfortunate prince. He accordingly entered into an alliance with the kings of Spain and Sardinia, who also thought themselves aggrieved, and war was begun in Italy and on the frontiers of Germany. The duke of Berwick passed the Rhine, at the head of the French army, and reduced Fort Kehl. He afterward invested Philipsburgh, in the face of the imperial forces, while the count de Belleisle made himself master of Traerbach. The duke of Berwick was killed by a cannon-ball, in visiting the trenches;(3) but Philips-

(1) *Dissert. on Parties*, Let. x.

(2) That prince, when surprised by death, was occupied with a design of rendering the crown of Poland hereditary in his family. With this view he had planned a division of the Polish dominions, hoping thereby to quiet the jealousy of his neighbours. The project, however, he knew to be impracticable, without the concurrence of the king of Prussia. He, therefore, desired Frederic II. to send him the *mareschal* de Grumkou, that he might open his mind to him. Augustus wanted to pump Grumkou, and Grumkou was no less anxious to discover the sentiments of the king. Mutually actuated by this motive, they contrived to make each other drunk: and that drunken bout was followed by the king of Poland's death, and a fit of sickness in Grumkou, of which he never got the better. (*Adm. de Brandenburg*, tom. ii.) Augustus II. was endowed with extraordinary bodily strength, a sound understanding, a social disposition, and many princely accomplishments. It was this Augustus, who, in a fit of gallantry, twisted a horse-shoe in the presence of a fine woman, in order to give her some idea of his personal powers; and, at the same time, presented to her a purse of gold, to make her sensible of his generosity. Love perhaps never spoke a more eloquent language.

(3) The *mareschal* of Berwick is justly reputed one of the greatest of modern commanders. No general ever had the *coup d'œil* quicker or more accurate; whether, in battle, to discover the blunders of an enemy, and make these decisive moments that carry victory with them; or, in a campaign, to observe and take advantage of positions, on which the success of the whole depends. His character in private life, though no less worthy of admiration, is less known. "It was impossible," says Montesquieu, "to behold him, and not to be in love with virtue, so evident was tranquillity and happiness in his soul. No man ever knew better how to avoid excesses; or, if I may so express myself, to keep clear of the snares of virtue. He had a great fund of religion, and was fond of the clergy, but could not bear to be governed by them. No man ever followed more strictly those precepts of the gospel which are most troublesome to men of the world; no man, in a word, ever practised religion so much, and talked of it so little. He never spoke ill of any one, nor bestowed any praise upon those whom he did not

burg was taken nevertheless. The marquis d'Asfeld, who succeeded to the command of the French army, as the eldest lieutenant-general, continued the operations of the siege in sight of prince Eugene; and in spite of the efforts of that experienced general, and the overflowings of the Rhine, the place was forced to surrender.

The French and their allies were no less successful in Italy. The count de Montemar having gained a complete victory over the imperialists, at Bitonto in Apulia, the Spaniards afterward carried every thing before them; and in two campaigns, became masters of Naples and Sicily. Meanwhile the forces of France and Piedmont, under old mareschal Villars and the king of Sardinia, took Milan and other important places. The mareschal de Coigny, who succeeded to the command of the French army on the death of Villars, defeated the Imperialists under the walls of Parma, after an obstinate battle, in which count de Merci, the Imperial general, was killed. The Imperialists were again worsted at Guastalla, where the prince of Wirtemberg was slain. In these two engagements the emperor lost above ten thousand men.

Discouraged by so many defeats, his Imperial Majesty signified his desire of peace; and as peace was the sincere and constant wish of cardinal Fleury, a treaty for that end was soon concluded. By this treaty it was stipulated, That Stanislaus should renounce his pretensions to the throne of Poland, in consideration of the cession of the duchy of Lorrain, which he should enjoy during life, and which, after his death, should be reunited to the crown of France; that the duke of Lorrain should have Tuscany, in exchange for his hereditary dominions, and that Lewis XV. should insure to him an annual revenue of three millions five hundred thousand livres, till the death of the grand-duke, John Gaston, the last prince of the house of Medicis; that the emperor should acknowledge Don Carlos king of the Two Sicilies, and accept the duchies of Parma and Placenza, as an indemnification for these two kingdoms; that he should cede to the king of Sardinia, who had some old pretensions to the whole duchy of Milan, the Novarese, the Tortonese, and the fiefs of Langes. And, in consideration of these cessions, the king of France agreed to restore all his conquests in Germany, and to guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction.(1)

Scarce was this peace negotiated, when a new war broke out on the confines of Europe and Asia, in which the emperor found himself involved. Provoked at the ravages of the Crim Tartars, as well as at the neglect of the Ottoman Porte to her repeated remonstrances on that subject, the empress of Russia resolved to do herself justice. She accordingly ordered Lasci, one of her generals, to attack Azoph, which he reduced; while the count de Munich, entering the Crimea with another army, forced the lines of Prekop, made himself master of the place itself, took Baniesary, and laid all Tartary waste with fire and sword. Next campaign Munich entered the Ukraine, and invested Oczakow, which was carried by assault, though defended by a garrison of three thousand Janizaries and seven thousand Bosniacs. A bomb having set fire to the powder magazine, it immediately blew up and communicated its contents to many of the houses. The Russian general seized this opportunity to storm the town; and the Turks, unable to recover themselves from their consternation, or to fight on narrow ramparts contiguous to buildings all in flames, tamely suffered themselves to be cut to pieces.(2)

The rapid successes of the Russians awakened the ambition of the court of Vienna, which was bound, by treaty, to assist that of Petersburg against the Porte. The emperor was made to believe, That if he should attack the Turks, on the side of Hungary, while the Russians continued to press them on the borders of the Black Sea, the Ottoman empire might be finally subverted. Prophecies were even propagated, That the period fatal to the Crescent was at last arrived.(3) But these prophecies and the emperor's

"think deserving of it. In the works of Plutarch I have seen, at a distance, what great men were, in him I behold, at a nearer view, what they are." *Sketch of an Historical*

Paragragh.

(1) Voltaire. Tindal. Sallouett.

(2) *Mém. de Brandenburgh*, tom. ii.

(3) *Ibid.*

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ambitious hopes proved equally illusory. The Turks turned their principal force toward Hungary. The Imperial generals were repeatedly defeated; several important places were lost, and Belgrade was besieged; when Charles VI. discouraged by his misfortunes, and resolving to put an end to a war from which he reaped nothing but disgrace, had recourse to the mediation of France. M. de Villeneuve, the French ambassador at Constantinople, accordingly repaired to the Turkish camp; and the empress of Russia, though recently victorious at Choczim, afraid of being deserted by her ally, and left to support alone the whole weight of the war, had also recourse to negotiation.

In consequence of this pacific disposition in the Christian allies, the Turks so lately devoted to destruction, obtained an advantageous peace. By that treaty, the emperor ceded to the grand signior, Belgrade, Sabatz, the isle and fortress of Orsova, with Servia, and Austrian Walachia: and the contracting powers agreed, That the Danube and the Saave should, in future, be the boundaries of the two empires. The empress of Russia was left in possession of Azoph, but on condition that its fortifications should be demolished; and the ancient limits between the Russian and Turkish empires were re-established.

Soon after this peace was signed, died the emperor Charles VI. the last prince of the ancient and illustrious house of Austria, the disputed succession to whose hereditary dominions kindled anew the flames of war in Europe. But before we enter upon that important subject, I must give you, my dear Philip, a short account of the maritime war already begun between Spain and Great Britain; and, in order to make the grounds of their quarrel distinctly understood, it will be necessary to continue our view of the Progress of Navigation, Commerce, and Colonization.

LETTER XXVII.

Progress of Navigation, Commerce, and Colonization, from the Year 1660, to the Year 1739, when Spain and Great Britain engaged in a Maritime War, occasioned by certain commercial Disputes—an Account of the principal Events in that War—the taking of Porto Bello, the Siege of Carthage, and the Expedition of Commodore Anson to the South Sea.

WE have seen, toward the middle of the seventeenth century, the English and Dutch in possession of almost the whole trade of the universe. But the Dutch commerce received a severe wound from the English Navigation Act, passed by the commonwealth parliament, in 1651; and the subsequent wars between England and Holland, during the reign of Charles II. reduced still lower the trade of the United Provinces. Their trade to the East Indies, however, continued to flourish, while that of England remained in a languishing condition till after the Revolution. But this disadvantage on the part of England was amply compensated by the population, culture, and extension of her colonies in North America and the West Indies, which began to consume a vast quantity of European goods; and by a great and lucrative trade to Spain, Portugal, and Turkey: (1) During no former or subsequent period, in a word, did England ever make such rapid progress in commerce and riches, as during that inglorious one, which followed the Restoration, and terminated with the expulsion of the house of Stuart: (2) though she found, at the same time a formidable rival in France, and a rival whose encroachments were not sufficiently repressed by her pusillanimous and pensioned monarchs.

(1) England sent annually to the Levant above twenty thousand pieces of woollen cloth.

(2) Davenant affirms, that the shipping of England was more than doubled during these twenty-eight years. (*Discourse on the Public Revenues*, part. ii.) And we are told by sir Josiah Child, that in 1688, there were, on the 'Change, more men worth ten thousand pounds, than there were, in 1650, worth one thousand. *Brief Observations*, &c.

The great Colbert, who, as I have had occasion to notice, introduced order into the French finances in the early part of the reign of Lewis XIV. who encouraged the arts, promoted manufactures, and may be said to have created the French navy; Colbert established an East India company, in 1664. This company, which founded its principal settlement at Pondicherry, on the coast of Coromandel, never attained to any high degree of prosperity, notwithstanding the countenance shown it by government. At last, in consequence of Law's Mississippi scheme, it was united with the West India company, which had been established in the same year with that trading to the East, and was also in a languishing condition. A separation afterward took place. The West India company was judiciously abolished, as a pernicious monopoly;(1) and the French trade to the East Indies became, for a time, of some importance, while that to the West Indies flourished greatly from the moment it was made free.

But France is chiefly indebted for her wealth and commerce to the genius and industry of her numerous inhabitants, and to the produce of an extensive, and naturally fertile territory. Her wines, her brandys, her raisins, her olives, have been long in request, and by her ingenious manufactures, established or encouraged by Colbert, her gold and silver stuffs, her tapestries, her carpets, her silks, her velvets, her laces, her linens, and her toys, she laid all Europe, and indeed the whole world, under contribution for half a century. Colbert extended his attention also to the manufacture of wool; and the French, by fabricating lighter cloths, by employing more taste and fancy in the colours, and by the superior conveniency of the ports of Toulon and Marseilles, soon acquired the almost entire possession of the trade of Turkey, formerly so beneficial to England. The same, and other circumstances, have procured them a great share in the trade of Spain and Portugal.(2)

The prosperity of the French manufactures, however, received a temporary check, from the revocation of the edict of Nantz, in 1685. The persecuted Protestants, to the number of almost a million, who had been chiefly employed in these manufactures, took refuge in England, Holland, and other countries, where they could enjoy the free exercise of their religion; carrying along with them their arts and ingenuity, and even the fruits of their industry, to a very great amount, in gold and silver. They were much caressed in England, where they improved or introduced the manufacture of hats, of silk, and of linen. The importation of those articles from France was soon prohibited, as inconsistent with national interest; the culture of flax was encouraged; raw or unmanufactured silk was imported from Italy and China; beaver skins were procured from Hudson's Bay, where settlements had been established, and where all sorts of furs were found in the greatest plenty, and of the most excellent quality. Clock and watch-work was executed, in England, with the utmost elegance and exactness, as well as all other kinds of machinery, cutlery, and jewelry; the cotton manufactory, now so highly perfected, was introduced; and toys of every species were at length finished with so much taste and facility as to become an article of exportation, even to the European continent, and privately to France itself, the birth-place of fashion, and the nursery of splendid bagatelles.

In the mean time, the English and French colonies, in North America, enlarged their boundaries, and increased in wealth and population. The French colony of Canada, or new France, was augmented by the settlement of Louisiana and a line of communication was established, before the middle of the present century, from the mouth of the river St. Laurence to that of the Mississippi. The English colonies, more populous and cultivated, extended along the sea-coast, from the bottom of the Bay of Fundy to the river Alabama, on the frontiers of Florida. New England furnished masts and

(1) Exclusive companies may sometimes be useful to nourish an infant trade, where the market is under the dominion of foreign and barbarous princes; but where the trade between different parts of the dominions of the same prince, under the protection of his laws, and carried on by his own subjects with goods wrought in his own kingdom, such companies must be equally absurd in their nature and ruinous in their consequence to commerce.

(2) Anderson's *Hist. of Commerce*, vol. ii.

yards for the royal navy, as well as timber for other uses; New York and New Jersey, formerly known by the name of Neva-Belgia, conquered from the Dutch, in 1664, and Pennsylvania, settled in 1681, produced abundant crops of corn, and a variety of other articles for the European markets, as well as for the supply of the English islands in the West Indies; the tobacco of Virginia and Maryland was become a staple commodity, in high request, and a great source of revenue; and the two Carolinas, by the culture of rice and indigo, and the manufacture of tar, pitch, and turpentine, so necessary to a naval and commercial people, soon became of vast importance.

But the most beneficial trade of both nations arose, and still continues to proceed, from their colonies in the West India Islands. The rich produce of those islands, which is chiefly intended for exportation, and all carried in the ships of the mother-countries, affords employment to a great number of seamen; and as the inhabitants, who do not so much as make their own wearing apparel, or the common implements of husbandry, are supplied with clothing of all kinds, household furniture, tools, toys, and even the luxuries of the table from Europe, the intercourse is active, and productive of mutual prosperity and happiness. The islands in the American Archipelago, in a word, are the prime marts for French and English manufactures, and furnish the nations to which they belong, in their sugars, their rums, their cotton, coffee, cocoa, and other articles, with a more valuable exchange than that of gold.

Nor are those islands destitute of the precious metals, though now less plenty there than formerly. An inquiry into this subject will lead us to many curious particulars in the history of the West Indies, and prove, at the same time, a necessary introduction to the maritime war between England and Spain, which broke out in 1739.

After the failure of the mines of Hispaniola, which were never rich, and the conquest of the two extensive empires of Mexico and Peru, where the precious metals were found in the greatest profusion, that valuable island was entirely neglected by the Spaniards. The greater part of its once flourishing cities were deserted by their inhabitants, and the few planters that remained sunk into the most enervating indolence. The necessaries, however, and even many of the luxuries of life, were there found in abundance. All the European animals had multiplied exceedingly, but especially the horned cattle, which were become in a manner wild, and wandered about in large droves, without any regular owner. Allured by these conveniences, certain French and English adventurers, since known by the name of Buccaneers or Freebooters, had taken possession of the small island of Tortuga, as early as the year 1632, and found little difficulty, under such favourable circumstances, of establishing themselves on the northern coast of Hispaniola. They at first subsisted chiefly by the hunting of wild cattle. Part of the beef they ate fresh, part they dried, and the hides they sold to the masters of such vessels as came upon the coast; and who furnished them, in return, with clothes, liquors, fire-arms, powder, and shot. (1) But the wild cattle at length becoming scarce, the Buccaneers were under the necessity of turning their industry to other objects. The sober-minded men applied themselves to the cultivation of the ground, which abundantly required their toil, while these of a bold and restless disposition associated themselves with pirates and outlaws of all nations, and formed the most terrible band of ravagers that ever infested the ocean. To these ravagers, however, rendered famous by their courage and their crimes, France and England are indebted, in some measure, for the prosperity of their settlements in the West Indies.

Nothing could appear less formidable than the first armaments of the pi-

(1) The dress of the Buccaneers consisted of a shirt dipped in the blood of the animals they had slain; a pair of trowsers, dirtier than the shirt; a leathern girdle, from which hung a short sabre, and some Dutch knives; a hat without any rim, except a flap before, in order to enable them to pull it off, shoes made of raw hides, but no stockings. (*Hist. Gen. des Voyages*, tom. xv. liv. vii.) These barbarous men, the outcasts of civil society, were denominated *Buccanners*, because they dried with smoke, conformable to the custom of the savages, part of the flesh of the cattle they had killed, in places denominated *buccans* in the language of the natives. *Id. ibid.*

ratical Buccaneers, who took the name of *Brothers of the Coast*. Having formed themselves, like the hunters of wild cattle, into small societies, they made their excursions in an open boat, which generally contained between twenty and thirty men, exposed to all the intemperature of the climate; to the burning heat of the day, and the chilling damps of the night. The natural inconveniences, connected with this mode of life, were augmented by those arising from their licentious disposition.

A love of freedom, which, duly regulated, cannot be too much cherished, rendered the Buccaneers averse to all those restraints, which civilized men usually impose on each other for their common happiness; and as the authority which they had conferred on their captain, was chiefly confined to giving orders in battle, they lived in the greatest disorder. Like savages, having no apprehension of want, nor taking any care to guard against famine by prudent oeconomy, they were frequently exposed to all the extremities of hunger and thirst. But deriving, even from their distresses, a courage superior to every danger, the sight of a sail transported them to a degree of frenzy. They seldom deliberated on the mode of attack, but their custom was to board the ships as soon as possible. The smallness of their own vessels, and their dexterity in managing them, preserved them from the fire of the enemy. They presented only to the broadside of a ship, their slender prows, filled with expert marksmen, who fired at the enemy's port-holes with such exactness, as to confound the most experienced gunners. And when they could fix their grappling tackle, the largest trading vessels were generally obliged to strike.(1)

Although the Buccaneers, when under the pressure of necessity, attacked the ships of every nation, those belonging to the subjects of Spain were more especially marked out as the objects of their piracy. They thought that the cruelties, which the Spaniards had exercised on the natives of the New World, were a sufficient apology for any violence that could be committed against them. Accommodating their conscience to this belief, which, perhaps, unknown to themselves, was rather dictated by the richness of the Spanish vessels than by any real sense of religion or equity, they never embarked in an expedition without publicly praying to heaven for its success; nor did they ever return loaded with booty, without solemnly returning thanks to God for their good fortune.(2)

This booty was originally carried to the island of Tortuga, the common rendezvous of the Buccaneers, and then their only place of safety. But afterward the French went to some of the ports of Hispaniola, where they had established themselves in defiance of the Spaniards, and the English to those of Jamaica, where they could dispose of their prizes to more advantage, and lay out their money more agreeably, either in business or pleasure.

Before the distribution of the spoil, each adventurer held up his hand, and protested he had secreted nothing of what he had taken; and if any one was convicted of perjury, a case that seldom occurred, he was punished in a manner truly exemplary, and worthy the imitation of better men. He was expelled the community, and left, as soon as an opportunity offered, upon some desert island, as a wretch unworthy to live in society, even with the destroyers of their species!

After providing for the sick, the wounded, the maimed, and settling their

(1) *Hist. Gen. des Voyages*, ubi sup. *Hist. Buccaneers*, part. i. chap. vi.

(2) *Id. ibid.* This is a precious picture of the inconsistency of human nature, and a striking proof how little connexion there frequently is between religion and morality! a truth which is further illustrated by the following curious anecdote. "One of the chief causes of our disagreement," says an enlightened Freebooter, speaking of the quarrels between the French and English Buccaneers, in their expedition to the South Sea, "was the impiety of the English; for they made no scruple, when they got into a church, to cut down the arms of a crucifix with their sabres, or to shoot them down with their fusils and pistols, bruising and maiming the images of the saints in the same manner!" (*Voy. des Éclipses*, par Ravenau de Lussan.) But it does not appear that those devout plunderers, who were shocked at seeing the image of a saint maimed, were more tender than the English Buccaneers, of the persons or properties of their fellow creatures, or ever attempted to restrain their impious associates from any act of injustice or inhumanity.

several shares, the Buccaneers indulged themselves in all kinds of licentiousness. Their debauches, which they carried to the greatest excess, were limited only by the want that such prodigality occasioned. If they were asked, what satisfaction they could find in dissipating so rapidly, what they had earched with so much jeopardy, they made this very ingenious reply:—"Exposed as we are to a variety of perils, our life is totally different from that of other men. Why should we, who are alive to-day, and run the hazard of being dead to-morrow, think of hoarding?—Studious only of enjoying the present hour, we never think of that which is to come." (1) This has ever been the language of men in such circumstances: the desire of dissipating life, not solicitude for the preservation of existence, seems to increase in proportion to the danger of losing it.

The ships that sailed from Europe to America seldom tempted the avidity of the first Buccaneers, as the merchandize they carried could not readily have been sold in the West Indies in those early times. But they eagerly watched the Spanish vessels on their return to Europe, when certain they were partly laden with treasure. They commonly followed the *Galions* and *Flotas*, employed in transporting the produce of the mines of Mexico and Peru, as far as the channel of Bahama; and if, by any accident, a ship was separated from the fleet, they instantly beset her, and she seldom escaped them. They even ventured to attack several ships at once; and the Spaniards, who considered them as demons, and trembled at their approach, commonly surrendered, if they came to close quarters. (2)

A remarkable instance of this timidity on the one side, and temerity on the other, occurs in the history of Peter Legrand, a native of Dieppe in Normandy; who, with a small vessel, carrying no more than twenty-eight men, and four guns, had the boldness to attack the vice-admiral of the *Galions*. Resolved to conquer or die, and having exacted an oath to the same purpose from his crew, he ordered the carpenter to bore a hole in the side of his own vessel, that all hope of escape might be cut off. This was no sooner done than he boarded the Spanish ship, with a sword in one hand, and a pistol in the other; and bearing down all resistance entered the great cabin, attended by a few of the most desperate of his associates. He there found the admiral surrounded by his officers; presented a pistol to his breast, and ordered him to surrender. Meanwhile the rest of the Buccaneers took possession of the gun-room, and seized the arms. Struck with terror and amazement, the Spaniards demanded quarter. (3) Like examples are numerous in the history of the Buccaneers.

The Spaniards, almost reduced to despair, by finding themselves a continual prey to those ravagers, diminished the number of their ships, and the colonies gave up their connexions with each other. These humiliating precautions, however, served but to increase the boldness of the Buccaneers. They had hitherto invaded the Spanish settlements only to procure provisions; but no sooner did they find their captures decrease, than they determined to procure by land that wealth which the sea denied them. They accordingly formed themselves into larger bodies, and plundered many of the richest and strongest towns in the New World. Maracaybo, Campeachy, Vera Cruz, Porto Bello, and Carthagena, on this side of the continent, severely felt the effects of their fury; and Guilaquil, Panama, and many other places on the coasts of the South Sea, were not more fortunate in their resistance, or treated with greater lenity. (4) In a word, the Buccaneers, the most extraordinary set of men that ever appeared upon the face of the globe, but whose duration was transitory, subjected to their arms, without a regular system of government, without laws, without any permanent subordination, and even without revenue, cities and castles which have baffled the utmost efforts of national force; and if conquest, not plunder, had been their object, they might have made themselves masters of all Spanish America.

(1) *Hist. Gen. des Voyages*, tom. xv. liv. vii. ch. 1.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) *Hist. Buccaneers*, part i. chap. vii.

(4) *Ibid.* part i. ii. *Hist. Gen. des Voyages*, ubi sup.

Among the Buccaneers who first acquired distinction in this new mode of plundering, was Montbars, a gentleman of Languedoc. Having by chance, in his infancy, met with a circumstantial, and perhaps exaggerated account of the cruelties practised by the Spaniards in the conquest of the New World, he conceived a strong antipathy against a nation that had committed so many enormities. His heated imagination, which he loved to indulge, continually represented to him innumerable multitudes of innocent people, murdered by a brood of savage monsters nursed in the mountains of Castile. The unhappy victims, whose names were ever present to his memory, seemed to call upon him for vengeance: he longed to embrue his hands in Spanish blood, and to retaliate the cruelties of the Spaniards, on the same shores where they had been perpetrated. He accordingly embarked on board a French ship bound to the West Indies, about the middle of the last century, and joined the Buccaneers, whose natural ferocity he inflamed. Humanity in him became the source of the most unfeeling barbarity. The Spaniards suffered so much from his fury, that he acquired the name of the *Exterminator*.⁽¹⁾

Michael de Basco and FrancisOLONois were also greatly renowned for their exploits, both by sea and land. Their most important, though not their most fortunate enterprise, was that of the Gulf of Venezuela, with eight vessels, and six hundred and sixty associates. This gulf runs a considerable way up into the country, and communicates with the lake of Maracaybo, by a narrow strait. That strait is defended by a castle called *la Barra*, which the Buccaneers took, and nailed up the cannon. They then passed the bar, and advanced to the city of Maracaybo, built on the western coast of the lake, at the distance of about ten leagues from its mouth. But, to their inexpressible disappointment, they found it utterly deserted and unfurnished; the inhabitants, apprized of their danger, having removed to the other side of the lake with their most valuable effects.

If the Buccaneers had not spent a fortnight in riot and debauchery, they would have found at Gibraltar, a town near the extremity of the lake, every thing which the people of Maracaybo had carried off, in order to elude their rapacity. On the contrary, by their imprudent delay, they met with fortifications newly erected, which they had the glory of reducing at the expense of much blood, and the mortification of finding another empty town. Exasperated at this second disappointment, the Buccaneers set fire to Gibraltar; and Maracaybo would have shared the same fate, had it not been ransomed. Beside the bribe they received for their lenity, they took with them the bells, images, and all the ornamental furniture of the churches; intending, as they said, to build a chapel in the island of Tortuga, and to consecrate that part of their spoils to sacred uses!⁽²⁾ Like other plunderers of more exalted character, they had no idea of the absurdity of offering to Heaven the fruits of robbery and murder, procured in direct violation of its laws.

But of all the Buccaneers, French or English, none was so uniformly successful, or executed so many great and daring enterprises, as Henry Morgan, a native of the principality of Wales. While de Basco,OLONois, and their companions, were squandering at Tortuga the spoils they had acquired in the gulf of Venezuela, Morgan sailed from Jamaica to attack Porto Bello; and his measures were so well concerted, that soon after his landing, he surprised the sentinels, and made himself master of the town, before the Spaniards could put themselves in a posture of defence.

In hopes of reducing with the same facility, the citadel or chief castle, into which the citizens had conveyed their most valuable property, and all the plate belonging to the churches, Morgan bethought himself of an expedient that discovers his knowledge of national characters as well as of human nature in general. He compelled the priests, nuns, and other women, whom he had made prisoners, to plant the scaling ladders against the walls of the fortress, from a persuasion that the gallantry and superstition of the Spa-

(1) *Hist. Gen. des Voyages*, tom. xv. liv. vii. ch. i.

(2) *Hist. Buccaneers*, part. ii. chap. i.

niards would not suffer them to fire on the objects of their love and veneration. But he found himself deceived in this flattering conjecture. The Spanish governor, who was a resolute soldier, used his utmost efforts to destroy every one that approached the works. Morgan and his English associates, however, carried the place by storm, in spite of all opposition; and found in it, beside a vast quantity of rich merchandize, bullion and specie equivalent to one hundred thousand pounds sterling. (1)

With this booty Morgan and his crew returned to Jamaica, where he immediately planned a new enterprise. Understanding that de Basco and Lolois had been disappointed in the promised plunder of Maracaybo, by their imprudent delay, he resolved, from emulation no less than avidity, to surprise that place. With this view, he collected fifteen vessels, carrying nine hundred and sixty men. These ravagers entered the gulf of Venezuela unobserved, silenced the fort that defends the passage to the lake of Maracaybo, and found the town, as formerly, totally deserted. But they were so fortunate as to discover the chief-citizens, and the greater part of their wealth, in the neighbouring woods. Not satisfied, however, with this booty, Morgan proceeded to Gibraltar, which he found in the same desolate condition; and while he was attempting, by the most horrid cruelties, to extort from such of the inhabitants as had been seized, a discovery of their hidden treasures, he was informed of the arrival of three Spanish men of war at the entrance of the lake.

At this intelligence, which was confirmed by a boat dispatched to reconnoitre the enemy, the heart of the bravest Buccaneer sunk within him. But although Morgan considered his condition as desperate, his presence of mind did not forsake him. Concealing his apprehensions, he sent a letter to Don Alonzo del Campo, the Spanish admiral, boldly demanding a ransom for the city of Maracaybo. The admiral's answer was resolute, and excluded all hope of working upon his fears. "I am come," said he, "to dispute your passage out of the lake: and I have the means of doing it. Nevertheless, if you will submit to surrender, with humility, all the booty and prisoners you have taken, I will suffer you to pass, and permit you to return to your own country, without trouble or molestation. But if you reject this offer, or hesitate to comply, I will order boats from Caracas, in which I will embark my troops; and, sailing to Maracaybo, will put every man of you to the sword. This is my final determination. Be prudent therefore, and do not abuse my bounty by an ungrateful return. (2) I have with me," added he, "very good troops, who desire nothing more ardently than to revenge on you and your people, all the cruelties and depredations which you have committed upon the Spanish nation in America."

The moment Morgan received this letter, he called together his followers; and, after acquainting them with its contents, desired them to deliberate, whether they would give up all their plunder, in order to secure their liberty, or fight for it?—They unanimously answered, That they would rather lose the last drop of their blood, than resign a booty which had been purchased with so much peril. Morgan, however, sensible of his dangerous situation, endeavoured to compromise the matter, but in vain. The Spanish admiral continued to insist on his first conditions. When Morgan was made acquainted with this inflexibility, he coolly replied: "If Don Alonzo will not allow me to pass, I will find means to pass without his permission." He accordingly made a division of the spoil, that each man might have his own property to defend; and having filled a vessel, which he had taken from the enemy, with preparations of gunpowder and other combustible materials, he gallantly proceeded to the mouth of the lake; burnt two of the Spanish ships, took one, and by making a feint of disembarking men, in order to attack the fort by land, he diverted the attention of the garrison to that

(1) *Hist. Buccaneers*, part. ii. chap. vi.

(2) "Dated on board the royal ship, named the *Magdalen*, lying at anchor at the entrance of the lake of Maracaybo, this 24th of April, 1692. Don Alonzo del Campo." *Voy. des Filibust. Hist. Buccaneers*, part. ii. ch. vii.

side, while he passed the bar with his whole fleet, on the other, without receiving any damage.(1)

The success of Morgan, like that of all ambitious leaders, served only to stimulate him to yet greater undertakings. Having disposed of his booty at Port Royal in Jamaica, he again put to sea with a larger fleet, and a more numerous body of adventurers; and after reducing the island of St. Catharine, where he procured a supply of naval and military stores, he steered for the river Chagre, the only channel that could conduct him to Panama, the grand object of his armament. At the mouth of this river, stood a strong castle, built upon a rock, and defended by a good garrison, which threatened to baffle all the efforts of the Buccaneers; when an arrow, shot from the bow of an Indian, lodged in the eye of one of those resolute men. With wonderful firmness and presence of mind, he pulled the arrow from the wound; and wrapping one of its ends in tow, put it into his musket, which was already loaded, and discharged it into the fort, where the roofs of the houses were of straw, and the sides of wood, conformable to the custom of building in that country. The burning arrow fell on the roof of one of the houses, which immediately took fire; a circumstance which threw the Spaniards into the utmost consternation, as they were afraid, every moment, of perishing by the rapid approach of the flames, or the blowing up of the powder-magazine. After the death of the governor, who bravely perished with his sword in his hand, at the head of a few determined men, the place surrendered to the assailants.(2)

This chief obstacle being removed, Morgan and his associates, leaving the larger vessels under a guard, sailed up the Chagre in boats to Cruces, and thence proceeded by land to Panama. On the savannah, a spacious plain before the city, the Spaniards made several attempts to repulse the ferocious invaders, but without effect: the Buccaneers gained a decided superiority in every encounter. Foreseeing the overthrow of their military protectors, the unarmed inhabitants sought refuge in the woods; so that Morgan took quiet possession of Panama, and deliberately pillaged it for some days.(3)

But Morgan met at Panama with what he valued no less than his rich booty: A fair captive inflamed his savage heart with love; and, finding all his solicitations ineffectual, as neither his person nor character was calculated to inspire the object of his passion with favourable sentiments toward him, he resolved to second his assiduities with a seasonable mixture of force. "Stop, ruffian!" cried she, as she wildly sprung from his arms;—"stop! thinkest thou that thou canst ravish from me mine honour, as thou hast wrested from me my fortune and my liberty? No! be assured, that my soul shall sooner be separated from this body:"—and she drew a poniard from her bosom, which she would have plunged into his heart, if he had not avoided the blow.(4)

Enraged at such a return to his fondness, Morgan threw this virtuous beauty into a loathsome dungeon, and endeavoured to break her spirit by severities. But his followers becoming clamorous, at being kept so long in a state of inactivity by a caprice which they could not comprehend, he was obliged to listen to their importunities, and give up his amorous pursuit.(5) As a prelude to their return, the booty was divided; and Morgan's own

(1) *Voy. des Flibust. Hist. Buccaneers*, part. ii. chap. vii.

(2) *Ulfon's Voyage*, vol. i.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) The Spanish ladies, however, as we learn from the freebooter Rarenau de Lussan, were not all possessed of the same inflexible virtue. The Buccaneers had been represented to them as devils, as cannibals, and beings who were destitute even of the human form. They accordingly trembled at the very name of those plunderers. But, on a nearer approach, they found them to be men, and some of them handsome fellows. And in this, as in all cases, where they have been abused by false representations of our sex, the women flew to the opposite extreme, as soon as they were undeceived; and clasped in their amorous arms the murderers of their husbands and brothers. Charmed with the saviour of a band of adventurers, whose every passion was in excess, they did not part, without tears of agony, from the warm embrace of their piratical paramours, to return into the cool paths of common life. *Voy. des Flibust.* chap. iv. v.

(5) *Hist. Buccaneers*, part iii. chap. v. vi.

share, in the pillage of this expedition, is said to have amounted to one hundred thousand pounds sterling. He carried all his wealth to Jamaica, and never afterwards engaged in any piratical enterprise.(1)

The defection of Morgan, and several other principal leaders, who sought, and found an asylum in the bosom of that civil society, whose laws they had so atrociously violated, together with the total separation of the English and French Buccaneers, in consequence of the war between the two nations, which followed the Revolution in 1688, broke the force of those powerful plunderers. The king of Spain being then in alliance with England, she repressed the piracies of her subjects in the West Indies. The French Buccaneers continued their depredations, and with no small success, till the peace of Ryswick in 1697; when all differences between France and Spain having been adjusted, a stop was every where put to hostilities, and not only the association, but the very name of this extraordinary set of men soon became extinct. They were insensibly lost among the other European inhabitants of the West Indies.

Before this period, however, the French colony in Hispaniola had arrived at a considerable degree of prosperity; and Jamaica, into which the spoils of Mexico and Peru were more abundantly poured, was already in a flourishing condition. The Buccaneers found at Port Royal better reception, and greater security, than any where else. They could there land their booty with the utmost facility, and spend in a variety of pleasures the wealth arising from their piracy; and as prodigality and debauchery soon reduced them again to indigence, that grand incitement to their sanguinary industry made them eagerly hasten to commit fresh depredations. Hence the settlement reaped the benefit of their perpetual vicissitudes of fortune, and was enriched by their rapacity as well as their profusion; by the vices which led to their want, and their abundance.

The wealth, which flowed into Jamaica through that channel, gave great activity to every branch of culture; and, after the piracies of the Buccaneers were suppressed, it proved a new source of riches, by enabling the inhabitants to open a clandestine trade to the Spanish settlements, whence it had its origin. This illicit and lucrative commerce was rendered more facile and secure, by the Assiento, or contract for supplying the Spanish colonies with negroes, which England obtained at the peace of Utrecht. In consequence of that contract, as I have already had occasion to observe, British factories were established at Carthagena, Panama, Vera Cruz, Buenos Ayres, and other important places in South America, and the isthmus of Mexico. The veil with which Spain had hitherto covered the state and transactions of her colonies, occasionally lifted by the Buccaneers, was now entirely removed. The agents of a rival nation, residing in her towns of most extensive trade and ports of chief resort, had the best opportunities of becoming acquainted with the interior condition of her American empire; of observing its wants, and knowing what commodities might be imported into it with the greatest advantage. The merchants of Jamaica, and other English colonies that traded to the Spanish main, were accordingly enabled, by means of information so authentic and expeditious, to assort and proportion their cargoes with such exactness to the demands of the market, that the contraband commerce was carried on to a vast amount, and with incredible profit.(2)

In order to put a stop to this trade, which, together with that carried on by the British South Sea Company, had almost ruined the rich commerce of the galleons, formerly the pride of Spain, and the envy of other nations, ships of force, under the name of *Guarda-Costas*, were stationed upon the coasts of those provinces, to which interlopers most frequently resorted. Such a precaution was certainly prudent, but it ought to have been put in execution with equity. If the ships, commissioned to prevent that illicit traffic, had only seized upon the vessels really concerned in it, neither the

(1) After Morgan settled in Jamaica, he was knighted by that prince of pleasure and whim, Charles II.

(2) Anderson's *Hist. of Commerce*, vol. ii. Robertson's *Hist. of America*, book viii.

commanders, nor the government that appointed them, could justly have incurred any blame; but the abuses inseparable from violent measures, the eagerness of gain, and perhaps a spirit of revenge, incited the Spanish officers to stop, under various pretences, many vessels that had a legal destination, and even to treat the seamen with the greatest cruelty.

England, whose power and glory is founded on commerce, and who could not patiently suffer any restraint upon a branch of trade which custom had made her consider as lawful, was highly incensed, when she understood that those restraints were converted into hostilities, and carried to an excess inconsistent with the laws of nations. The body of the people loudly called for vengeance, and the leading members in both houses of parliament directed all the thunder of their eloquence against the minister, who could tamely see his country exposed to such indignities. But sir Robert Walpole, who still governed the councils of Great Britain, and who had an equal contempt for party rage and popular opinion, paid little regard to these violent invectives or seditious clamours. Strongly convinced of the importance of peace to a trading nation, he endeavoured to obtain, by negotiation, satisfaction from the court of Madrid. The preliminaries of a convention were accordingly signed at Pardo, in the beginning of the year 1739. And although the terms of this treaty were neither so honourable nor advantageous to Great Britain as might have been wished, they were the best that could possibly be obtained, without involving the kingdom in a war with Spain, and eventually with France, as was foreseen by that minister.

The chief article of the convention provided, That the king of Spain should pay to the subjects of Great Britain the sum of ninety-five thousand pounds sterling, by way of indemnification for their losses, in consequence of the seizures made by the *Guarda-Costas*. This was, in effect, acknowledging the injustice of those seizures; but as no provision was made against future violences, the grand question, "Whether British vessels, navigating the American seas, should be any where, or under any circumstances, subject to SEARCH?" being left to be discussed by a congress, the interests of the country were supposed to be betrayed, and the whole nation was thrown into a ferment. Petitions against the convention were sent from all the principal trading towns in the kingdom, and the universal outcry was, "A free sea, or a war!" Walpole found himself under the necessity of resigning, or of yielding to the voice of the multitude: and the king of Spain, by neglecting to pay the stipulated sum at the appointed day, furnished him with a decent pretext for declaring war, without abandoning his pacific principles. On the contrary, he affirmed, that the convention-treaty would have been attended with all the advantages that could be procured by the most successful war;(1) and that future ages would do justice to the counsels that produced it.

But although the pacific disposition of sir Robert Walpole, and his intimate knowledge of the essential interests of his country, made him averse to war, he no sooner resolved upon hostilities than the vigour of his measures was as conspicuous as his former moderation. A powerful fleet, under admiral Haddock, was sent to cruise off the coast of Spain; and admiral Vernon, an officer who stood high in the public favour, was appointed to the command of a squadron in the West Indies. This gentleman had rendered himself conspicuous in the house of commons, by loudly condemning all the measures of the minister, and bluntly speaking his sentiments on every oc-

(1) It would at least have been productive of more advantages than the war that ensued. And if it should be said, that it was impossible to foresee the subsequent misfortunes, which arose from a variety of causes, it may at least be added in reply, That the interest of a few merchants concerned in a contraband trade, however lucrative, was not a sufficient object to engage two great nations in a war, the success of which must be doubtful, and which, it was evident, must be prosecuted at a vast expense of blood and treasure. It was the unsubmitting pride of the two nations that involved them in hostilities: and that pride, on the part of England, was inflamed by a set of ambitious men in both houses of parliament, who assumed to themselves the deluding name of patriots; but who, since time has elucidated their characters, appear to have been only a desperate faction, struggling for the emoluments of office.

casion. In a debate upon the Spanish depredations, he declared that he would undertake to reduce Porto Bello with six ships. That offer was echoed from the mouths of all the members in opposition, and reverberated from every corner of the kingdom: Vernon became the idol of the people: and the minister, in order to gain their confidence, sent him to fulfil his boast; not perhaps without hopes that he might fail in the attempt, and draw disgrace on himself and his party.

The event, however, justified the admiral's assertion. He sailed from Jamaica with no more than six ships, and two hundred and forty soldiers on board. Yet such was the dastardliness of the Spaniards, and the romantic bravery of the British tars, who mounted the walls of the fortifications in a manner thought impracticable, that Porto Bello was taken almost without bloodshed. Of that place some account must be given.

The town of Porto Bello is disposed in the form of a crescent, on the declivity of a mountain, which embraces an excellent harbour. This harbour was well defended by forts, all which were taken and blown up by admiral Vernon, who immediately abandoned his conquest. It could only indeed be of importance to the masters of Peru, as its opulence depended entirely upon its situation; and even that opulence could only induce an inconsiderable number of inhabitants constantly to reside on a spot, so unhealthy, that it has been denominated the *Grave of the Spaniards*. But during the annual fair, which lasted forty days, Porto Bello was a theatre of the richest commerce that was ever transacted on the face of the earth. Seated on the northern side of the isthmus which divides the two seas, thither were brought from Panama, on the Pacific Ocean, the gold, silver, and other valuable productions of Chili and Peru, to be exchanged for the manufactures of Europe; and there arrived the galleons from Old Spain, laden with every article of necessity, accommodation, and luxury. The sickly and almost deserted town was quickly filled with people; its port was crowded with ships; and the neighbouring fields were covered with droves of mules, laden with the precious metals. Instead of silence and solitude, nothing was to be seen in the streets and squares but bustling multitudes, bales of goods, and chests of treasure.(1)

But that rich commerce, as well as the contraband trade, has since been ruined by the abolition of the galleons, and by substituting in their place register ships; which sailing round Cape Horn, pass immediately to the ports of Chili and Peru, with a supply of European goods, and return to Europe with the treasure by the same course. In consequence of this new regulation, which took place in 1748, the trade of Panama and Porto Bello has sunk almost to nothing; and these two towns, formerly called the keys of communication between the North and South Sea, between Spain and her most valuable colonies, now serve only as a passage for the negroes that are carried to Peru; and some other inconsiderable branches of decaying traffic.(2)

The joy of the English nation on the taking of Porto Bello was excessive. The two houses of parliament congratulated his majesty on the success of his arms: the people were confirmed in their opinion of Vernon; and his good fortune induced the minister to continue him in the command of the British fleet in the West Indies.

This compliance with the wishes of the people, however, served only to render the popular members in the house of commons more clamorous. They considered it as a partial victory, and resolved to push their advantage: they attempted the entire removal of the minister; and a motion was even made to that purpose. Piqued at this ungenerous return, as he considered it, to his condescensions, sir Robert Walpole concluded a masterly speech (in which he refuted every charge brought against him) with the following keen expressions, that strongly mark the character of those contentious and venal times, "Gentlemen," said he, "have talked a great deal of *patriotism*; a venerable virtue, when duly practised! But I am sorry to observe, that of

(1) Ulloa's *Voyage*, vol. i.

(2) Robertson, *Hist. Amer.* book viii.

"late it has been so much hackneyed, that it is in danger of falling into disgrace: the very idea of true patriotism is lost, and the term has been pros-
tituted to the worst of purposes. A patriot! why patriots spring up like
"mushrooms: I could raise fifty of them within the four and twenty hours.
"I have raised many of them in a night. It is but refusing to gratify an
"unreasonable or an insolent demand, and up starts a patriot.—I have long
"heard of this *patriotic* motion," added he; "and let gentlemen contradict
"me, if they can, when I say I could have prevented it. By what means, I
"leave the house to judge!"(1)

The reduction of Porto Bello was but a prelude to greater enterprises. Nothing less was resolved upon than the utter destruction of the Spanish settlements in the New World. With this view, an English squadron was dispatched to the South Sea, under commodore Anson, in order to ravage the coasts of Peru and Chili; while a fleet of twenty-seven sail of the line, commanded by sir Chaloner Ogle, beside frigates, fire-ships, bomb-ketches, store-ships, victuallers, and transports, with upward of ten thousand land-forces on board, was sent to the West Indies, to reinforce admiral Vernon, and co-operate with Anson, by means of intelligence to be conveyed across the isthmus of Darien. The land-forces were commanded by lord Cathcart, a nobleman of approved honour, as well as experience in military affairs: and the ardour of both soldiers and sailors to come to action was excessive. This ardour drew from lord Cathcart the following words, in a letter to admiral Vernon. "In the troops I bring you, there is spirit, there is good will; which, when properly conducted, will produce, I hope, what the nation expect from us—will make us the glorious instruments of finishing the war, with all the advantages to the public that its happy beginning promises; and with this distinguishing circumstance, that those happy effects have been owing to a perfect *harmony* between the *sea* and *land-forces*."(2)

The want of that harmony proved the ruin of the armament. As lord Cathcart unfortunately died soon after his arrival in the West Indies, the command of the land-forces devolved upon brigadier-general Wentworth, an officer without experience, resolution, or authority. He had nothing in common with Vernon but his obstinacy, and as great a contempt for the sea, as the admiral had for the land-service. These two ill-associated commanders, whose powers were discretionary, after being re-inforced with some troops from the English colonies in America, determined to attack Carthagena.

The city of Carthagena is seated on a peninsula, or sandy island, which is joined to the continent by two artificial necks of land, the broadest of which is not above seventy yards wide. Its fortifications are regular, and after the modern manner. The houses are mostly of stone, and the streets are broad, strait, and well paved. It is supposed to contain about twenty-five thousand inhabitants. Nature has placed at a little distance a hill of a middling height, on which is built the citadel of St. Lazarus. This fort commands the town, and, in some measure, the harbour, which is the safest in the American dominions of Spain, and one of the best any where known. It is two leagues in extent, and has a safe and excellent bottom.(3) At the time the trade of the Spanish settlements in South America was carried on by the galleons, those ships sailed to Carthagena before they went to Porto Bello; and visited it again on their return. Its trade has declined since their abolition; but the excellence of its harbour, and its vicinity to the rich provinces of Santa Fé, Popayan, and Choco, must ever make it a place of great importance.

In consequence of the resolution of the English commanders to attack this opulent and strong city, a descent was made on the island of Tierra Bomba, near the entrance of the harbour, which is known by the name of Bocca Chica, or *Little-mouth*, from its narrowness, and which was fortified in a surprising manner with castles, batteries, booms, chains, cables, and ships of war. Several of the smaller castles were almost instantly reduced by air

(1) *Parliamentary Debates*, 1740.

(2) *Modern Universal Hist.* vol. xv. fol. edit.

(3) Ulloa, lib. i. cap. 3.

Chaloner Ogle, to whom that service was committed; and batteries being erected against the principal fortifications, the Boradera battery and Fort St. Joseph were successively taken by storm. A breach was made in Castillo Grande, and the British troops, supported by the seamen, advanced to the assault. Contrary to all expectation, they found the works abandoned. The Spanish ships, which lay across the mouth of the harbour, were either taken or destroyed; the passage was opened; the fleet entered without farther opposition, and the troops were disembarked within a mile of the city.

After surmounting so many difficulties, with such facility, the besiegers thought that little remained but to take possession of Carthagena. A ship was accordingly sent express to London with intelligence to that effect; and public rejoicings were held at Jamaica, and over all the English islands in the West Indies. But the animosities which broke out between Vernon and Wentworth, disappointed the hopes of the nation, as well as the sanguine expectations of those concerned in the expedition. Each seemed more eager for the disgrace of his rival, than zealous for the honour of his country. The admiral was always putting the general in mind of the necessity of cutting off the communication between the town and the country, and of attacking the citadel of St. Lazarus, by which it was defended. Resolutions, in a council of war, were taken for that purpose, but nothing was done in consequence of them. A shameful inactivity, which might partly proceed from the climate, seems to have possessed the troops.⁽¹⁾

The general, by way of recrimination, threw the blame of the delay upon the admiral, in not landing the tents, stores, and artillery. And it must be admitted that both were in fault. If Wentworth had attacked the citadel before the enemy had recovered from the panic, occasioned by the reduction of the forts that defended the harbour, the English would certainly have become masters of the place; whereas the inaction of the land forces, beside the diseases to which it exposed them, gave the Spaniards time to recover their spirits, and to take every precaution for their defence. Nor was Vernon less remiss in his duty, in not sending his ships to batter and bombard the town by sea; for it is beyond dispute, notwithstanding some surmises to the contrary, that great execution might have been done by such a mode of attack. The largest ships could have lain near enough to have damaged the buildings without being exposed to much harm; and the bombs would have been attended with great effect, as the houses in that country are chiefly covered with shingles, or small thin boards, instead of slate or tiles.

During these disputes, the army was employed in erecting batteries, in order to make a breach in fort St. Lazarus. But the heavy cannon not being yet arrived, nor the batteries near completed, the chief engineer gave it as his opinion, that the place might be rendered so much stronger before the batteries could be opened, as to over-balance the advantage to be expected from them. This absurd opinion, seconded by the importunities of Vernon, determined Wentworth to hazard an assault, after all rational prospect of success from such a mode of attack had ceased, until a breach should be made in the walls. So firm, however, was the courage of the British troops, that, if other instances of misconduct had not accompanied that unsoldier-like attempt, there is reason to believe Carthagena would have been taken. The assault, instead of being made in the night, was delayed till morning; the soldiers were conducted, by mistake, against the strongest part of the citadel; the scaling ladders were found too short; the woolpacks and grenado-shells were left in the rear; and the admiral neglected to divert the attention of the enemy by battering the town by sea, or even making use of his

(1) The heat is excessive and continual at Carthagena; and the torrents of water that are incessantly pouring down, from May to November, have this singularity, that they never cool the air which is sometimes a little moderated during the dry season, by the north-east winds. The night is as hot as the day. Hence the inhabitants, wasted by profuse perspiration, have the pale and livid appearance of sick persons; all their motions are languid and sluggish; their speech is soft and slow, and their words are generally broken and interrupted. Every thing relative to them indicates a relaxed habit of body. Ulloa, *Voy. lib. i. cap. v.*

bomb-ketches.(1) In consequence of these several blunders, and others connected with them, the brave assailants were exposed to the whole fire of the fort, and partly to that of the city, without the least power of defending themselves, or of annoying the Spaniards. A mere carnage ensued ; and although a retreat was soon judged necessary, colonel Grant, who commanded the grenadiers, and six hundred of the flower of the English army, were left dead on the field.

The besiegers were so much discouraged by this unpropitious and ill-directed effort, that they gave up all hopes of being able to reduce the place. And the rainy season set in with such violence, as rendered it impossible for the troops to live on shore. They were therefore reembarked, and the enterprise was relinquished, after the admiral had made a feeble attempt to bombard the town, in order to convince the general of its impracticability ; though that consequence was by no means the result of this impertinent experiment. On the contrary, it was affirmed, That the continuance of such a mode of attack, properly conducted, would have reduced the city to heaps of ruins ; that a floating battery, which had been prepared, did not lie in the proper place for annoying the enemy ; that the water was there indeed too shallow, to admit large ships near enough to batter the town with any prospect of success, but that a little toward the left, the harbour was sufficiently deep, and that four or five ships of the line might have been moored within pistol-shot of the walls.(2)

After the reembarkation of the troops, the distempers peculiar to the climate and season began to rage with redoubled fury. Nothing was heard from ship to ship, but complaints and execrations ; the groans of the dying, and the service for the dead ! Nothing was seen, but objects of woe or images of dejection ; and the commanders, who had agreed in nothing else, were unanimous in pleading the expediency of a retreat from this scene of misery and disgrace. The fortifications of the harbour of Carthage were accordingly demolished, and the English fleet sailed for Jamaica, to the astonishment and confusion of the mother country, as well as of the colonies. The people were depressed in proportion to that exuberant joy with which they had been elevated ; nor was any thing afterward done by the conductors of this unfortunate enterprise, to retrieve the honour of the British arms. Though Vernon was reinforced with several ships of the line, and Wentworth with three thousand soldiers from England ; and although they successively threatened St. Jago de Cuba, and Panama, they returned home, without effecting any thing of consequence, notwithstanding the loss of near twenty thousand men.(3)

The expedition under Anson was not more fortunate in the beginning ; and, but for accident, it would have terminated in equal disgrace. Being attacked by a furious storm in passing Cape Horn, two of his ships were obliged to return in distress ; one was lost ; another was so much damaged as to be abandoned soon after ; and the greater part of his people died of the sea-scurvy, before he reached the island of Juan Fernandez, which had been appointed as the place of rendezvous. In this delightful abode the remainder of his crew recovered their health and spirits ; and the Centurion, his own ship, being still in pretty good repair, he soon put to sea, took several prizes off the coast of Chili, and plundered the town of Païta, on the coast of Peru, where he found a booty of silver to the amount of about thirty thousand pounds sterling. From his prisoners he learned that, notwithstanding his reduced force, he had nothing to fear in those latitudes ; as Don Joseph Pizarro, who commanded a Spanish squadron destined to oppose him, had been obliged to return to Rio de la Plata, after having lost two ships and two thousand men, in attempting to double Cape Horn.

But that consolatory intelligence was balanced by information of a less agreeable kind. Anson also learned, from some papers found on board his prizes, that the English expedition against Carthage had miscarried. This

(1) *Univ. Hist.* ubi sup. Smollett's *Hist. Eng.* vol. xi.

(2) *Univ. Hist.* vol. xv. fol. edit.

(3) Smollett's *Hist. Eng.* vol. xi. *Univ. Hist.* ubi sup.

discouraging news made him sensible of the impropriety of attempting to execute that part of his instructions, which regarded an attack upon Panama, in consequence of a supposed co-operation with the British troops, across the isthmus of Darien. He therefore bore away for Acapulco, in hopes of intercepting the Manilla galleon, which he understood was then at sea. Happily for the Spaniards, she had reached that port before his arrival. He endeavoured to intercept her in her return, but without effect. At last finding himself destitute of every necessary, he sailed for the river Canton, in China, where he arrived, after a long and distressing voyage. Having refitted his ship, and taken in a supply of provisions, he again launched into the Pacific Ocean; and after cruising there some time, he fortunately met with and took the annual ship from Acapulco, on the coast of Mexico, to Manilla, in the island of Luconia, laden with treasure, to the amount of about three hundred thousand pounds sterling, beside other valuable commodities. (1)

Anson went a second time to Canton, where he asserted the honour of the British flag in a very spirited manner, and returned to England by the Cape of Good Hope in 1744, to the great joy of his countrymen, who had heard of his disasters, and concluded that he and all his crew were lost. The Spanish treasure was carried to the Tower with much parade; and an expedition, which, all things considered, ought rather to have been deemed unfortunate, was magnified beyond measure. Anson's perseverance, however, deserved praise, and the success of a single ship seemed to point out what might be performed by a stout squadron on the coasts of the South Sea; but the failure of the formidable enterprise against Carthagena was still so fresh in the memory of the nation, that no further attempt was made during the war to distress the Spanish settlements in America.

I shall here, my dear Philip, close this letter; as the naval transactions in the European seas, though seemingly connected with the subject, will enter with more propriety into the general narration. The war, occasioned by the death of the emperor Charles VI. must now engage our attention.

LETTER XXVIII.

The General View of the Affairs of Europe, from the Death of the Emperor Charles VI. in 1740, to the Treaty of Dresden, in 1745, and the confirmation of the Treaty of Breslaw.

THE death of the emperor Charles VI. the last prince of the ancient house of Austria, without male issue, awakened the ambition of many potentates, the adjusting of whose pretensions threw all Europe into a ferment. By virtue of the Pragmatic Sanction, as well as the rights of blood, the succession to the whole Austrian dominions belonged to the archduchess Maria-Theresa, the late emperor's eldest daughter, married to Francis of Lorraine, grand-duke of Tuscany. The kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, the province of Silesia, Austrian Suabia, Upper and Lower Austria, Stiria, Carinthia, Carniola, the four Forest Towns, Burgaw, Brigaw, the Low Countries, Friuli, Tirol, the duchy of Milan, and the duchies of Parma and Placenza, formed that immense inheritance.

Almost all the European powers had guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction; but, as prince Eugene judiciously remarked, "an hundred thousand men" would have guaranteed it better than an hundred thousand treaties! Selfish avidity and lawless ambition can only be restrained by force. Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, laid claim to the kingdom of Bohemia, on the strength of an article in the will of the Emperor Ferdinand I. brother to Charles V. Augustus III. king of Poland, and elector of Saxony, exhibited

(1) *Anson's Voyage*, by Walter. The treasure consisted of one million three hundred and thirteen thousand eight hundred and forty dollars or pesos, with uncoined silver equal in value to forty three thousand six hundred and eleven dollars.

pretensions to the whole Austrian succession, in virtue of the rights of his wife, eldest daughter of the emperor Joseph, elder brother of Charles VI. The Catholic king deduced similar pretensions from the rights of the daughter of the emperor Maximilian II. wife to Philip II. of Spain, from whom he was descended by females; and the king of Sardinia revived an obsolete claim to the duchy of Milan. The king of France had also his pretensions, and to the whole disputed succession, as being descended in a right line from the eldest male branch of the house of Austria, by two princesses, married to his ancestors, Lewis XIII. and Lewis XIV. But, conscious that such a claim would excite the jealousy of all Europe, he did not appear as a competitor; though he was not without hopes of aggrandizing himself, and of dismembering the Austrian dominions, by abetting the claims of another.

In the mean time Maria-Theresa took quiet possession of that vast inheritance, which was secured to her by the Pragmatic Sanction. She received the homage of the states of Austria at Vienna; and the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia swore allegiance to her by their deputies, as did the Italian provinces. Possessed of a popular affability, which her predecessors had seldom put in practice, she gained the hearts of her subjects, without diminishing her dignity. But above all, she ingratiated herself with the Hungarians, in voluntarily accepting the ancient oath of their sovereigns; by which the subjects, should their privileges be invaded, are allowed to defend themselves, without being treated as rebels.

As the ancestors of this princess had ever been backward in complying with such engagements, the early taking of that prudent step was attended with wonderful popularity. The Hungarians, who, after two hundred years spent in seditious broils and civil wars, still bore with impatience the Austrian yoke, submitted with pleasure to the government of Maria-Theresa, whom they almost adored, and who was worthy of their warmest regard. Her first care, after conciliating the affections of her people, was to procure for her husband a share in all her crowns, under the title of co-regent: and she flattered herself, that the consequence, thus conferred upon the grand duke, would soon raise him to the imperial throne. (1) But she had forgot that she was destitute of money; that a number of pretenders, for the whole or a part of the Austrian succession, were rising up against her; and that her troops, though far from inconsiderable, were dispersed over her extensive dominions.

The first alarm was given by a formidable, but unexpected pretender. Frederic III. king of Prussia, had lately succeeded his father, Frederic William, a wise and politic prince, who had, by rigid œconomy, amassed a prodigious treasure, though he maintained, for his own security, an army of sixty thousand men, which he prudently left his son to employ. (2) If we "may be said to owe the shade of the oak," observes the Royal Historian, "to the acorn from which it sprung, in like manner we may discern, in the sagacious conduct of Frederic William, the source of the future greatness of his successor." (3)

This ambitious, enlightened, and enterprising monarch, whose character I shall afterward have occasion to develop in describing his heroic achievements, and in tracing his extensive plans of policy, revived certain antiquated claims of his family to four duchies in Silesia; and, instead of having recourse to unmeaning manifestoes, he began his march at the head of thirty thousand choice troops, in order to establish his right. When he found himself in the heart of that rich province, and in possession of Breslaw, its capital, he shewed a disposition to negotiate. He offered to supply Maria-Theresa, then commonly known by the name of Queen of Hungary, with money and troops; to protect, to the utmost of his power, the rest of her dominions in Germany, and to use all his interest to place her husband on the Imperial throne, provided she would cede to him the Lower Silesia.

(1) Voltaire. *Mémoires*.

(2) *Mém. de Brandebourg*, tom. ii.

(3) *Ibid.*

Vol. II.

That would have been a small sacrifice for peace and security. But the queen of Hungary was sensible, that, by yielding to the claims of one pretender, she should only encourage those of others. She therefore rejected, perhaps too hastily, the offers of the king of Prussia, and sent count Neuperg, one of her best generals, with a strong body of troops into Silesia, in order to expel the invaders. The two armies, nearly equal in numbers, met at Molwitz, a village in the neighbourhood of the town of Neiss, and within a league of the river of the same name. There a desperate battle was fought. The action lasted from two in the afternoon till six in the evening; when the Austrians, in spite of the most vigorous efforts, were obliged to retire under the cannon of Neiss, with the loss of four thousand men.

This victory, which was followed, though not immediately, with the reduction of Glatz and Neiss, and the submission of the whole province of Silesia, was acquired solely by the firmness of the Prussian infantry, and their celerity in firing, in consequence of a new exercise taught them by their young king. The cavalry were totally routed, by the superiority of the Austrians in horse; the royal baggage was pillaged, and the king himself, in danger of being made prisoner, was carried off the field, in the more early part of the engagement. But the second line of infantry stood immovable; and by the admirable discipline of that body the battle was restored.⁽¹⁾

The success of the king of Prussia astonished all Europe; and the refusal of Maria-Theresa to comply with his demands, which had lately been dignified with the name of greatness of soul, was now branded with the appellation of imprudent obstinacy and hereditary haughtiness:—so apt are mankind to judge of measures by events, and to connect wisdom with good fortune, and folly with disaster!—But, even at this distance of time, when a more impartial judgment may be formed, if the queen of Hungary's resolution was again to be taken, it would be difficult for political sagacity to direct her which alternative to choose. What might have been the consequence of her compliance with the king of Prussia's proposals, it is impossible to say; But we know that her intrepidity of spirit in resolving, at all hazards, to preserve undivided the Austrian succession, exalted her in the esteem of her most natural and powerful allies, who ultimately secured to her the greater part of that succession. It must, however, be admitted, That the successful invasion of the king of Prussia, the unforeseen consequence of her refusal, and an assurance of the support of so powerful a prince, encouraged the court of Versailles in the ambitious project of placing the elector of Bavaria on the Imperial throne. The rise of this project deserves to be traced.

France had guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction of Charles VI. and cardinal Fleury, whose love of peace increased with his declining years, was desirous of preserving inviolate the engagements of his master. But no sooner was it known at Versailles that the king of Prussia had invaded Silesia, than the cardinal found himself unable to withstand the ardour for war in the French councils. This ardour was increased by the battle of Molwitz, and the failure of the English in their attempt upon Spanish America. Assured of the assistance of Spain, which turned a wishful eye on the Italian possessions of the queen of Hungary, the young nobility and princes of the blood, eager for an opportunity of distinguishing themselves in arms, represented to the king, That the period so long desired was now arrived, of finally breaking the power of the house of Austria, and exalting that of Bourbon on its ruins; by dismembering the dominion of Maria-Theresa, and placing on the Imperial throne Charles-Albert, elector of Bavaria, a stipendiary of his most Christian Majesty.

The moderation and natural equity of Lewis XV. yielded to arguments so flattering to his pride; and to the count, afterward mareschal and duke de Belleisle, and his brother the chevalier, the chief inspirers of these violent councils, was committed the execution of that ambitious project. They proposed, that fifty thousand French troops, of which twenty thousand were to

(1) Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XV* chap. v.

be cavalry, should pass the Rhine, and advance toward the Danube, before the beginning of June; that another army, of about forty thousand men, should be formed on the side of Westphalia, in order to keep in awe the electorate of Hanover; and that proper application should be made to the most considerable princes of the empire, corresponding to their several situations, inviting them to concur in the destruction of the house of Austria, and to share in its spoils. A moment was not lost in carrying this plan into execution.

Meanwhile the count de Belleisle, being dispatched into Germany, in the double capacity of ambassador and general, had concluded a treaty with the elector of Bavaria at Nymphenburg. By this treaty the king of France engaged to assist that prince with his whole force, in order to raise him to the Imperial throne; and the elector, on his part, promised, That, after his elevation, he would never attempt to recover any of the towns or provinces of the empire which the French should have conquered; that he would, in his Imperial capacity, renounce the barrier treaty, and agree, that France might retain irrevocably whatever places should be subdued by her arms in the Austrian Netherlands. The count de Belleisle also negotiated a treaty between Lewis XV. and Frederic III. king of Prussia in which it was stipulated, That the elector of Bavaria, together with the Imperial crown, should possess Bohemia, Upper Austria, and the county of Tirol; that Augustus III. king of Poland and elector of Saxony, should be gratified with Moravia and Upper Silesia; and that his Prussian majesty should retain Lower Silesia, with the town of Neiss and the county of Glatz.

These treaties were no sooner concluded, than the French forces were put in motion; and Lewis XV. appointed the elector of Bavaria, whom he meant to place in the first station among Christian princes, his lieutenant-general, with the mareschals Belleisle and Broglio to act under him. He at the same time issued a declaration, setting forth, That the troops of the elector of Hanover being in a threatening posture, he, as guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia, was resolved, without prejudice to the Pragmatic Sanction, to march some troops toward the Rhine, in order to guard the approaching election of an emperor, and to be ready to assist those princes who might call upon him for the execution of his engagements.

The fallacy of this declaration was obvious to all Europe; yet it did not fail of its intended effect. The king of Great Britain, alarmed for the safety of his German dominions, and finding, after a tedious and fruitless negotiation, that he could not depend upon the support of the Dutch, who were timid and backward, concluded a treaty of neutrality for Hanover; in consequence of which, not only the troops of that electorate, but the auxiliary Danes and Hessians, in British pay, who had been commanded to march to the assistance of Maria Theresa, were ordered to remain in their respective countries; and the embarkation of a body of British troops, collected for the same purpose, was countermanded. A subsidy of three hundred thousands pounds, granted by the British parliament, was however transmitted to the queen of Hungary, and proved a very seasonable supply, in the midst of her multiplied necessities.⁽¹⁾

In the mean time the elector of Bavaria, being joined by the French forces under mareschal Broglio, surprised the Imperial city of Passau, upon the Danube; and entering Upper Austria, at the head of seventy thousand men, took possession of Lintz, the capital of that duchy, where he received the homage of the states. From Lintz, several detachments of his troops advanced within a few leagues of Vienna; which being badly fortified, could make, it was generally thought, but a feeble resistance against the victorious enemy. And many of those who were best acquainted with Germany, and with military operations, considered that city as already lost. The inhabitants took the alarm, and removed to places of greater safety their most valuable effects. The Danube was daily seen covered with boats, and for

(1) Smollett.

this purpose, great part of the suburbs was pulled down; and a summons was sent to Kevenhuller, the governor, to surrender the place.

In this extremity of her fortune, the archduchess, committing her desperate affairs to the care of her husband and her brave generals, left Vienna, and retired to Presburg in Hungary; where having assembled the states of that kingdom, she appeared before them with her eldest son, yet an infant in her arms, and addressed them in a speech to the following purport. "Abandoned by my friends, persecuted by my enemies, and attacked by my "nearest relations, I have no resource left but in your fidelity and valour. "On you alone I depend for relief; and into your hands I commit, with "confidence, the son of your sovereign, and my just cause." At once filled with rage and compassion at these affecting expressions of confidence, by so flattering an appeal to their loyalty, and by the appearance of a young, beautiful, and heroic princess, in distress, the Palatines drew their sabres, and exclaimed, in a tone of enthusiasm, "We will die for our king, (1) Maria "Theresa!" Nor was this a momentary start of passion. While with tears they swore to defend her, they published a manifesto against the elector of Bavaria; and by a solemn act of state, they gave a perpetual exclusion of him and his posterity from the throne of Hungary.

The Hungarian nobility were instantly in arms; and old count Palfy, whom the queen honoured with the name of *Father*, marched to the relief of Vienna with thirty thousand men. Kevenhuller, the governor, had a garrison of twelve thousand: count Nuperg was in Bohemia at the head of about twenty thousand: the grand-duke and his brother, prince Charles of Lorrain, who was the delight of the Austrian armies, commanded another large body; and prince Lobkowitz, count Berencław, count Traun, and other general officers, were exerting themselves to the utmost in raising troops for the service of their mistress.

These powerful armies, the declining season, and the strength of the garrison of Vienna, induced the elector of Bavaria to moderate his ideas. Instead of investing that capital, he marched into Bohemia; and being there joined by twenty thousand Saxons, he laid siege to Prague. The place was stormed, and taken by the gallantry of the famous count Saxe, natural son of Augustus II. of Poland, who had already entered into the French service, and exhibited, on this occasion, a remarkable instance of his generosity and humanity. He not only saved the town from pillage, but the persons of the inhabitants from any violence or insult. And the elector of Bavaria, having been crowned king of Bohemia at Prague, proceeded to Frankfort, where he was elected emperor, under the name of Charles VII. and invested with the Imperial ensigns.

The mareschal de Belleisle, who made a splendid figure at this inauguration, seemed now in a fair way to complete his whole undertaking; more especially as he had found means to engage Sweden in a war with Russia, in order to prevent the empress Elizabeth, daughter of Peter the Great, from aiding her sister sovereign. But events suddenly took a new direction in Germany, as we shall afterward have occasion to see. In the mean time we must turn our attention toward the affairs of England; observing, in making this transition, that the war between Sweden and Russia was distinguished by no remarkable event, and soon terminated in an equitable peace.

The intimate connexion between England and the house of Austria, since the Revolution in 1688, cemented by the blood spilt during two long and desolating wars, in which the subjects of the two powers had greatly signalized themselves, by opposing the ambition of Lewis XIV. made the people consider this connexion, and not altogether without reason, as essential to the preservation of the liberties of Europe, against the dangerous usurpations of the house of Bourbon. The English nation, therefore, warmly espoused the cause of the queen of Hungary; and no sooner was it known that France, in violation of the Pragmatic Sanction, had formed the project of dismembering the succession of Charles VI. and placing a creature of her own upon the

So the Hungarians always call their sovereign, of whatever sex.

Imperial throne, than the cry for war was loud, and for fulfilling to the utmost the treaties with the late emperor. The miscarriages in the West Indies were forgot; the increase of taxes, which had lately occasioned so much clamour, was disregarded; and liberal subscriptions were opened, by private individuals, for the support of Maria-Theresa.

George II. who seemed only to value the British crown as it augmented his consequence in Germany, was sufficiently disposed to enter into these views; and although the imminent danger, to which his electoral dominions were exposed, induced him to submit to a treaty of neutrality for Hanover, that treaty did not affect him in his regal capacity. As king of Great Britain, he might still assist the queen of Hungary; he might even, it was said, hire his electoral troops to fight the battles of Maria-Theresa. Of this he seemed contented. But the leading members of the opposition in parliament had declined so long, and so eloquently, against continental connexions, that a change in his ministry was judged necessary, before any effectual step could be taken.

Sir Robert Walpole, whose credit had been for some time on the decline, finding he could no longer serve his master to advantage, or secure a respectable majority in the house of commons, resigned his employments, and was created earl of Orford. Mr. Sandys, a sturdy patriot, who had distinguished himself by his perseverance in opposing the measures of the late minister, was appointed chancellor of the exchequer, in the room of his political antagonist; the earl of Wilmington was placed at the head of the treasury; lord Carteret, the Cicero of the house of lords, was made secretary of state; and the eloquent and patriotic Mr. Pulteney, the most popular man in the kingdom, was restored to the dignity of a privy counsellor, and soon after created earl of Bath. Other changes of less consequence took place.

From the new ministry the most popular measures were expected: nothing less was presumed on than a total renovation of the constitution. A number of motions to this purport was accordingly made in both houses of parliament; but, to the astonishment of the nation, they were all violently opposed, and quashed, by the very men who had lately maintained the principles on which they were founded, and whose former speeches had suggested many of them. The most important of these motions were the following three: one for appointing a committee "to inquire into the conduct of affairs during the last twenty years;" one for bringing in a bill "to repeal the act for Septennial Parliaments;" and one for "excluding Pensioners from the House of Lords," by an act of the whole legislature. In this ministerial opposition, Mr. Pulteney, immediately before he was created earl of Bath, and Mr. Sandys, the new chancellor of the exchequer, particularly distinguished themselves in the House of Commons, as did lord Carteret in the House of Peers. (1)

The eyes of the people were now opened; and they discovered, That the men whom they had been accustomed to consider as incorruptible patriots, and who had so long distracted the councils of the nation with their thundering orations, were only the heads of an ambitious faction struggling for power, and ready, when gratified with a share in the honours and offices of the state, to espouse measures, and adopt maxims, which they had formerly reprobated, as big with ruin and disgrace. This political apostacy was no less observable in their conduct with respect to foreign than domestic affairs. Though German subsidies, standing armies, and continental connexions, had been the constant objects of their indignation, while out of place, and had furnished them with the occasion of some of the finest strokes of their popular eloquence, the new ministry extended their complaisance to their sovereign in all these particulars, much farther than their execrated predecessors. Beside providing for the subsidies to Denmark and Hesse-Cassel, they procured a vote of five hundred thousand pounds to the queen of Hungary: they augmented the land forces to sixty-two thousand five hundred men: they transported into the Low Countries sixteen thousand British troops,

(1) *Parl. Debates*, 1742.

under the earl of Stair, to make a diversion in favour of Maria-Theresa, even before they were assured of the concurrence of Holland; and they ordered those troops to be joined by six thousand Hessians, and sixteen thousand Hanoverians, in British pay. This army, however, after much idle parade, went into winter quarters, without performing any thing of consequence; the earl of Stair being employed during the greater part of the summer in fruitless negotiations with the Dutch, in order to induce them to fulfil their engagements with the late emperor. (1) The campaign was more active in Germany.

The good fortune of the elector of Bavaria terminated with his elevation to the Imperial throne. The very day that he was elected emperor, under the pompous name of Charles VII. he received an account of the loss of Linz, the capital of Upper Austria, though defended by a garrison of ten thousand French troops. Kevenhuller, the Austrian general, performed this important service, having dislodged the French from the strong holds of that country, entered the emperor's hereditary dominions; defeated mareschal Thoring at Memberg, and took Munich, the capital of Bavaria. In the mean time prince Lobkowitz, with eleven thousand foot, and five thousand horse, was appointed to observe the motions of the French in Bohemia; while prince Charles of Lorrain, at the head of thirty thousand infantry, and eighteen thousand cavalry, advanced against the Prussians and Saxons, who had invaded Moravia. They retired with precipitation, on his approach, and abandoned Olmutz, which they had taken.

The retreat of the Prussians and Saxons was considered as an event of great importance by the Austrians, as it seemed to afford them an opportunity of uniting their whole force against the French under Belleisle and Broglio, who were too strong for prince Lobkowitz singly. But the active and enterprising king of Prussia, having received a reinforcement of thirty thousand men under the prince of Anhalt Dessau, marched to the assistance of his allies in Bohemia. By his expedition and generalship, he arrived before the intended junction could be formed; and, in order to prevent it, he gave battle to prince Charles of Lorrain at Czaslaw. The disciplined troops on both sides were nearly equal; but the Austrians had the advantage of a large body of barbarous irregulars, Croats, Pandours, Talpaches, who engaged with incredible fury. (2) The Prussians were broken: the king left the field; and a total defeat must have ensued, had not the lust of plunder seized the Austrian irregulars at the sight of the Prussian baggage. Their example infected the regulars of the Austrian right wing, who also gave over the pursuit. The Prussian infantry seized this opportunity to rally: they returned to the charge; and, after an obstinate dispute, broke the main body of the Austrian army, and obliged prince Charles to retire with the loss of five thousand men.

The king of Prussia, whose loss was little inferior to that of the Austrians, sick of such bloody victories, and having some reason to suspect the sincerity of the court of France, began to turn his thoughts toward peace; and no less politic than brave, he concluded at Breslaw, without consulting his allies, an advantageous treaty with the queen of Hungary. By this treaty the archduchess, Maria-Theresa, ceded to Frederic III. the Upper and Lower Silesia, with the county of Glatz; and he engaged to observe a strict neutrality during the war, and to withdraw his forces from her dominions within sixteen days after the signing of the articles. A treaty of peace was also concluded, nearly at the same time, between the queen of Hungary and Augustus III. king of Poland and elector of Saxony; by which she yielded to him certain places in the circles of Elbogen, Saltzer, Leutmeritz, and Buntzlaw in Bohemia. And he guaranteed to her the possession of the rest of that kingdom. (3)

(1) Smollett.

(2) The *Croats* are the militia of Croatia. The *Pandours* are Sclavonians, who inhabit the confines of the Drave and Save: they wear a long cloak, carry several pistols in their girdle, and use beside a sabre and poniard. The *Talpaches* are a sort of Hungarian infantry, armed with a musket, two pistols, and a sword.

(3) Smollett. Voltaire. Smollett.

Upon the court of France, like a clap of thunder, came the intelligence of the treaty of Breslaw : and the news which followed it did not contribute to alleviate the consternation occasioned by that blow. The *mareschals Belleisle and Broglio* no sooner found themselves deserted by the Prussians, than they abandoned their magazines and heavy baggage, and retired with precipitation under the cannon of Prague. There they entrenched themselves, in a kind of peninsular meadow, formed by the windings of the river Moldaw ; while the prince of Lorrain, having formed a junction with the Austrian army under Lobkowitz, encamped in sight of them, on the hills of Grinnitz.

Finding themselves surrounded by superior forces, the French generals offered to evacuate Prague, Egra, and all the other places which they held in Bohemia, provided they were permitted to retire with their arms, ammunition, and baggage. This proposal, though highly reasonable, was haughtily rejected by the emperor of Hungary, who insisted on their surrendering prisoners of war. Belleisle, who had assumed the command in Prague, treated the Imperial demand with disdain ; assuring his master, that he apprehended nothing from the enemy but famine. And the Austrian generals, though less skilful than brave, made him sensible that their approaches were not to be slighted. By cutting off his supplies, they reduced him to the greatest necessities, while they wasted and harassed his troops by perpetual assaults.

To permit the surrender of so fine an army, was deemed inconsistent with the honour and glory of the French nation, as well as with its interests. *Marschal Maillebois*, who commanded the French forces on the Rhine, had therefore orders to march to the relief of Prague, at the head of forty-two thousand men. When he arrived at Amberg, in the circle of Westphalia, he was joined by thirty thousand French and Imperialists from Bavaria, under *Seckendorff* and count Saxe. Thus reinforced, he entered Bohemia without resistance. Apprized of his danger, the prince of Lorrain turned the siege of Prague into a blockade, the care of which he committed to general *Festitz*, with eighteen thousand men, and advanced with the main body of the army toward the frontiers of the kingdom, in order to oppose *Maillebois*. At Hayd he was joined by the grand Austrian army under *Kevenhuller*, who had followed count Saxe and *Seckendorff* from Bavaria. Meanwhile the *mareschals Belleisle and Broglio* had formed the design of joining the French army under *Maillebois* ; and *Festitz* being too weak to oppose them, they broke out of Prague, and marched to *Leutmeritz*. *Maillebois* was then in the neighbourhood of Egra ; so that a junction seemed by no means impracticable. But prince Charles, by taking possession of the passes in the interposing mountains, utterly defeated their scheme. *Maillebois* was under the necessity of returning to the Palatinate, whither he was followed, and harassed on his march, by the prince of Lorrain ; while prince Lobkowitz, with a strong detachment, obliged Belleisle and Broglio again to seek refuge in the capital of Bohemia.

Soon after the siege of this important place was resumed, Broglio made his escape in disguise, and took upon him the command of the French forces in the Palatinate, Maillebois being recalled ; so that the fate of Prague, toward which the eyes of all Europe were now turned, rested solely on the courage and conduct of Belleisle and the small remains of that gallant army, which had given an emperor to Germany. All prospect of relief was cut off : a retreat seemed impracticable ; and famine, accompanied with disease, its melancholy attendant, made cruel havoc among the French troops. The intrepid spirit of Belleisle, however, which bore him up amid all his misfortunes, communicated itself to both his officers and soldiers ; and few days passed without sallies ; in which the French had generally the advantage.

These sallies being chiefly occasioned by the zeal of the French in attacking the Austrian magazines in the neighbourhood of Prague, prince Lobkowitz, who conducted the blockade of that city, ordered them to be guarded by the tower of his army, in hopes that famine would soon compel the enemy to surrender at discretion. Now it was that Belleisle made known the resources of his genius. Having secretly formed the design of a retreat, he had with wonderful diligence remounted his cavalry, and sent troops of them

out every day to forage. At last, by making, in one quarter of the town, a feint for a general forage, he marched out at another, with eleven thousand foot, and three thousand horse, and got a day's march of prince Lobkowitz. The great extent of the walls of Prague had rendered this attempt the more practicable; and the better to amuse the enemy, he left a small garrison in that city. He had ten leagues to march before he could reach the defiles. The ground was covered with snow, the cold excessively intense; all the inhabitants of the country were his enemies, and prince Lobkowitz, with an army of twelve thousand infantry and eight thousand cavalry, hung on his rear. Under all these disadvantages, however, he reached the defiles with his army unbroken. And with so much judgment had he planned his route, that, although the Austrians occupied all the passes on the two principal roads that led to Eggra, he was enabled to continue his progress, by striking through frozen marshes, which had never perhaps before been trod by the foot of man; he himself always pointing the way, though confined to his coach or sedan by a violent rheumatism. After a fatiguing march of twelve days, he reached Eggra, which was still in the hands of the French, and entered Alsace without the loss of a single man by the hands of the enemy, but of a thousand in consequence of the rigour of the season. (1)

We must now turn our attention toward Italy, where the war raged, during this campaign, with no less violence than in Germany.

I have already had occasion to observe, That on the death of the emperor Charles VI. the king of Spain put in a claim to the whole Austrian succession, and that the king of Sardinia revived one to the duchy of Milan. Both afterward thought proper to moderate their pretensions. The Spanish monarch seemed disposed to be satisfied with the Austrian dominions in Italy, which he intended to erect into a kingdom for Don Philip, his second son by the princess of Parma; and his Sardinian majesty, alarmed by the encroachments of the house of Bourbon entered into an alliance with the queen of Hungary and the king of Great Britain, in consideration of an annual subsidy, and the cession of certain places contiguous to his dominions, though without absolutely renouncing his antiquated claim to the duchy of Milan. All the other Italian powers affected, from fear, to remain neutral; so that, when a body of Spanish troops, under the duke de Montemar, were landed on the coast of Tuscany, toward the end of the year 1741, the Grand Duke, husband to the queen of Hungary, whose territories they came to invade, permitted them to pass through his dominions. The Genoese shewed no less complaisance to another body of Spanish troops: the Venetians issued a declaration to the same purpose; and the pope, as the common father of Christendom, wisely permitted both parties to take refuge alternately in the ecclesiastical state, and treated both with equal cordiality. Don Carlos, king of the Two Sicilies, also declared himself neutral, though resolved to abet the claims of his family to the duchies of Parma, Placenza, and Milan. But the appearance of an English squadron before his capital, which could soon have been laid in ashes, obliged him to submit, for a time, to a real neutrality as unnatural as that of the Grand Duke.

This transaction, and others connected with it, were attended with circumstances sufficiently interesting to merit a particular detail; more especially as they lead us into the line of the naval operations of Great Britain in Europe.

Admiral Haddock had cruised in the Mediterranean, with a strong fleet, ever since the breaking out of the war with Spain; and sir John Norris had repeatedly threatened the coasts of that kingdom, with a powerful armament, without performing any thing of consequence. At length admiral Haddock seemed to have an opportunity of distinguishing himself and effectually serving his country. As he lay at Gibraltar, with fourteen stout ships, he was informed, that a Spanish fleet of twelve sail of the line, commanded by Don Joseph Navarro, with two hundred transports, and fifteen thousand island forces on board, under the duke de Montemar, had passed the Straits in the

(1) Millot, Voltaire. Smollett.

night. He immediately stood to sea. He came up with the enemy, and was preparing to engage, when a French squadron, from Toulon, stood in between the hostile fleets with a flag of truce; and the commander sent a message to the English admiral, That the French and Spaniards being engaged in a joint expedition, he was under the necessity of acting in concert with his master's allies. This unexpected interposition prevented an engagement, and the Spanish admiral proceeded with his convoy.(1)

Worn out with years, and chagrined by repeated disappointments, Had-dock resigned the command of the British fleet in the Mediterranean to rear-admiral Lestock, who was soon joined by seven ships of the line, under vice-admiral Matthews, a brave and able officer. Beside being appointed commander-in-chief on that station, Matthews was vested with full powers to treat with all the princes and states of Italy, as his Britannic majesty's minister. In this double capacity, he watched the motions of the Spaniards both by sea and land; and understanding that a body of the troops of the king of the Two Sicilies had, notwithstanding his pretended neutrality, joined the Spanish army, under the duke de Montemar, he sent commodore Martin with an English squadron into the bay of Naples, with orders to bombard that city, unless the king would withdraw his troops, and sign a promise, that they should not act in conjunction with Spain during the continuance of the war. The inhabitants of Naples were thrown into the utmost consternation, at this unexpected visit; and the king, being sensible that his capital, naturally much exposed by its ascending situation, was not in a state of defence, thought proper to comply with the conditions. He at first called an extraordinary council, which held several consultations, without coming to any fixed resolution. At length the British commodore, who had dropped anchor before the town at four in the afternoon, by a noble boldness put an end to farther hesitation. On receiving an ambiguous answer, he pulled out his watch, and fixing it to the main-mast, sternly replied, That the council must come to a final determination within an hour, otherwise he should be obliged to execute his orders, which were absolute. The king's promise of neutrality was immediately sent, and the English fleet left the bay before midnight.(2) History affords few instances of such decision and dispatch in affairs of equal importance.

As a prelude to the signing of this forced neutrality, which totally disconcerted the schemes of the court of Madrid, the Spanish army, under the duke de Montemar, had been obliged to retreat toward the frontiers of Naples, before the king of Sardinia, and count Traun, the Austrian general. Meanwhile, Don Philip, third son of his Catholic majesty, and for whose aggrandizement the war had been undertaken, invaded Savoy with another Spanish army, which he had led through France, and soon made himself master of that whole duchy. Alarmed at this irruption, and anxious for the safety of his more valuable dominions, the king of Sardinia returned with his forces to the defence of Piedmont, which the Spaniards in vain attempted to enter. And count Traun found himself sufficiently strong, after the king of the Two Sicilies had withdrawn his troops, to maintain his ground, during the remainder of the campaign, against the Spanish army under the count de Gages, who was sent to supersede the duke de Montemar.(3)

The Spaniards, in a word, had little reason to boast of their success in Italy; where their armies were reduced to great distress, by the vigilance of the British fleet in cutting off their supplies. The queen of Hungary, now all-victorious in Germany, was in possession of the territories of the emperor Charles VII. so that the French, heartily tired of supporting that prince, in whose cause they had lost above an hundred thousand men, made at last proposals of peace on equitable, or rather humiliating terms. This condescension was the more remarkable, as the councils of the court of Versailles were no longer influenced by the mild spirit of cardinal Fleury. He had died, at a very advanced age, in the beginning of the present year.

(1) Tindal's *Contins.* of Rapin, vol. viii. Smollett, vol. xi.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Millot. Voltaire.

But Maria-Theresa, elated with her unexpected success, and rendered confident by the support of so powerful an ally as the king of Great Britain, haughtily rejected all pacific propositions; while lord Carteret, the new prime minister of George II. who had formerly declaimed with so much violence against continental connexions, could now see nothing but triumphs to be acquired in Flanders, though the Dutch had not yet engaged to take part in the war. He therefore urged the necessity of maintaining the balance of power in Europe. In vain did the popular party in parliament reply, That this balance was no longer in danger; that the queen of Hungary herself was now sufficiently strong to protect all her dominions; that she had only to restore peace to Germany, in order to be enabled to drive the Spaniards out of Italy; and that England, instead of rousing the jealousy of other states, by lavishing its blood and treasure in feeding the pride of an ambitious woman, ought to direct all its force against Spain, the only power with whom it was actually at war, and in whose humiliation it was particularly interested.⁽¹⁾ These arguments were not attended to. The king of Great Britain was fired with the thirst of military glory; and the king of France, finding that peace could not be obtained for the emperor, made preparations for prosecuting the war with vigour.

In the mean time the queen of Hungary's good fortune continued to attend her. Prince Charles of Lorrain, having assumed the command of the Austrian army in Bavaria, defeated the Imperialists with great slaughter near Braunaw, and took possession of their camp: while prince Lobkowitz, marching from Bohemia, drove the French from all their posts in the Upper Palatinate. These two generals afterward obliged mareschal Broglio to abandon a strong camp which he occupied at Pladling, on the Danube, and to retire with hurry and precipitation toward the Rhine; the Austrian irregulars harassing him on his march, and cutting off great numbers of his troops. When he reached Donawert, he was joined by a reinforcement of twelve thousand men under count Saxe: yet he did not think proper to hazard an engagement, his main body being almost ruined. He retreated before prince Charles to Heilbron; and the emperor, finding himself abandoned by his allies, and stript of his dominions, took refuge in Frankfort, where he lived in indigence and obscurity.⁽²⁾

The operations on the side of Flanders, during this campaign, were still more important, though less decisive. The British and Hanoverian troops, commanded by the earl of Stair, and the Austrians, under the duke d'Arenberg, having begun their march from the Low Countries, with an intention of entering Germany as early as the beginning of March, the king of France ordered the duke de Noailles to assemble a powerful army on the Maine, to prevent the allies from joining the prince of Lorrain; while he sent another army under the mareschal de Coigny into Alsace, in order to oppose that prince, should he attempt to pass the Rhine. Having secured the towns of Spire, Worms, and Oppenheim, Noailles passed the Rhine, and posted himself on the east side of that river, above Frankfort. The earl of Stair advanced toward him, and encamped at Killenbach, between the river Maine and the forest of D'Armstadt. From this situation he moved to Aschaffenburg, with a view of securing the navigation of the Upper Maine, which was necessary for the conveyance of forage and provisions from Franconia. But he was anticipated by the vigilance and activity of the enemy; Noailles, who was posted on the opposite side of the river, having already got possession of the principal posts, so as to cut off all supplies.⁽³⁾

The king of Great Britain, attended by his second son the duke of Cumberland, and his minister lord Carteret, arrived on the 19th of June in the camp of the allies at Aschaffenburg; where he found his army, amounting to about forty thousand men, eager for battle, but in great want of provisions. The French general, in a word, had taken his measures so wisely,

(1) *Parl. Debates*, 1743.

(2) Millot. *Voltaire*.

(3) *Mém. de Noailles*, tom. iv.

that it was thought the allies must be forced to surrender prisoners of war, or be cut to pieces in their retreat. A retreat, however, was resolved upon, both as necessary to procure subsistence, and to form a junction with a reinforcement of twelve thousand Hessians and Hanoverians that had reached Hanau, and was in danger of being cut off. The troops were accordingly ordered to strike their tents, and to begin their march by break of day. Their dangerous route lay between a mountain and the river Maine, over which the French had been unaccountably permitted to erect several bridges. The allies were annoyed in their march, by the enemy's cannon on the opposite banks; and the French general, marching part of the main body of his army, which consisted of about sixty thousand men, over the bridges, took possession of the village of Dettingen, in front of the allied army, while in their rear a detachment occupied Aschaffenburg, which they had abandoned.

Having made these dispositions, which he flattered himself would oblige the allies to attack the French under great disadvantage, the duke de Noailles repassed the Maine, in order the better to observe the motions of the hostile armies, and to bring forward the remainder of his forces. Meanwhile the duke de Grammont, his nephew and lieutenant-general, who was stationed at Dettingen with thirty thousand choice troops, and all the young generals and princes of the blood, eager to engage, passed the defile behind which they were posted, and advanced into a small plain, called the Cockfield, where the allies had formed themselves in order of battle. Noailles, who was still on the other side of the river, beheld this motion with grief and astonishment, and made all the haste possible to form a new disposition. But he came too late to repair the mistake that had been committed; for although the French charged with great impetuosity, and the household troops put the Austrian cavalry into disorder, the British and Hanoverian infantry, animated by the presence of their sovereign (who rode between the lines with his sword drawn,) stood firm as a rock, and poured forth an incessant fire, which nothing could resist. These impenetrable battalions, however, by a masterly manœuvre, on the approach of the French cavalry, led by the nobility and princes of the blood, who rushed on in desperation, opened their lines, and afterward closing again, made great havock in that gallant body. Terror now seized the whole French army, every one crying, "Save himself, who can!" so that the duke de Noailles found himself under the necessity of precipitately retreating over the Maine, with the loss of five thousand men.⁽¹⁾ Had he been hotly pursued, the victory of the allies would probably have been complete, and the defeat of the French total. The earl of Stair proposed such a measure; but his master, George II. happy in having bravely extricated himself from one imminent danger, did not choose to run the hazard of another. He was afraid of an ambuscade. His troops had received little sustenance for some days: they were come off a fatiguing march; they had been many hours under arms; and the enemy had still a superior army, and a great train of artillery, it was said, to dispute the passage of the river.

These military considerations are sufficient to account for the caution of the king of Great Britain, whose loss, in killed and wounded, amounted to full three thousand men, without the intervention of invidious political motives. And it must be admitted, even by those who blame his conduct, and think the French might have been totally routed in their first confusion, that the circumstance of his being only an ally, and not a principal in the war, was a strong argument for his not risking too much. Happy had it been for his kingdom, if the same prudence had restrained him from taking so active a part in a quarrel, in which he was not immediately interested!—He dined on the field of battle, and in the evening prosecuted his march to Hanau; recommending his sick and wounded to the care of the duke de Noailles, who treated them with great humanity and tenderness.⁽²⁾

(1) *Mem. de Noailles*, tom. iv. Voltaire. Tindal. Smollett.

(2) The character of Adrian Maurice, duke de Noailles, and Mareschal of France, who united the talents of the consummate general to those of the able statesman, at the same time that he successfully cultivated literature, and acquired the reputation of a good

The allied army was no sooner joined by the expected reinforcement at Hanau than the earl of Stair proposed, that, as the numbers on both sides were nearly equal, the French should be attacked by passing the Maine. But to the surprise of all Europe, no such attempt was made. The king of Great Britain, flattered with humiliating proposals of peace from the emperor, became every day more irresolute. Even after the retreat of the duke de Noailles, who was under the necessity of marching to the assistance of mareschal Coigny, in Upper Alsace, which was threatened by prince Charles of Lorraine, no effort was made to disperse or destroy the body of observation left under count Saxe; and although the allied army was reinforced with twenty thousand Dutch auxiliaries in the month of September, it was early distributed into winter quarters, without doing any thing of consequence after the victory of Dettingen.

The earl of Stair was so much dissatisfied with this inaction, that he resigned in disgust; and the duke de Noailles, who had apprehended the greatest disasters, unacquainted with the restraints imposed upon the British commander, felicitated his master, with that modesty which is peculiar to real merit, that he had not to deal with an Eugene, a Marlborough, or a Staremberg, otherwise the issue of the campaign must have been very different. (1) Noailles effectually defeated the designs of prince Charles upon Alsace; but he could not prevent Mentzel, the famous partisan, from making an irruption, with four thousand Austrian irregulars, into Lorraine and Luxembourg, where he committed terrible depredations.

The campaign in Italy was not more active or decisive, though its beginning promised the most vigorous exertions. Count de Gages, who commanded the Spanish army in the province of Bologna, passing the Parano in the beginning of February, attacked the Austrian and Piedmontese forces, under count Traun, at Campo Santo, where a desperate battle was fought, but without any decided advantage, both sides claiming the victory. Gages however found himself under the necessity of repassing the Parano; and his army being much weakened by desertion, he abandoned the city of Bologna, and marched to Rimini, in the province of Romagna. He there fortified his camp, and remained unmolested till the month of October, when prince Lobkowitz, having succeeded Traun in the command of the Austrian army, entered Romagna, and obliged the Spanish general to retreat to Fano. Gages afterward took post at Pesaro, fortifying the passes of the river Foglia.

The season was so far in the decline, before the Spanish army, under Don Philip in Savoy, entered upon action, that the campaign on the side of Piedmont was distinguished by no important event. This inaction was occasioned by a secret negotiation between the house of Bourbon and the king of Sardinia; and notwithstanding the encomiums that have been paid to the fidelity of that prince, he would have entered into the views of France and Spain, if they had complied with his demands, or if the queen of Hungary had not agreed to more advantageous terms than they were willing to grant. (2)

These negotiations produced the famous treaty of Worms; by which his Sardinian majesty renounced his pretensions to the duchy of Milan, and

citizen, is one of the most amiable and exalted of the age in which he lived. He enjoyed in a very high degree the confidence of Lewis XV. and delivered his sentiments to his sovereign, in a variety of letters and memorials on the most important subjects, with an honest freedom that is perhaps unexampled in a subject and a courtier. (See *Mem. Politique et Militaire, &c. composés sur les Papiers originaux, recueillis par Adrien Maurice, Duc de Noailles, Mareschal de France & Ministre d'Etat, par M. l'Abbé Millot, tom. iii. iv.*) Setting aside other instances, nothing can shew in a stronger light the magnanimity and disinterestedness of the duke de Noailles, than his recommending to the king count Saxe, as the person in his service most capable of repairing the misfortunes of France. Experience has proved, that the justness of his discernment was equal to the uprightness of his intentions; and degenerate ages must contemplate with astonishment, a courtier who dared to speak truth to his prince, a statesman whose supreme obligation was the good of his country, and a general whose soul was superior to jealousy.

(1) *Mem. de Noailles*, tom. iv.

(2) *Ibid.*

guaranteed anew the Pragmatic Sanction. The queen of Hungary, beside relinquishing in his favour all title to the town and marquisate of Final, then possessed by the republic of Genoa, but on which she had some claims, agreed to put him in possession of the Vigevanesco, with that part of the duchy of Pavia which lies between the Po and the Tessin, and to cede to him the towns of Placenza and Bombio, with all the territory from the source of the Nura to the lake of Maggiore, and the frontiers of the Swiss Cantons. (1) She farther engaged to maintain thirty thousand men in Italy, as soon as the situation of her affairs in Germany would permit; and the king of Sardinia, on condition of his receiving from Great Britain an annual subsidy of two hundred and eighty thousand pounds sterling, obliged himself to keep up an army of forty thousand foot and five thousand horse. (2)

This treaty, which dissipated all hopes of peace, and the haughty behaviour of the queen of Hungary, who not only refused to listen to any reasonable terms of accommodation with the emperor, but avowed her purpose of keeping possession of Bavaria and the Upper Palatinate, as an indemnification for the loss of Silesia, produced a great change in the sentiments of the principal German powers. Their jealousy of the ambition of the house of Austria was revived, and their pride was wounded by the degradation of the Imperial dignity in the person of Charles VII. now no better than an illustrious beggar, depending on the bounty of France for a precarious subsistence. They resolved to interpose in favour of the head of the empire, whose misfortunes had awakened their compassion. The court of Versailles, ever watchful, encouraged these new dispositions; (3) and a secret negotiation was successfully begun with the emperor, the elector Palatine, the king of Sweden, as landgrave of Hesse Cassel, and the king of Prussia, as elector of Brandenburg, who was become sensible, that unless a check was given to the growing power of Maria-Theresa, he must soon be stript of all his late conquests.

The issue of that negotiation, which was conducted by Chevigny, the French minister at the Imperial court, or rather asylum, in Frankfort, we shall afterward have occasion to notice. In the mean time a family-compact, or perpetual alliance and mutual guarantee of possessions and claims, was formed between France and Spain at Fontainebleau; (4) and the greatest preparations were made for carrying on the war with vigour both by sea and land. Twenty thousand French troops, under the prince of Conti, were ordered to join Don Philip in Savoy; and the French and Spanish squadrons at Toulon were commanded to act in concert, and attempt to recover the sovereignty of the Mediterranean. (5) If successful, they were to join the Brest fleet; and, having established a superiority in the Channel, to assist at a projected invasion of England.

That enterprise, which had for its remote object the re-establishment of the house of Stuart, was more immediately planned with a view of obliging the king of Great Britain to recall his troops from the continent, and apply his attention to the defence of his own dominions, instead of engaging in the support of foreign powers. A correspondence was accordingly entered into with the English and Scottish Jacobites, who readily offered their assistance, and magnified the public discontents, at the same time that they endeavoured to inflame them. The real discontents, however, were very great. The people were enraged at the mysterious inaction of the last campaign, which they justly ascribed to the influence of German councils, and the political situation of George II. as elector of Hanover. Nor were they less dissatisfied at the prospect of the continuance of a bloody and expensive war, in which Great Britain was likely to become a principal instead of an ally, after an honourable peace might have been concluded with the emperor, and the

(1) *Tindal's Contin. of Rapin*, vol. ix.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) *Mem. de Noailles*, ubi sup.

(4) One of the principal articles of this treaty was, that no peace should be concluded till Gibraltar was restored to Spain. (*Mem. de Noailles*, tom. iv.)

(5) Millet. *Voltaire*.

queen of Hungary secured in the full possession of all the Austrian dominions in Germany, except Silesia, which she had ceded to the king of Prussia. An universal disgust prevailed against the measures of the court.

Encouraged by these favourable appearances, the small number of troops in England, and the assurances of a powerful support from the Jacobites, and even a general revolt in favour of the pretender, Lewis XV. entered seriously into the views of cardinal de Tencin, who had projected the enterprise, and the highest hopes were entertained of success. Tencin was warmly attached to the Stuart family, by whose interest he had been raised to the purple; and having taken the lead in the French administration, on the death of cardinal Fleury, he was ambitious of shewing his gratitude to his friends, and at the same time of serving his master, by giving a new king to Great Britain.

Nor did such a revolution seem impossible, with the force that was prepared, to those who were best acquainted with the situation of this kingdom, if France had possessed the sovereignty of the sea. An army of fifteen thousand men was assembled in Picardy, under count Saxe; and a number of transports were collected at Calais, Dunkirk, and Boulogne. Charles Edward, eldest son of the chevalier de St. George, and to whom that prince had delegated his pretensions, left Rome, and arrived in the French camp. A descent was to be made on the coast of Kent; and M. de Roquefeuille, with a fleet of twenty ships of the line from Brest and Rochfort, sailed exultingly up the Channel, in order to protect the transports and cover the landing of the troops. Seven thousand men were embarked, and the first division of the transports put to sea; but a sudden storm arising, they were all driven back upon the French coast. Many of them were shattered; some of the largest, with all the men, were lost; and a superior English fleet, commanded by sir John Norris, obliged M. de Roquefeuille to make the best of his way to Brest: (1) so that the young pretender, after having a sight of the promised land, found himself under the necessity of waiting for a more favourable opportunity, to attempt the recovery of the kingdom of his ancestors.

The alarm occasioned by this formidable, though abortive enterprise, united the Whigs in the firm support of government. They were made sensible, that their opposition to certain unpopular measures, and their political jealousies of each other, had been represented by the enemies of Great Britain as a proof of their dislike to the reigning family; and that the chevalier de St. George had founded his hopes of success in the projected invasion, chiefly on the division among the friends of the Protestant succession. This appeared by a letter which he wrote to John duke of Argyle, an inconsistent but zealous Whig, whom the Jacobites supposed ready for a revolt, on account of the violence of his speeches in parliament, and whom the Pretender desired to dictate his own terms. (2) But that harmony was of short duration. The intelligence which soon arrived of a naval engagement in the Mediterranean, and the judicial proceedings relative to it, gave rise to new divisions and discontents.

In consequence of the late alliance between France and Spain, concluded at Fontainebleau, the admirals of their combined fleet, in the harbour of Toulon, resolved to give battle to that of England, by which they had been blocked up, and which prevented them from carrying provisions or military stores to the Spanish armies in Italy. The Spanish squadron, commanded by Don Joseph Navarro, consisted of sixteen sail of the line, though twelve only were fully manned; and the French squadron, under M. de Court, of fourteen sail of the line, four frigates, and three fire-ships. The British fleet, commanded by the admirals Matthews and Lestock, were superior in force, but less fit for action, as the ships had been long at sea. It consisted of twenty-eight sail of the line, six ships of fifty guns, four frigates, and two fire-ships. And if a misunderstanding had not prevailed between the admirals, the combined fleet must have been utterly ruined.

(1) *Contin. of Rapsin*, ubi sup. Smollett, vol. xi.

(2) *Id. ibid.*

Matthews, who lay in the bay of Hieres, no sooner perceived the enemy leave the road of Toulon than he weighed anchor, and bore down upon them. They did not decline the combat; and a desperate battle ensued, in which the British admiral behaved with great gallantry. But he was ill supported by his captains, and Lestock, with his whole division, remained all the time at a distance; so that the contest was long doubtful, and the most vigorous exertions only could have saved the ships that were engaged from being taken or destroyed. Victory however, at last, declared in favour of Matthews. The combined fleet, after an action of six hours, was obliged to retreat, with the loss of one ship of the line, named the *Poder*.⁽¹⁾ The royal Philip, another disabled ship, might also, it is supposed, have been taken, had the English admiral continued the chase; but the orders to guard the coast of Italy being positive, he did not think himself at liberty to neglect that important object, and run the hazard of being drawn down the Straits, for the precarious possibility of making a single prize, all the other ships of the enemy sailing too fast to leave him any hope of coming up with them.⁽²⁾

The loss of so favourable an opportunity of breaking the naval power of the house of Bourbon occasioned the loudest complaints in England, and the failure of the British fleet to destroy that of the enemy became the subject of a parliamentary inquiry. From a committee of the house of commons, the matter was referred to a court-martial. Several captains were convicted of misbehaviour, and subjected to different degrees of punishment; but, to the astonishment of the public, admiral Lestock was fully acquitted, and Matthews declared incapable of serving for the future in his majesty's navy!—Though it was evident to every unprejudiced mind, that Lestock, by keeping aloof, when he had it in his power to engage, was not only the cause of the miscarriage complained of, but of exposing the British fleet to the most imminent danger, in order to gratify his vindictive spirit; while Matthews, rushing into the hottest of the enemy's fire, fought like a hero, and discovered a noble zeal for the service of his king and country.⁽³⁾ Such ridiculous things, as experience has since repeatedly proved, are courts martial in factious times!

Before these judicial proceedings were finished, mutual declarations of war had been issued by the kings of France and England, who thenceforth became in some measure principals in the continental quarrel, the court of Versailles having issued a declaration of war also against her Hungarian majesty. Lewis XV. accused George II. of having violated the neutrality of Hanover, of dissuading the queen of Hungary from coming to an accommodation with the emperor, and of blocking up the ports and disturbing the commerce of France. His Britannic majesty recriminated, by accusing the French king of violating the Pragmatic Sanction; of attempting to destroy the balance of power in Europe, by dismembering the Austrian succession; of assisting the Spaniards, the avowed enemies of England, both secretly and openly, in contempt of the faith of treaties; of harbouring the Pretender, contrary to the most solemn engagements, furnishing him with a fleet and army to invade Great Britain; and of committing actual hostilities on the British fleet in the Mediterranean.⁽⁴⁾ Both parties had formed the most sanguine, and not ill-grounded hopes of success: the king of Great Britain on the valour of his troops, the hearty co-operation of the Dutch, and the vigorous exertions of the court of Vienna; the house of Bourbon on the new alliances they were forming in Germany, and the vast preparations they had made for prosecuting the war, both in Italy and the Low Countries.

The campaign in Italy was early begun on the side of Piedmont. Don Philip being joined by twenty thousand French troops under the prince of Conti, passed the river Var, which descends from the Alps, and falls into the sea of Genoa a little below the city of Nice. The whole country of Nice submitted. But before the confederates could advance farther, they had to force the Piedmontese entrenchments at Villa Franca, and afterwards to

(1) Smollett, vol. xi. *Contin. of Rapin*, vol. ix.

(2) See the *Defence* made by Matthews on his Trial.

(3) Compare the *Trials* of Matthews and Lestock.

(4) *Printed Declarations of War*.

reduce the castle of Montauban, situated among rocks, which form a chain of almost inaccessible ramparts. All these difficulties, however, were surmounted by the valour of the French and Spaniards, though not without great loss.⁽¹⁾ Their intention was, to penetrate into the duchy of Milan through the Genoese territories; a measure that would have been attended with the most fatal consequences to the queen of Hungary and the king of Sardinia. Admiral Matthews, who had by this time returned to the coast of Italy, therefore sent a spirited message to the senate of Genoa, declaring, that if the confederate army was suffered to pass through the dominions of the republic, he must consider it as a breach of her neutrality, and would be under the necessity of immediately commencing hostilities against her subjects.

Alarmed at this threat, the Genoese, though secretly in the interest of the house of Bourbon, prevailed with Don Philip and the prince of Conti to choose another route. They accordingly defiled off toward Piedmont, by the way of Briançon, and attacked the strong post of Chateau Dauphin, where the king of Sardinia commanded in person. It was carried after a desperate attack, in which the officers and soldiers of the two confederate, yet rival nations, performed wonders. "We may behave as well as the French," said the count de Campo Santo to the marquis de las Minas, who commanded under Don Philip, "but we cannot behave better."—"This has been," says the prince of Conti, in a letter to Lewis XV. "one of the most hot and brilliant actions that ever happened; the troops have shewn a courage more than human."⁽²⁾ The valour and presence of mind of M. de Chevert chiefly decided the advantage. I recommend to you M. de Solemi and the chevalier de Modena. La Carte is killed. Your majesty, who knows the value of friendship, will feel how much I am affected by his loss!"⁽³⁾ History records with particular pleasure such expressions of generosity and sympathy as do honour to the human character. The appeal of the prince of Conti to the bosom of Lewis XV. is equally elegant and emphatic.

After losing the important pass of Chateau Dauphin, and another called the Barricades, which was carried at the same time, the king of Sardinia, not being in a condition to hazard a battle, drew off his troops and artillery from the frontiers, in order to cover his capital. He took post at Saluzzo, about seventeen miles south of Turin; while the confederates, having made themselves masters of the castle of Demont, situated on a rock in the valley of Stura, and deemed impregnable, invested the strong town of Coni, the possession of which was necessary, to open them a passage into the duchy of Milan. Meantime the king of Sardinia, being reinforced by a body of ten thousand Austrians, under Palavicini, resolved to attempt the relief of the place. He accordingly advanced, with a superior force, and attacked the French and Spaniards in their entrenchments. But, after an obstinate engagement, in which valour and conduct were equally conspicuous on both sides, he was obliged to retire, with the loss of five thousand men, to his camp in the valley of Murasso. The loss of the confederates was little inferior. And his Sardinian majesty having found means to reinforce the garrison of Coni, and also to convey into the town a supply of provisions, Don Philip and the prince of Conti were obliged to raise the siege, after it had been continued till the end of November, to the almost total ruin of their army. Having destroyed the fortifications of Demont, in their retreat, they repassed the mountains, utterly evacuating Piedmont, and took up their winter-quarters in Dauphiny.⁽⁴⁾ But the Spaniards still continued in possession of Savoy, which they fleeced without mercy.

The campaign, in the south of Italy, was also distinguished by a diversity of fortune. His Sicilian majesty having, in violation of his forced neutra-

(1) Voltaire. Millot.

(2) They had the boldness to clamber up rocks of an incredible height, mounted with cannon, and to pass through the embrasures, when the guns recoiled.

(3) Voltaire. Millot.

(4) *Id. ibid.* Smollett. *Contin. of Rapin*, vol. ix. The two last volumes of this Continuation were written by the late Mr. Guthrie, though they bear the name of Tindal.

lity, joined the Spanish army, under the count de Gages, with twenty-five thousand of his own troops, prince Lobkowitz, the Austrian general, had orders to invade the kingdom of Naples. He accordingly left Monte Rotondo, in the neighbourhood of Rome, where he was encamped, and advanced toward Velitri, near which the confederates were posted. While the two armies lay in sight of each other, prince Lobkowitz sent a strong detachment into the province of Abruzzo, where they distributed a manifesto, in the name of her Hungarian majesty, exhorting the inhabitants to throw off the Spanish yoke, and put themselves again under the protection of the house of Austria. That measure, however, was attended with very little success, the Neapolitans shewing no inclination to rebel. Lobkowitz therefore, collected his forces, and resolved to make an attack upon the headquarters of the confederates at Velitri. This enterprise he committed to count Brown, an able and active general, whom I shall afterward have occasion frequently to mention; and in order to render the design successful, he amused the enemy with ambiguous motions.

In the mean time count Brown, at the head of six thousand choice troops, surprised Velitri in the night; and the duke of Modena and the king of the Two Sicilies were in the utmost danger of being made prisoners. They escaped with difficulty to the quarters of count de Gages, who performed, on this occasion, the part of a great captain. He rallied the fugitives, removed the panic which had begun to prevail in the camp, and made a masterly disposition for cutting off the communication of the detachment of the enemy with their main body. Count Brown therefore, finding himself in danger of being surrounded, and seeing no prospect of assistance, thought proper to attempt a retreat. That he effected with great gallantry, carrying away a prodigious booty.

Three thousand of the Spaniards and Neapolitans are said to have been killed in this nocturnal encounter, and eight hundred were taken, together with many standards, colours, and other military trophies. The Austrians lost only about six hundred men; but the failure of the enterprise, and the heats of autumn, proved fatal to their hopes. Prince Lobkowitz seeing his army daily mouldering away, without the possibility of being recruited, decamped from Fiola; and passing the Tyber at the Ponte Molle, anciently known by the name of Pons Milvius, which he had just time to break down behind him when the enemy's vanguard appeared, he crossed the mountains of Gubio, and arrived, by the way of Viterbo, in the Bolognese territory, where he went into winter-quarters. (1)

The queen of Hungary and her allies were not more successful in Germany and the Low Countries. But considering the unexpected confederacy that was formed against them, and the inferiority of their generals, they had little reason to complain of fortune. The negotiations at Frankfort being brought to an issue, a treaty was there concluded, through the influence of France, between the emperor and the king of Prussia, the king of Sweden, as landgrave of Hesse Cassel, and the elector Palatine. The declared object of this treaty was to restore the Imperial dignity and the tranquillity of Germany; the contracting powers engaging, either to persuade or oblige the queen of Hungary, to acknowledge the title of Charles VI. to give up the archives of the empire, still in her possession, and evacuate Bavaria; the emperor's claims on the Austrian succession to be settled by a friendly compromise, or juridical decision. So far the confederacy seemed laudable. But, by a separate article, which breathed a very different spirit, the king of Prussia engaged to put the emperor in possession of Bohemia, and to guarantee to him Upper Austria, as soon as conquered, on condition that he should give up to his Prussian majesty the town and circle of Koningsgratz, in its whole extent, with all the country situated between the frontiers of Silesia and the river Elbe, and from the town and circle of Koningsgratz to the confines of

(1) Voltaire. *Milott. Simplet. Contin. of Rapin*, vol. ix. The two last volumes of this Continuation were written by the late Mr. Guthrie, though they bear the name of Tindal.

Saxony. The king of Prussia however, by previous agreement, and a separate treaty with the court of Versailles, was not obliged to take up arms, until he should see France act with vigour. (1)

In order to procure the ready co-operation of this politic, ambitious, and powerful prince, Lewis XV. put himself at the head of his army in Flanders, consisting of an hundred and twenty thousand men, as early as the season would permit, and invested Menin. The duke de Noailles, and the celebrated count Saxe, now a mareschal of France, commanded under him, and carried every thing before them. Menin surrendered in seven days. Ypres, Fort Knocke, and Furnes, were reduced with almost equal facility. And the king of France entered Dunkirk in triumph, while the allied army, to the number of seventy thousand men, unable to obstruct his progress, continued posted behind the Scheldt.

But Lewis XV. was soon obliged to quit this scene of conquest, and hasten to the defence of his own dominions. Having received intelligence that prince Charles of Lorrain had passed the Rhine, and entered Alsace at the head of sixty thousand Austrians, he dispatched the duke de Noailles, with forty thousand choice troops, to join the mareschal de Coigni; who commanded in that province, while he himself followed with a farther reinforcement; leaving mareschal Saxe, with the remainder of his army, to oppose the allies in Flanders. (2) And the masterly movements of that consummate general, together with the want of concert between the Austrian and English commanders, d'Artemberg and Wade, prevented them from gaining any advantage during the campaign, though now greatly superior in force.

Before the duke de Noailles could form a junction with Coigni, the prince of Lorrain had taken Weissenburg, and laid all Lower Alsace under contribution. At Metz the king of France was seized with a fever, which threatened his life, and retarded the operations of his generals. Meanwhile prince Charles having got information that the king of Prussia had entered Bohemia, repassed the Rhine in sight of a superior army, and hastened to the relief of that kingdom. Lewis XV. after his recovery, laid siege to Friburg; and the reduction of this important place, by the famous engineer count Lowendahl, who had entered into the French service, concluded the business of the campaign on the side of Alsace.

The king of Prussia, on taking up arms, published a manifesto, in which he declared, That he could no longer remain an idle spectator of the troubles of Germany, but found himself obliged to make use of force, to restore the power of the laws, and the authority of the emperor; that he desired nothing for himself, had no particular quarrel with the queen of Hungary, and had only entered into the war as an auxiliary, in order to assert the liberties of the Germanic body; that the emperor had offered to relinquish his claims on the Austrian succession, provided his hereditary dominions were restored to him; and that the queen of Hungary had rejected this and all other equitable proposals.

Before the arrival of prince Charles, the Prussian monarch had made himself master of Prague, Tabor, and all Bohemia to the east of the Moldaw. But these conquests were of short duration. Augustus III. king of Poland and elector of Saxony, animated by a British subsidy, ordered sixteen thousand men to join the prince of Lorrain. He was also joined by a large body of Hungarians, zealous in the cause of their sovereign, Maria-Theresa, who had acquired by her popular manner, (3) as well as her indulgences both civil

(1) *Mem. de Noailles*, tom. iv.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) To old count Palfy, chief Palatine of Hungary, who had, on this occasion, caused the red standard of the kingdom to be displayed, as a signal for every man who could bear arms to turn out, she wrote the following letter, accompanied with a present of her own horse, richly caparisoned, a gold-hilted sword ornamented with diamonds, and a ring of great value:

"Father Palfy!

"I send you this horse, worthy of being mounted only by the most zealous of my faithful subjects. Receive, at the same time, this sword, to defend me against mine enemies; and accept of this ring, as a mark of my affection for you.

"MARIA-THERESA."

and religious, an extraordinary interest in their affections; so that the king of Prussia, unable to withstand so great a force, was obliged to evacuate Bohemia, and retire with precipitation into Silesia. He was pursued thither by prince Charles; and the rigour of the season only, perhaps, prevented the recovery of that valuable province. The Prussians, in their retreat, lost above thirty thousand men, with all their heavy baggage, artillery, and waggon, loaded with provisions and plunder.

While the high-minded Frederick III. was experiencing this sudden reverse of fortune, the dejected fugitive, Charles VII. got once more possession of his capital. Seckendorff, the Imperial general, having been joined by a body of French troops, had driven the Austrians out of Bavaria. But the retreat of the Prussians, and the rapid progress of the prince of Lorrain, filled the emperor with new apprehensions: and he was in danger of being a third time chased from his dominions, when death came to his relief, and freed him from a complication of bodily ills, aggravated by the anguish of a wounded spirit. His son, Maximilian Joseph, being only seventeen years of age, could not become a candidate for the Imperial throne. He, therefore, very wisely concluded, through the mediation of his Britannic majesty, notwithstanding all the intrigues of France, a treaty of peace with the queen of Hungary, who had again invaded Bavaria, and was ready to strip him of his whole electorate. By this treaty, Maria-Theresa agreed to recognise the Imperial dignity, as having been vested in the person of Charles VII. and to put his son in possession of all his hereditary dominions. On the other hand, the young elector renounced all claim to any part of the Austrian succession; consented to guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction, engaged to give his vote for the grand duke at the ensuing election of an emperor, and to dismiss the auxiliary troops in his service.(1)

This treaty, it was confidently expected, would prove a prelude to a general pacification, as the cause of the war in Germany no longer existed; and the treaty of Frankfort, the avowed purpose of which was the support of the Imperial dignity, had now no object. The queen of Hungary, to procure peace, and the vote of Brandenburg for her husband, would readily have agreed to confirm the treaty of Breslaw; and the king of Prussia, after his severe losses, could have required nothing more for himself than the undisputed possession of Silesia. But the court of France, which had begun the war out of policy, instigated and pensioned by that of Spain, resolved to continue it from passion; and his Britannic majesty was too intimately connected with the queen of Hungary, as well as too highly interested in preserving the balance of Europe, to desert his allies at such a crisis.

The marquis d'Argenson, the French minister for war, who had at this time great influence in the cabinet, declared that France, having undertaken to give a head to the Germanic body, ought to hazard the last soldier, rather than suffer the grand duke to be elected emperor. The court of Versailles accordingly made an offer of the Imperial crown to Augustus III. king of Poland and elector of Saxony: but he, sensible that it was not in their gift, very prudently refused it, unless it could be procured without violence; and renewed his engagements with the courts of London and Vienna. The French ministry, however, persisted in their resolution of opposing the election of the grand duke, and of continuing the war with vigour in Germany and the Low Countries, in order to facilitate the operations of the combined forces of the house of Bourbon in Italy; where Elizabeth Farnese, who still directed all the measures of the court of Madrid, was determined, cost what it might, to establish a sovereignty for her second son, Don Philip, at the expense of Maria-Theresa.(2) And the suc-

(1) See the Treaty in Tindal's *Continuation of Rapin's Hist. of England*, vol. xi.

(2) See *Mém. Politiq. et Militaires, &c. composés originaux, recueillis par* ADBIEN MAURICE, duc de NOAILLES, *Mareschal de France et Ministre d'Etat*, par M. l'Abbé MILLOT. It is not a little remarkable, that the same Abbé, in his *Elémens d'Hist. Gen.* ascribes the continuance of the war, after the death of Charles VII. to the hatred of the English against the French nation! He was not then favoured, it is to be presumed, with the papers of the duke de Noailles, which throw new light upon the subject.

cess of the ensuing campaign seemed to justify her firmness and perseverance.

The republic of Genoa, which had been long wavering, at last concluded a treaty with the house of Bourbon, that proved fatal to the interests of the queen of Hungary and the king of Sardinia. The armies of count de Gages and Don Philip, consisting of French, Spaniards, and Neapolitans, having formed a junction in the territories of that republic from which they received a considerable reinforcement, amounted to eighty thousand men; while the Piedmontese and Austrians, under the king of Sardinia and count Schulenberg, who had been sent to supersede prince Lobkowitz, did not exceed forty-five thousand. There was no contending against such superior force.

Don Philip, and Maillebois, who acted under him, having succeeded the prince of Conti in the command of the French troops, obliged his Sardinian majesty and Schulenberg to retire beyond the Tanaro. Count de Gages invested and took Tortona, while the duke of Modena made himself master of Parma and Placenza. The city of Pavia was taken by assault, and Milan itself was forced to surrender, though the citadel continued to hold out.

Pushing his advantages, Don Philip passed the Tanaro, and compelled the Austrian and Piedmontese armies to take shelter behind the Po. He reduced Valenza, Casal, Asti, Gabrario, and even Verua, only twenty miles north-east of Turin: and the king of Sardinia was so apprehensive of his capital being bombarded, that he posted his army within cover of its cannon, and ordered the pavement of the streets to be taken up. But Don Philip, instead of undertaking such an arduous enterprise, closed the campaign with a triumphant entry into Milan. (1)

The house of Bourbon and their allies were no less successful in other quarters. Lewis XV. had two leading objects in view; to obstruct the election of the grand-duke, and to complete the conquest of Flanders. He accordingly assembled two great armies: one on the Maine, under the prince of Conti, in order to prevent the queen of Hungary from employing a superior force against the king of Prussia, and to over-awe the deliberations of the electors at Frankfurt; the other, consisting of seventy-six thousand men, commanded by count Saxe, under whom the duke de Noailles condescended to serve as first aid-de-camp, invested Tournay, one of the strongest towns in the Austrian Netherlands, and the most important in the Dutch Barrier. (2) The king and the dauphin appeared in the camp, and animated by their presence the operations of the besiegers. The allied army amounted only to fifty-three thousand men; yet with these it was resolved to attempt the relief of Tournay. The Hanoverian and British troops were commanded by the duke of Cumberland, a brave but inexperienced young prince. The Austrians were conducted by old count Konigsseg; and the Dutch by the prince of Waldeck, as young and inexperienced as the duke of Cumberland.

Mareschal Saxe, who to a natural genius for war joined a profound knowledge of the military art, was no sooner informed of the purpose of the confederates, than he made the most masterly dispositions for receiving them. The French army was posted on a rising ground, with the village of Antoinne, near the Escant, on its right; the wood of Barri on its left, and in front the village of Rontenoy. In the wood, and at both these villages, were erected formidable batteries of heavy cannon, and the intermediate space was farther defended by strong redoubts. The confederates, however, who had but imperfectly reconnoitred the situation of the enemy, rashly persisted in their resolution of hazarding an attack. Nor were the French without their apprehensions of its consequences, from the known valour of the British troops. The bridge of Colonne, over which the king had passed the Escant, was accordingly fortified with entrenchments, and occupied by

(1) Voltaire. Millot.

(2) The sovereignty of the barrier-towns belonged to the house of Austria; but they were garrisoned with Dutch troops, for the support of which the States were permitted, by the treaty of Utrecht, to levy certain impositions on the inhabitants.

a stout body of reserve, in order to secure him a retreat, if necessary.(1) And to this necessity he must have been driven, had the British troops been properly supported, and the duke of Cumberland's orders duly executed.

The allies were in motion by two o'clock in the morning, and the cannonading began as soon as it was light. By nine, both armies were engaged, and the action lasted till three in the afternoon. Never was there a more desperate or gallant attack than that made by the British infantry, commanded by the duke of Cumberland in person, assisted by sir John Ligonier. Though the fire from the enemy's batteries was so heavy, that it swept off whole ranks at a single discharge, they continued to advance, as if they had been invulnerable, and drove the French infantry beyond their lines. The French cavalry in vain endeavoured to stop their progress. Forming themselves into a column, they bore down every thing before them, and baffled every effort to put them into disorder, the village of Antoinne was evacuated; and mareschal Saxe, concluding that all was lost, sent advice to the king to provide for his safety, by repassing the bridge of Colonne. But Lewis XV. who did not want personal courage, sensible that such a step would give a decided victory to the allies, refused to quit his post.(2) His firmness saved his army from ruin and disgrace.

Ashamed to desert their sovereign, the French infantry returned to the charge; the cavalry renewed their efforts; and other circumstances contributed to give a turn to the battle. The Dutch, under the prince of Waldeck, having failed in an attack upon the village of Fontenoy, which valour might have rendered successful, had shamefully left the field. An English and Hanoverian detachment, under brigadier Ingoldeby, had also miscarried, through mistake, in a practicable attempt to take possession of a redoubt at the corner of the wood of Barri, and immediately opposite Fontenoy; so that the British cavalry, by the cross-fire of the enemy's cannon, were prevented from coming up to the support of the infantry.(3) This victorious body, now assailed on all sides, fatigued with incessant firing, and galled by some field-pieces unexpectedly planted in front, was therefore obliged to retire, with the loss of seven thousand men, after having successfully routed almost every regiment in the French army.(4) The loss of the Hanoverians, who behaved gallantly, was also very great, in proportion to their numbers, but that of the Dutch and Austrians inconsiderable.

The French had near ten thousand men killed, and, among these, many persons of distinction; yet was their joy at their good fortune extravagantly high. Their exultation, in the hour of triumph, seemed to bear a proportion to the danger they had been in of a defeat. The princes of the blood embraced one another on the field of battle, and dissolved in tears of mutual congratulation.(5) They had, indeed, much reason to be satisfied with their victory, which was followed by the most important consequences. For although the duke of Cumberland had led off his troops in good order, and without losing either colours or standards, the allies were never afterward able, during the campaign, to face the enemy; but lay entrenched, between Antwerp and Brussels, while mareschal Saxe and count Lowendahl reduced, by stratagem or force, Tournay, Oudenarde, Ath, Dendermond, Ghent, Ostend, Newport, and every other fortified place in Austrian Flanders.

But the king of France, though so highly favoured by fortune, was not

(1) Voltaire *Siècle Louis XV.* chap. xv.

(2) Voltaire, *ubi sup.*

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) "All the regiments," says Voltaire, who is very circumstantial in his account of this battle, "presented themselves, one after another; and the English column, facing them on all sides, repulsed every regiment that advanced." (*Siècle Louis XV.* chap. xv. "From the moment the French and Swiss guards were routed," adds he, "there was nothing but astonishment and confusion throughout the French army. Mareschal Saxe ordered the cavalry to fall upon the English column; but their efforts were attended with little effect against a body of infantry so united, so disciplined, and so intrepid." (*Id. ibid.*) "If the Dutch," continues he, "had passed the redoubts that lay between Fontenoy and Antoinne: if they had given proper assistance to the English, no resource had been left for the French; not even a retreat perhaps for the king and the dauphin." *Siècle, ubi sup.*

(5) Voltaire, *Millet.*

able to prevent the queen of Hungary from obtaining the great object of her wishes, in the elevation of her husband to the Imperial throne. The French army on the Maine, under the prince of Conti who had superseded Maillebois in the command, not being able to face the Austrians under Bathiani, the electors assembled in perfect security at Frankfort, and raised to the head of the empire the grand duke of Tuscany, under the name of Francis I. Meanwhile the king of Prussia gained two bloody victories over the Austrians, under the prince of Lorraine; one near Fridburg, on the confines of Silesia, the other at Slandentz, in Bohemia. And not satisfied with these advantages, though he had already entered into a pacific convention with his Britannic majesty at Hanover, he invaded Saxony, and made himself master of Dresden.

The king of Poland now found himself under the necessity of suing for peace, and the king of Prussia was heartily tired of the war. A treaty was accordingly concluded at Dresden, between Augustus III. as elector of Saxony, and Frederick III. by which Augustus agreed to pay to his Prussian majesty, for the evacuation of his hereditary dominions, one million of German crowns at the next fair of Leipsic. Another treaty, confirming that of Breslaw, was at the same time concluded between the king of Prussia and the queen of Hungary. This treaty secured to Frederic III. the possession of Silesia, on condition of his acknowledging the validity of the emperor's election. The elector Palatine, who was included in the latter treaty, also consented to make the same acknowledgment.⁽¹⁾

These treaties restored tranquillity to Germany. But war, as we shall afterward have occasion to see, continued to rage for some years longer, between the houses of Bourbon and Austria. In the mean time, my dear Philip, we must attend to some transactions that more immediately concern our own island.

LETTER XXIX.

Sketch of the Domestic History of Great Britain, including some foreign Affairs intimately connected with it, from the Resignation of Sir Robert Walpole, in 1742, to the final Suppression of the Rebellion in Scotland, in 1746.

FROM the accession of the house of Hanover to the crown of Great Britain, but more especially after the suppression of the Rebellion in 1715, it had been the constant aim of the Tories, the natural friends of monarchy, and of certain disappointed Whigs who joined them and assumed the imposing name of patriots, to obstruct all the measures of government, under pretence of the public good; to represent the essential interests of the nation as sacrificed to a pusillanimous policy, which tamely courted peace, while the treasure of the kingdom was prodigally wasted in German subsidies, more than adequate to the support of a vigorous war, and its honour basely bartered for the precarious security of mercenary alliances, or treaties bought by mean submissions. "And for what?" said the Jacobites, when they durst speak out, and most of the Tories were Jacobites:—"to maintain a foreign family upon the throne, in exclusion of the lineal heir!"—Such, and more contumelious, was the language of opposition in parliament, and of the pretended patriots in their private juntas, during the whole administration of sir Robert Walpole,⁽²⁾ who understood and pursued the true interests of his country, but without sufficiently attending to its honour.

On the resignation of this able statesman, the patriots were called into office, and the greatest reformation was expected in every department of government. But lord Carteret, the new prime minister, and his associates,

(1) Tindal's *Contin.* vol. ix. Smollett, vol. xi.

(2) See the *Parliamentary Debates*, and publications of the times.

not only rejected every popular motion, but went even farther, as we have already seen, than their predecessors, in flattering the prejudices of their sovereign in favour of the continental system. Large subsidies were at the same time paid to the queen of Hungary, the king of Poland, and the king of Sardinia; large bodies of foreign troops were taken into British pay; and a British army was transported into Flanders, to fight battles from which Great Britain could derive no positive advantage. The war was continued, from pride and passion, long after its political object, as far as it concerned this kingdom, was accomplished; namely, to prevent the French from acquiring an ascendant in Germany, by dismembering the Austrian succession.

Naturally haughty, elated with success, and assured of the support of the British ministry, the queen of Hungary, in the hour of her intoxication, absolutely refused to restore to the emperor Charles VII. his hereditary dominions, though he offered, on that condition, to renounce all claim to any part of her inheritance. (1) Not contented with being enabled to defend her own territories, she projected conquests both in Italy and Germany. Nothing less would satisfy her than the recovery of Naples and Silesia, though both had been formally ceded by treaty; and the king of Great Britain, instead of withdrawing his assistance at this juncture, or insisting on her reconciliation with the emperor, was so ill advised as to acquiesce in the ambitious aim.

The dissatisfaction occasioned by these unpopular and impolitic measures encouraged the Jacobites to turn their eyes once more toward the Pretender, and the court of France, as we have seen, to attempt an invasion in his favour. Had the French been able to land, under so consummate a general as count Saxe, it is impossible to say what might have been the consequence; but we can affirm with confidence, that, as the enterprise proved abortive, it was of infinite service to the reigning family. The alarm which it occasioned united all the Whigs in the zealous support of government. They became sensible of the hazard to which they were exposed by their own dissensions, on which, it appeared, the Pretender had chiefly built his hopes of success.

Loyal addresses were presented to the throne by both houses of parliament, and from all the principal towns and corporations in the kingdom. The duke of Marlborough and the earl of Stair, though disgusted with the court, tendered their service to his majesty, in any station he should think proper to name. Their offer was accepted: both were taken into favour; and the earl of Stair was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces in South Britain. The duke of Argyle, who had long distinguished himself by his opposition in parliament, communicated to the privy council a letter of thanks from the chevalier de St. George, containing the most liberal promises, in case of his elevation to the throne. (2) People of every condition, in a word, who had any regard for civil or religious liberty, seemed to set their face against the Pretender; and all former grievances were forgot, in the presence of so pressing a danger.

Many causes of national discontent, however, still remained; all which were magnified, and industriously pointed out by the Jacobites, in order to embarrass the British ministry, and induce the king of France to make a new effort for the re-establishment of the family of Stuart. The inglorious sea-fight of Toulon, and the infamous trial of Matthews and Lestock, excited the indignation of all sincere lovers of justice and of their country. And other circumstances contributed to revive the popular clamour against the measures of the court.

The king of Prussia, on renewing hostilities in consequence of the treaty of Frankfort, beside the manifesto which he published, accusing the queen

(1) A treaty to this purpose was actually negotiated at Hanau, in order to preserve appearances, soon after the battle of Dettingen, through the mediation of his Britannic Majesty. But it was rendered abortive, by a *secret understanding*, or intrigue, between the courts of London and Vienna; in consequence of which, the British ministry, or rather the regency appointed during the king's absence, refused to ratify the preliminaries to which their sovereign had seemingly given his assent.

(2) Tindal's *Contin.* vol. ix. Smollett, vol. xi.

of Hungary of ambition and obstinacy (in rejecting the reasonable offers of the emperor), and the king of Great Britain of fostering that haughty spirit, sent a rescript to his minister at the court of London, very artfully drawn up and admirably suited to the temper of the times. "I hope," says he, "that no judicious Englishman, nor any Briton, zealous for the constitution of his country, can possibly mistake the equity of my resolution, as he may at once convince himself of it, by merely transporting to the theatre of England what now passes on that of Germany. For, as every true English patriot would look with indignation upon all such intrigues as should be carried on in his country, in order to dethrone the reigning family, and place the crown upon the head of the Pretender, and would oppose such practices to the utmost of his power; in like manner, there is no patriotic or powerful prince of the empire, that can see with indifference, and coolly suffer another member of the empire, such as the queen of Hungary, to attempt to despoil of his dignity and authority the emperor lawfully elected, in order to invest with the Imperial ensigns a candidate destitute of the qualifications most essential to fill that august throne. In consequence of the same principle," adds he, "as no German prince has a right to meddle with the internal policy of Great Britain, or with the constitution of its government, I have some grounds to hope, that the English nation will not meddle with the domestic affairs of the empire: and I entertain those hopes the more firmly, because England can have no inducement to take part in this quarrel from any commercial or political considerations."

Though this extraordinary address, to subjects instead of their sovereign, did not meet with such general approbation as its royal author expected, it was not without its effect: and the shameful language of the campaign in Flanders made the English nation fully sensible of the folly of engaging in foreign quarrels. The credit of the ministry sunk to nothing: their conduct was arraigned by men of all parties; and they had little family influence. The king therefore resolved, in compliance with the sense of his people, as well as for his own ease, to choose a new administration, though not to change his political system; the indignation of the public being chiefly directed against those apostate patriots who, after having hunted down sir Robert Walpole as an enemy to the constitution and a betrayer of the interests of his country, had themselves pursued more exceptionable measures, without taking one popular step.

At the head of the new ministry stood Mr. Henry Pelham, already first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer; and his brother, the duke of Newcastle, who had been for some years one of the principal secretaries of state. They possessed great parliamentary interest; and, in order to acquire popularity, as well as to increase their strength, they formed a coalition with the *real patriots*, or those leading members in both houses, who had continued to oppose the measures of the court during the late administration, on finding they were no better than those of the former or because they thought their merit had been neglected in the disposal of offices, after the resignation of sir Robert Walpole. To that coalition they gave the name of the BROAD BOTTOM, as comprehending honest and able men of all parties. Conformable to this idea, the earl of Harrington was appointed to succeed earl Granville, formerly lord Carteret, as secretary of state; the duke of Bedford was made first commissioner of the admiralty; the earl of Chesterfield, lord lieutenant of Ireland; Mr. George Lyttelton, afterward lord Lyttelton, one of the commissioners of the treasury; Mr. Doddington, treasurer of the navy; and sir John Hynd Cotton, treasurer of the chamber. (1)

The wide base on which Mr. Pelham had founded his administration left little room for parliamentary opposition; and faction, though secretly plotting new revolutions, seemed for a season to be lulled asleep. Very liberal supplies were voted for prosecuting the war on the continent: vigorous measures were resolved upon, as the most likely means of bringing it to a

(1) Tindal's *Contin.* vol. ix. Smollett, vol. xi.

speedy conclusion; and the duke of Cumberland was appointed commander-in-chief, in order to carry those measures into execution. The earl of Peterfield was dispatched to the Hague, in the character of ambassador extraordinary, with a view of persuading the Dutch to become principals in the war, or at least to engage them to settle, and furnish with exactness, their quota of troops and subsidies. He succeeded in the latter; and the most sanguine hopes were entertained of success.

But all those hopes were blasted by the fatal battle of Fontenoy. Fresh discontents arose: the machinations of the Jacobites were renewed; and the king of France, whose great object was the conquest of Flanders, in order to procure the recall of the British troops from that country, encouraged the young Pretender, by flattering promises and false representations, to attempt a descent in the North of Scotland. Representations, equally false and illusory, were made to him by certain Irish and Scottish adventurers, who, having nothing to lose, were ready for any desperate enterprise, and probably bribed by the court of Versailles to cajole him into a compliance with its views. They affirmed, that the whole British nation was disaffected to the reigning family; that the body of the people, loaded with oppressive taxes, and longing for relief, would every where crowd to his standard as soon as it should be erected; that the regular troops in the kingdom were few: and that, being assured of a powerful support from France, he could not doubt of being able to recover the crown of his ancestors.

Charles, who was naturally confident, encouraged by these intoxicating misrepresentations, embarked at Port Lazare, in Brittany, on board an armed vessel, which his father had found interest to equip, attended by the marquis of Tullibardine, sir Thomas Sheridan, and a few other Irish and Scottish adherents, with nine hundred stand of arms. The Elizabeth, a French ship of sixty-four guns, laden with arms and ammunition, was appointed him as a convoy: but she falling in with the Lion, an English ship of fifty-eight guns, was obliged, after an obstinate and bloody engagement, to return to Brest in a shattered condition. Charles, however, pursued his voyage; and having made the circuit of Ireland, landed on the coast of Lochaber. He was there joined by Cameron of Lochiel, and some other Highland chiefs, who, though they did not approve of his rash and ill concerted undertaking, thought themselves bound in honour to assert the rights of a prince whose cause was dear to them, and who had thrown himself upon their generosity.(1)

The naked and defenceless condition of the Pretender was too evident to escape the observation of the least intelligent of his partisans. But this objection was artfully set aside by the address of his followers. His deficiency in arms and ammunition, it was said, might be accounted for from the unforeseen misfortune that had befallen his convoy; and his coming without foreign force was produced as a proof of his superior discernment, as well as of his confidence in the affection of his friends. The rooted hatred and animosity of the English against the French nation, it was ingeniously urged, had been the chief cause of the failure of all the attempts of the latter to re-establish the family of Stuart on the throne of Great Britain; that a perpetual jealousy of the influence of this rival nation, always connected with the idea of popery and arbitrary power, could alone have induced a great and generous people so long to submit to the dominion of a foreign family, in exclusion of their hereditary princes; that those bug-bears being chased away by the magnanimity and heroism of the youthful Charles, he had only to march southward at the head of his faithful clans, in order to be joined by multitudes of his father's loyal subjects, who longed for an opportunity of renewing their allegiance; and that, should any foreign power interpose in behalf of the house of Hanover, or the British troops be recalled from Flanders, a superior French army would be landed, to complete the glorious revolution.

These plausible arguments, recommended by a magnificent side-board of

plate, and a large sum in ready money, which to the frugal Highlanders seemed a royal treasure, were so well received, that Charles soon found himself at the head of some thousands of hardy mountaineers, filled with hereditary attachment to his family, and warmly devoted to his person, in consequence of his open and engaging manners, as well as of his having assumed the ancient military dress of their country, which added new grace to his tall and handsome figure, at the same time that it borrowed dignity from his princely air; and who, from all those motives, were ready to shed the last drop of their blood in his cause.

But this ardour to rise in arms was confined to the heads of a few clans; and these, namely, Lochiel, Glenco, Glengary, Keppock, Clanronald, and some other chiefs, though distinguished by their valour, were by no means the most considerable for their numbers. Political interest had drawn to the side of government, or prudence taught, a quiet submission to the heads of many of those clans who had been the grand support of the Pretender's claim in 1715, and who were, from principle, still attached to the house of Stuart.

The eldest son of the attainted earl of Seaforth, the head of the Mackenzies, was a member of the house of commons, as was also the head of the Macleods. The chief of the Macdonalds, the most numerous of the Jacobite clans, had declared against an insurrection. The representative of the noble and powerful family of Gordon, whose retainers made a principal figure in the former rebellion, was now become protestant, and lay under great obligations to government; and lord Lovat, the head of the Frasers, beside his utter want of principle, was backward in declaring himself. Nor was this all. The duke of Argyle's Highlanders, the earl of Sutherland's men, the Monro's, and several other protestant clans, seemed sincerely attached to the reigning family, as were all the inhabitants of the low country of Scotland, a few Catholic and nonjuring families excepted.(1) This matter is but little understood.

The people of the low country of Scotland are chiefly Presbyterians, and jealous of their civil and religious rights. That jealousy led them, as we have seen, to take up arms against Charles I. before a sword was drawn in England. By neglecting to bargain for the free exercise of their religion at the Restoration, they were again exposed to persecution under Charles II. But at the Revolution they took care to secure both their civil and religious liberties, which were farther secured by the Union. They have, therefore, on all occasions, firmly adhered to the Protestant succession; and were, at this crisis, equally alarmed at the idea of the Pretender and of the Highlanders, whose cruel depredations under the marquis of Montrose, the viscount Dundee, and the earl of Mar, were still fresh in their memory. They were the most loyal subjects of the house of Hanover in Great Britain. But they had long been disused to arms; and were therefore filled with melancholy apprehensions at the threatening danger. The disasters in Flanders, the rapid progress of the French power, and the defenceless state of their own country, all pressed upon their minds.

The news of a fortunate event in America, contributed in some degree to remove this despondency; namely, the conquest of the island of Cape Breton.

That island, of which the French were shamefully left in possession at the peace of Utrecht, through the negligence or corruption of the English ministry, when Great Britain had the power of giving law to her enemies, is situated at the entrance of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and is ninety miles in length and sixty at its greatest breadth. Newfoundland, which lies to the east, is but fifteen leagues distant; and Nova Scotia, to the west, is sepa-

(1) *Confins. of Rapin. vol. ix.* written, as already noticed, by the late laboious and intelligent Mr. Guthrie, whose account of the rebellion in Scotland is very full, circumstantial, and accurate. The author of these Letters was then a boy, by no means remarkable of memory; and he has since had occasion to converse with many persons deeply engaged in that rebellion, as well as with many employed in suppressing it. He therefore considers himself as a contemporary. This observation he means should extend to the whole subsequent part of his narration.

rated from it only by a channel about twelve miles broad. Thus placed between the territories of France, and those ceded to her rival, Cape Breton threatened the possession of the one, while it protected those of the other. Louisburg, situated on the eastern coast, was the chief town and port in the island. The harbour, naturally safe and capacious, was strongly fortified; the narrow entrance being guarded by two formidable batteries, whose cross-fire threatened instant destruction to any ship that should attempt to force a passage. The town was walled, and defended by all the works that can render a place impregnable. It was the key of communication between France and Canada, as well as the grand bulwark of her fisheries. And it was considered by the English colonies as the Dunkirk of America; as it afforded protection to a swarm of French frigates and privateers, that ruined their trade, and pillaged them with impunity.

Influenced by these considerations, the British ministry were induced to listen to the proposals of the people of New England, who offered to undertake the reduction of Louisburg. Commodore Warren, then stationed at Antigua, was accordingly ordered to proceed to the northward, with a stout squadron, in order to protect the transports, and co-operate with the New England militia; which, to the number of six thousand, were embarked, under the conduct of Mr. Pepperell, a trader of Piscataqua, and landed without opposition within four miles of the place. The besiegers, though inexperienced, were brave: the officers of the marines directed their operations; and commodore Warren, though foiled in every attempt to enter the harbour, was able effectually to cut off all supplies. Seeing no prospect of relief, and threatened with a general assault, the governor, doubtful of the fidelity of his garrison, agreed to surrender the town; and the whole island of Cape Breton, or (as the French pompously called it) *Isle Royale*, immediately submitted to the victors.⁽¹⁾

This conquest, the importance of which was much magnified, contributed greatly to confirm the zeal of the friends to the Protestant succession in Scotland; and if vigorous measures had been taken by government, the rebellion might have been crushed in its birth. But George II. being then at Hanover, the regency appointed, during his absence, slighted every information relative to the enterprise of the young Pretender, until all North Britain was threatened with subjection. They could not believe he would have the hardness to land without a powerful foreign force; so that Charles's very weakness, under the veil of his temerity, may be said to have advanced his progress. Descending from the mountains with the rapidity of a torrent, at the head of his hardy and intrepid Highlanders, he took possession of Dunkeld, Perth, and Dundee; every where proclaiming his father, the chevalier de St. George, king of Great Britain, and seizing the public money for his use. At Perth he reviewed his forces, and found them amount to about three thousand men. Here he was joined by the viscount Strathallan, lord Nairn, lord George Murray, brother to the duke of Athol, by the young and sanguine duke of Perth,⁽²⁾ and several other persons of distinction. And the marquis of Tullibardine having taken possession of the estate of Athol, which his younger brother inherited, as well as the title, in consequence of his attainder, was able to bring some accession of strength to the cause which he had espoused.

Emboldened by these promising appearances, the young Pretender proceeded to Dumblane: and having crossed the Forth in the neighbourhood of Stirling, advanced towards Edinburgh, after making a feint of marching to Glasgow. Meanwhile sir John Cope, commander-in-chief of the king's forces in Scotland, afraid to face the rebels, marched northward as far as

(1) *Contis. of Rapin*, vol. ix. *Douglas's Summary*, vol. ii. *Smollett*, vol. xi.

(2) The head of this nobleman's family, which was strongly attached to the house of Stuart, having accompanied James II. into France, was there created a duke. He himself had been educated in that kingdom; and succeeding unexpectedly to the family estate, he had lately come over to Great Britain. On his arrival, he flew with ardour into all the gaieties of the age, and adapted himself to every mode of pleasure, which he pursued with the appearance of giddy dissipation, while forming the plan of an extensive rebellion. He was the soul of the Jacobite party.

Inverness, under pretence of forming a junction with some loyal clans; leaving by that movement, the capital and the whole low country at the mercy of the enemy.

The inhabitants of Edinburgh seemed at first determined on a bold resistance; but on the nearer approach of the rebels, their resolution began to fail. They were apprehensive of a general pillage, and even of a massacre, if the place should be carried by assault, against which its ruinous and extensive walls were but a slender security. The magistrates, therefore, entered into treaty with the Pretender for the surrender of the town. But before the terms were finally settled, a body of Highlanders being treacherously admitted at one of the gates in the night, took possession of the city guard-house; and opening the other gates to new associates, made themselves masters of that ancient capital by morning, the castle, however, still held out. And thither had been carried, on the approach of the rebels, the treasure of the two Scottish banks, and the most valuable effects of the inhabitants.

In order to avoid the fire from the castle, which being seated on a rock to the westward of the town, commands the whole neighbourhood, Charles made a circuit to the east, and took up his residence in the palace of Holyrood-house, the kingly dwelling of his ancestors. Here he kept a kind of court: and being attended by a number of noblemen and gentlemen, who acted as officers of state, he issued an order with all the formality of lawful authority, for solemnly proclaiming his father at the cross of Edinburgh. The ceremony was performed accordingly; and, at the same time, three manifestoes were read by the pursuivants. In the first manifesto, the old Pretender asserted his right to the crown of Scotland, declaimed against the Union, lamented the hardships to which the Scots had been exposed in consequence of it, and complained bitterly of the injuries his faithful Highlanders had suffered from the established government. He promised to call a free parliament, to abolish the malt-duty, and all other grievous impositions and taxes that had been laid on them since the Union; to restore the Scottish nation to its ancient liberty and independency; to protect, secure, and maintain all his Protestant subjects in the free exercise of their religion, and in the full enjoyment of their rights, privileges, and immunities. By the second manifesto, he constituted his son Charles sole regent of his dominions, and particularly of the kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland, during his absence. The third manifesto was in the name of the young Pretender; and Charles, after enforcing all that had been said in his father's first declaration, commanded obedience to himself as prince regent. (1)

In the mean time general Cope, being joined by some well-affected Highlanders, had embarked his troops at Aberdeen and landed at Dunbar, where he was reinforced with two regiments of dragoons, that had retired from the neighbourhood of Edinburgh on the approach of the enemy. Confident of success, he began his march toward the capital, with a well-appointed army; but understanding that the rebels were advancing to give him battle, he pitched his camp near Prestonpans, having the village of Tranent in his front and the sea in his rear. His troops, consisting of between four and five thousand men, lay all night on their arms; and early next morning the young Pretender advanced in hostile array, at the head of about three thousand undisciplined and half-armed Highlanders, whose furious gestures and rapid movements, seen dimly through the retiring darkness, excited unusual emotions of terror in the hearts of the English soldiers. These emotions were not allowed to subside. Charles himself, standing in the first line, gave the word of command, and drawing his sword, threw away the scabbard. (2) The Highlanders rushed on to the attack like so many sturdy savages, regardless of the fire of the artillery. The king's troops were thrown into disorder, and totally routed. The dragoons instantly left the field, and could never after be rallied. Five hundred of the foot were killed, and fifteen

(1) *Contin. of Rapin*, vol. ix. and the Periodical Publications of the times.

(2) *Id.* *ibid.*

hundred made prisoners. Among the former was the gallant colonel Gardiner, who fell covered with many wounds. Never, in a word, was any victory more complete: the military chest, cannon, colours, camp-equipage, and baggage of the royal army, fell into the hands of the rebels.

Had the Pretender marched into England immediately after this victory, before the British troops were recalled from Flanders or any foreign succours could be procured, he would probably have accomplished the great object of his enterprise. But instead of taking advantage of the consternation occasioned by the defeat of the king's forces in Scotland, he returned to the palace of Holyrood-house, to enjoy the vain parade of royalty. Edinburgh proved the Capua of Charles. There, intoxicated with the flatteries of needy expectants, and seduced by the blandishments of the Jacobite ladies, longing for his princely benediction, he wantonly wasted his time, till the critical moment was past; while his hungry followers blunted the edge of their ferocity in social indulgences, or broke the nerve of their courage in fruitless efforts to reduce the castle, and get possession of the public treasure. Meantime he was joined by the earl of Kilmarnock, and by the lords Balmerino, Pitaligo, Elcho, and Ogilvie. And it was, at last, resolved to march into England.

In consequence of that resolution Charles published a new manifesto, said to be composed by himself, in which he promised, in his father's name, all manner of security to the Protestant religion and the established church, and declared that he would pass any law the parliament should judge necessary for that purpose. "That the public debt has been contracted under an *unlawful government*, nobody," says he, "can disown, any more than that it is now a most heavy load upon the nation: yet, in regard it is due to those very subjects whom our Royal Father promises to protect, cherish, and defend, he is resolved to take the advice of his parliament concerning it; in which he thinks he acts the part of a just prince, who makes the good of his people the sole rule of his actions. Furthermore, we have in his name to declare, That the same rule laid down for the funds, shall be followed with respect to every law or act of parliament since the Revolution; and in so far as, in a free and legal parliament, they shall be approved, he will confirm them." He next declares, that his expedition was undertaken without assistance either from France or Spain; "but" adds he, "when I hear of Dutch, Danes, Hessians, and Swiss, the elector of Hanover's allies, being called over to protect his government, is it not high time for the king my father to accept also of the assistance of those who are able, and who have engaged to support him?" (1)

This declaration had by no means the desired effect. It did not effectually remove the fears of the monied men, in regard to the security of the funds, while it filled the body of the people with apprehensions of a French invasion. Every one, from some motive or other, seemed attached to the established government. Loyal addresses, from all quarters, were presented to George II. on his return from his German dominions, congratulating him on the reduction of Cape Breton, and expressing detestation at the unnatural rebellion.

Nor were these addresses merely complimentary. Above a thousand of the most eminent merchants, tradesmen, and manufacturers in the kingdom, in order to support public credit, signed an agreement, That they would take the notes of the bank of England in payment of any sum due to them, and use their utmost endeavours to make all their payments in the same paper. (2) This was a step of the utmost importance; as it not only prevented the danger of a run upon the bank, but interested many in the defence of the House of Hanover, whose hearts were with the Pretender, or whose minds were wavering.

Other measures conspired to fix the unsteady, and to warm into zeal timid prudential loyalty. The Habeas Corpus act was suspended, and several

(1) *Contin. of Rapin*, vol. ix.

(2) *Ibid.* Smollett, vol. xi.

persons were taken up on suspicion of treasonable practices. Six thousand Dutch auxiliaries were landed; and the flower of the British troops, recalled from Flanders, arrived in England, with the duke of Cumberland at their head. Beside a number of new regiments, voluntarily raised by the nobility and gentry, the militia of every county were assembled; arms were liberally distributed to the people, and the whole southern part of the kingdom was put in a posture of defence.

Notwithstanding this hostile appearance, and the formidable force that was now collected, the young adventurer left Edinburgh, and entered England, by the western border, with only six thousand men; the duke of Perth acting as commander-in-chief, and lord George Murray as lieutenant-general. They immediately invested Carlisle; and both the town and castle, though defended by the militia of Cumberland and Westmoreland, supported by the inhabitants and some companies of regular troops, surrendered within three days.

The whole kingdom was filled with consternation at the progress of the rebels. Terror took possession of every heart; and the most frightful apprehensions were, at the same time, entertained of an invasion from France, where great preparations were making for a descent in favour of the Pretender. The militia of the maritime counties were drawn toward the coast, and signals fixed for a general alarm. But the vigilance of admiral Vernon, who was stationed with a fleet in the Channel, and effectually blocked up the French ports, prevented the projected invasion. The embarkation was to have been made at Boulogne, Calais, and Dunkirk, in large boats, and a landing attempted in the neighbourhood of Dover, under the cover of night. The troops were to have been commanded by the attainted earl mareschal of Scotland, who, regardless himself of danger, in what he esteemed so good a cause, threw up his commission in disgust, on finding the French naval officers afraid to venture out. (1)

Meanwhile, the rebels having left a small garrison in Carlisle advanced to Penrith; and continuing their route through Lancaster and Preston, took possession of Manchester, where the Pretender established his head-quarters. Thinking himself now in the heart of his English interest, he promised himself a great accession of force; but although the inhabitants of Manchester received him with marks of affection, and celebrated his arrival with illuminations, they showed little inclination to join, and the people of the country still less. He was only able to raise about two hundred men, who were formed into a regiment, in hopes it would soon be completed, under colonel Townly, a Roman-catholic gentleman of some eminence in that neighbourhood, and who had served in the French army.

Charles, who had been led to suppose, that as soon as he should enter Lancashire the majority of the people would flock to his standard, was very much mortified at this backwardness in his reputed friends. He endeavoured, however, to conceal his disappointment; and his followers in general, wore a good face, though it was known to them, that general Wade, who had assembled an army of fourteen thousand men at Newcastle, was advancing through Yorkshire, and that the duke of Cumberland, assisted by sir John Ligonier, had taken post near Litchfield with thirteen thousand veteran troops. A council of war was called; and it was resolved to proceed by the way of Chester and Liverpool into Wales, where the Pretender expected a number of adherents. But learning afterward that those two towns were secured, and that the bridges over the river Mersey had been broken down, Charles took the route of Stockport and Warrington; and passing through Macclesfield and Congleton, turned suddenly off by Leek and Ashbourne, and unexpectedly entered Derby. There his father was proclaimed with great solemnity.

Having gained, by this rapid movement, a day's march of the royal army, under the duke of Cumberland, the Pretender, who was now within an hundred miles of London, might have made himself master of the capital, had

(1) *Contin. of Rapin, vol. ix.*

he proceeded directly forward. And, in that event, the French would probably have been encouraged to attempt a descent in his favour; while many well-wishers, who still kept at a distance, would certainly have joined him, and public credit would have received a terrible shock. Yet must we not rashly suppose that Charles would have been finally successful, had he even got possession of the metropolis, as an army of thirty thousand men, firmly attached to the reigning family, could have been assembled in the neighbourhood in a few days; in order to watch the motions of the rebels, and cut off the communication between the town and country. And a powerful fleet would have obstructed all supplies by sea.

The rebels must even have hazarded an engagement, before they could have entered the capital; for no sooner was it known, that, having eluded the vigilance of the duke of Cumberland, they had it in their power to march southward, than orders were given for forming a camp upon Finchley-common, where the king resolved to take the field in person, accompanied by the earl of Stair, commander-in-chief of the forces in England. And all the regular troops in the neighbourhood of London, the new raised regiments, the volunteer companies, the militia, and the trained bands, were commanded to hold themselves in readiness for the same service. Little resistance, however, could have been made by men enervated by the sedentary arts, nursed in the bosom of a voluptuous city, and but slightly acquainted with the use of arms; whose imagination was filled with the most frightful ideas of the savage ferocity, bodily strength, and irresistible valour of the Highlanders; while they were apprehensive, on the other hand, of being every moment overwhelmed by a French invasion, or massacred by an insurrection of the Roman-catholics.⁽¹⁾ They must have been broken at the first encounter; and as George II. was obstinately brave, he might have sunk beneath the arm of his youthful antagonist.

Happily things did not come to this extremity. The Pretender had advanced into the heart of England without receiving any considerable accession of force, or being joined by any person of distinction. It appeared as if all the Jacobites in the kingdom had been annihilated. The Welch took no measures for exciting an insurrection in his favour, nor did the French attempt an invasion for his support. He lay, with a handful of men, between two powerful armies, in the midst of winter, and in a country hostile to him. Having inconsiderately spent some time at Derby, he could not now enter the metropolis without hazarding a battle with one of those armies, and a defeat must have proved fatal to himself and all his adherents. It was therefore resolved in a council of war, by the majority of the Highland chiefs, to march back into Scotland, where the Pretender's affairs had taken a fortunate turn; although Charles himself, the duke of Perth, and Cameron of Lochiel, were for proceeding to London, be the event what it might. And they perhaps were right; especially as they were under the necessity of making a retreat in the face of two superior armies; a retreat which, it was to be feared, beside the danger attending it, would utterly ruin their cause in England, and greatly dispirit their friends in Scotland. A retreat, however, was attempted; and conducted with a degree of intrepidity, regularity, expedition, and address, unparalleled in the history of nations, by any body of men under circumstances equally adverse.

On the third day after the rebels left Derby, they arrived at Manchester, and proceeded to Preston, without the loss of a single man; though the bridges were broken down, the roads damaged, the beacons lighted to alarm the country, and detachments of horse sent from both the royal armies to harass them on their march. They were overtaken, however, at the village of Clifton, near Penrith, by the duke of Cumberland in person, at the head of his cavalry. Lord George Murray, who commanded their rear-guard, composed of the clan of the Macphersons, the most ferocious of all the Highland tribes, threw himself into the village, in order to obstruct the pursuit; and perceiving that the royal army consisted only of cavalry (for which;

(1) *Contin. of Rapin*, vol. ix. *Smollett*, vol. xi.

instead of their former terror, the Highlanders had acquired a contempt, since the battle of Prestonparr, he sent an express after the main body of the rebels, entreating them to return, and hazard an engagement. No regard was paid to his message; yet he resolved to-maintain his post. He accordingly put himself in a posture of defence; repulsed a party of horse; combated for an hour a body of dismounted dragoons; and then, having fully accomplished his purpose, proceeded unmolested to the rendezvous of the Pretender at Penrith.

On the arrival of lord George Murray, it was deliberated by the rebel chiefs, whether they should prosecute their march, or turn back and give battle to the duke of Cumberland, before he could be joined by his infantry. But it appearing upon enquiry, that such a junction might be soon formed, and without their knowledge, they continued their retreat to Carlisle. There they drew up their forces, and seemed determined to wait the approach of their pursuers. Understanding, however, that the duke of Cumberland's army had been reinforced by several battalions of foot, and a squadron of horse, from Wade's division, they changed their resolution; and having augmented the garrison of Carlisle, by throwing into the place the Manchester volunteers, they crossed the river Eddow and passed into Scotland, without losing above fifty men, during their whole expedition, by sickness, fatigue, the sword of the enemy, or leaving one straggler behind them. (1)

After the action at Clifton, the duke of Cumberland found it necessary to halt, and give his troops, which had been roughly handled, some respite. He was there joined by his infantry: and his whole army advanced to Carlisle, in three columns. The garrison, though ill supplied with engineers, made a shew of resistance; but no sooner were the batteries opened against the place, than the rebels found themselves under the necessity of surrendering at discretion. The prisoners, amounting to about four hundred, were committed to close confinement; and the duke of Cumberland returned to London, where he was received with as much eclat as if he had gained a complete victory, every one supposing that the rebellion was eventually extinguished.

This however, was by no means the case. The Pretender's force was yet unbroken; and if the failure of his expedition into England had discouraged some of his more sanguine followers, his rapid progress and gallant retreat had shed new lustre over his arms. The English Jacobites, whom fear alone had withheld from joining him, thinking every moment that his slender band would be crushed, now reproached themselves for their pusillanimity, in not abetting that cause which they loved, and to which their aid might have given the ascendant. In a word, had he been properly supplied with arms, money, and military stores, from France, and with what he wanted no less, a few able engineers and experienced officers, the contest might still have been doubtful whether the house of Stuart or that of Hanover should sit on the throne of Great Britain.

But let us leave these political conjectures, and take a view of the state of Scotland, and of the daring adventurer in his course.

Soon after the rebels left Edinburgh, general Wade, who commanded in the north of England, sent a body of troops for the protection of that city. The inhabitants of Glasgow raised a regiment for their own defence: other towns followed their example; and all the Argyleshire Highlanders were in arms for the support of government. The people of the south and west of Scotland, animated by the harangues of the presbyterian clergy, and stimulated by their intuitive, or habitual horror against popery and arbitrary power, appeared only to increase in loyalty during the most prosperous fortune of the Pretender. Their zeal for the Protestant succession, as settled in the family of Brunswick, became warmer in proportion to his success, and the danger to which it seemed exposed; for they paid no regard to his declarations in regard to religion, and very little to those of a civil nature. "Kirk and King!" was the universal cry.

(1) *Contin. of Rapin*, vol. ix. Smollett, vol. xi.

The state of affairs was very different in the north of Scotland. The majority of the people, beyond the river Tay, being chiefly Papists, Nonjurors, or lukewarm Presbyterians, were disposed to favour the re-establishment of the house of Stuart. But many of the leading men were attached to the reigning family by motives of interest, ambition, inclination, gratitude, and exerted themselves zealously for the support of government. One of the most distinguished of those was Duncan Forbes of Culloden, lord president of the Court of Session; a man of extensive knowledge, great talents, engaging manners, and equally respected for his public and private virtues. To him, perhaps, the house of Hanover owes its continuance on the throne of Great Britain, and we the enjoyment of our happy constitution. He confirmed in their allegiance several chieftains who began to waver: some he induced by the force of his arguments, to renounce their former principles, and oppose that cause which they meant to abet; others he persuaded to remain quiet, from prudential considerations. In these views he was warmly seconded by the earl of Loudon, who commanded the king's forces at Inverness; where he was joined by twelve hundred men, under the earl of Sutherland; by a considerable number under lord Rae; and, beside the Grants and Monro's, by a body of hardy islanders from Skie, under sir Alexander Macdonald and the laird of Macleod. (1).

These advantages, however, were counterbalanced by the prevailing spirit of the people, and the activity of a few rebel leaders. At the head of those stood lord Lewis Gordon; who, though his brother, the duke, was in the interest of government, had been remarkably successful in arming the retainers of the family, as well as in engaging all disaffected persons in the neighbourhood of Aberdeen. The earl of Cromartie had raised a body of men for the support of the Pretender; a considerable sum of money had been received, for his use, from Spain; and lord John Drummond, brother to the duke of Perth, had landed with a small reinforcement, and with liberal promises of farther assistance from France.

Encouraged by those flattering appearances, and by the rapid progress of the Pretender, lord Lovat, one of the most extraordinary characters in ancient or modern times, who had long temporized, ordered his son to put himself at the head of his Clan, and repair to the rendezvous of the rebels at Perth. (2) He even sent round his whole estate the *Fiery Cross*, or general

(1) *Contin. of Rapin*, vol. ix. Smollett, vol. xi.

(2) Simon Fraser, lord Lovat, was born with insinuating talents, and exerted his whole force upon mankind through the channel of their vanity. Utterly destitute of principle, and despising veracity as an useless quality, he accommodated all his actions to his immediate interest, and all his words to the deceitful purpose of drawing the credulous into his views. And although his natural address was homely, his personal appearance remarkably forbidding, and his flattery too obvious to escape the observation even of the weak and the vain; it was too strongly applied to be resisted entirely by men of the most moderate tempers, and of the soundest understanding. Though his projects were generally formed with little judgment he was bold and fearless in the execution of them. In 1687, he entered, with an armed band, the house of a woman of quality, seized her person, and ordered the marriage ceremony to be performed, while he endeavoured, with the sound of a bag-pipe to drown her cries; and having stripped her naked, by cutting off her stays with his dirk or dagger, he forced her to bed, and consummated the pretended marriage amid the noise and riot of his barbarous attendants.

Obliged to abandon the kingdom, and declared a rebel and an outlaw for this and other violences, Fraser found means to obtain a pardon from king William; to ingratiate himself with the court of St. Germans, by becoming a Catholic; and was employed by the court of France in attempting to raise a rebellion in Scotland in 1708. For that purpose he was furnished with proper credentials by the Pretender; but instead of making use of those for the restoration of the exiled family, he discovered the whole plot to the English government, and returned to France, in order to procure more full proofs of the guilt of the principal conspirators. His treachery being there discovered, he was thrown into the Bastille, where he remained some months, and must have suffered the punishment due to his crimes, but for his consummate dissimulation. He had the address to make it believed, that all he had done was for the interest of the Pretender; and on his return to Great Britain, his sufferings in France recommended him not only to the protection but the favour of government.

In 1718, Lovat was highly serviceable to the house of Hanover, by assisting in the suppression of the rebellion; and becoming afterward a personal favourite of George I. he was nobly rewarded for his loyalty. He even formed the scheme of erecting himself into a kind of viceroy in the Highlands; pretending, that if he had the distribution of twenty-five thousand pounds annually among the heads of the Clans, he could effect

denunciation of spoil, sword, and fire, made by the Highland chiefs against such of their vassals as should refuse to take arms at their command. Near a thousand Frasers were instantly levied, and the Master of Lovat invested Fort Augustus. The earl of Loudon marched to the relief of that place, and raised the siege. But this success was more than balanced by that of lord Lewis Gordon, who surprised and routed the laird of Macleod, and Monro of Culcairn, at Inverary, and obliged them to repossess the Spey; so that the rebels were now masters of the whole country, from that river to the Frith of Forth, and every where imposed contributions on the inhabitants, and seized the royal revenue.

Meanwhile the Pretender, on leaving England, understanding that Edinburgh was secured by a fresh army, had proceeded by the way of Dumfries to Glasgow, and imposed a heavy contribution on that loyal city. After making a hasty but oppressive tour through the neighbouring country, he directed his march to Stirling, where he was joined by the French troops, under lord John Drummond; by the Frasers, under the Master of Lovat; and by lord Lewis Gordon and his victorious followers. It was now resolved to invest that town and castle; the latter being of great importance, by commanding the bridge over the river Forth. The town, which is almost naked and defenceless, surrendered as soon as a battery was opened against it; but the castle, defended by a good garrison, under the command of general Blakeney, still held out, and continued to baffle all the attempts of the rebels.

The taking of the town of Stirling was therefore, in itself, an event of little moment. Yet, when connected with the miraculous escape of the Pretender from two royal armies, and the great increase of his adherents during his bold expedition to the southern parts of the kingdom, it served to occasion fresh alarm in England; especially as it was considered as a prelude to the reduction of the citadel, the key of the communication between the north and south of Scotland. Nothing was thought impossible for Charles and his sturdy Highlanders, who seemed to be at once invulnerable, and proof against the rage of the elements.

General Hawley, an experienced officer, who had been appointed commander-in-chief of the forces in Scotland in the room of sir John Cope, was ordered instantly to assemble an army, and proceed to the relief of Stirling castle. Hawley, who was naturally brave, confident, and even presumptuous, having under him major-general Huske, brigadier Cholmondeley, brigadier Mordaunt, and several other officers of distinction, advanced accordingly to Falkirk at the head of near ten thousand men, beside the Argyshire Highlanders and Glasgow volunteers: and having a contemptible idea of the rebels, whom he had boasted he would drive from one end of the kingdom to the other with two regiments of dragoons, he gave himself little trouble to enquire after their numbers or disposition.

The Pretender's army consisted of about eight thousand men, and lay concealed in Torwood. Informed that the enemy were in motion in order to take possession of some rising grounds in the neighbourhood of his camp, Hawley commanded his cavalry to cut them in pieces. But the event proved very different from what he expected. The horse being suddenly broken, recoiled upon the foot, and a total rout ensued. Abandoning their tents, with part of their artillery and baggage, the king's forces retired in confusion to Edinburgh, after attempting in vain to make a stand at Falkirk. They

ally prevent all their future insurrections, and draw them insensibly into the interests of the reigning family. Disappointed, however, in his ambitious hopes, and otherwise disgusted with the established government, he again relapsed into Jacobitism; and concluding that the young Pretender would be supported by a powerful foreign force, he was at no pains to conceal his principles. But when Charles landed without such force, Lovat refused to join him, though he had accepted the office of lord-lieutenant of all the counties north of the Spey. Yet was he industrious in arming his clan; in order, as is supposed, to procure a pardon for his treasonable speeches and practices, by throwing his interest into the scale of government, if the unexpected success of the Pretender had not induced him to take part in the rebellion. See *Stuart's Papers*: *Lovat's Mem.*

left upon the field of battle near five hundred slain, among whom were an unusual number of officers: and about three hundred prisoners fell into the hands of the rebels. (1)

Had the victorious Charles, during the consternation occasioned by this second blow, again boldly entered England, he might possibly have taken up his winter-quarters in the capital; or had he marched with the main body of his army toward Inverness, he might have crushed the earl of Loudon, disarmed the loyal Clans, doubled the number of his adherents, and made himself absolute master of all the North of Scotland. But his heart being set on the reduction of Stirling castle, he lost sight of every other object. He therefore returned to the siege of that fortress; and after having in vain attempted to carry it by assault, the mode of attack most agreeable to his followers, and for which they were best adapted, he obstinately persisted in erecting batteries, in opening trenches, and making regular approaches, in the depth of winter, to the great dissatisfaction of the Highlanders, many of whom retired in disgust to their native mountains.

While the Pretender was thus wasting his time, and breaking the spirit of his adherents, in these fruitless, impolitic, and ill-conducted operations, the nation recovered from that panic into which it had been thrown by the rout at Falkirk. The royal army in Scotland was reinforced with a body of fresh troops. William duke of Cumberland was appointed to command it: and the affairs of government soon began to wear a new face. Though unsuccessful in Flanders, and considered by professional men as no great master in the military art, the duke of Cumberland was adored by the soldiery. And the appearance of a prince of the blood, it was hoped, would at once intimidate the rebels, and encourage the king's troops.

Experience proved this conjecture to be well founded. On the arrival of the duke of Cumberland at Edinburgh, he was received with the warmest expressions of joy, and welcomed as a deliverer by the loyal party. The presbyterian preachers went yet farther: they represented him as a saviour sent of God for the protection of his chosen people, and to take vengeance on his father's enemies. Firmness and confidence every where took place of irresolution and despondency; and such of the Jacobites as had not yet taken up arms, foreseeing the ruin of their prince's cause, remained quiet.

As soon as William had collected his army, amounting to about fourteen thousand horse and foot, he advanced toward the enemy. Charles at first seemed disposed to hazard a battle. But the Highlanders being much fatigued and disgusted with the siege of Stirling castle, upon which they could make no impression, and in the different attacks on which they had lost a number of men, the Pretender resolved, by the advice of his most experienced officers, to abandon all his posts on this side of the Spey, and proceed northward, as a fugitive instead of a conqueror. He was able, however, to make himself master of Inverness, Fort George, and Fort Augustus; and to oblige the earl of Loudon to take refuge in the isle of Skia. In a word, his present success shewed what he might have done, had he taken this route during his good fortune, when every heart was big with hope. The well-affected Clans, as they were called, who now made but a feeble resistance, would then have joined him almost to a man: and many persons of distinction, who still wore the mask of loyalty, would have repaired to his standard. But impolitic as Charles had been, he was yet formidable; and a more perfect knowledge of the advantages of his situation was only perhaps necessary, to have enabled him to repel all the efforts of his competitor.

In the mean time, the duke of Cumberland being joined by six thousand Hessians, that had been landed at Leith (2) soon after his departure from Edinburgh, left two battalions in Stirling, four in Perth, and proceeded to Aberdeen with the main body of his army. During his stay there, he was

(1) *Cont. of Rapin*, vol. ix. Smollett, vol. xi.

(2) These troops were sent over from Flanders to replace the six thousand Dutch auxiliaries, which France insisted should be recalled, as part of the reduced garrison of Tournay, and rendered incapable, by the articles of capitulation, of serving against his most Christian majesty or his allies for eighteen months.

indefatigable in exercising his troops, notwithstanding the rigour of the season, and in providing for the security of the country; and as soon as the weather would permit, he assembled his forces and began his march for Inverness, where the rebels had established their head-quarters. Contrary to all expectation, he was permitted to pass the deep and rapid river Spey, without opposition, though about three thousand Highlanders appeared on the northern side, and the banks were steep and difficult of ascent. It was not timidity, however, but the presumption of their leaders, that restrained the rebels from disputing the passage of the royal army; a resolution having been taken in a council of war, in spite of many sound arguments to the contrary, to leave the fords of the Spey open; and for this very extraordinary reason, That the greater number of the king's troops that should pass the river, the fewer would escape; as the sanguine adherents of Charles entertained no doubt of being able to cut off the whole.

Romantic, however, as this idea appears, and unwise the maxim on which it was founded, it might possibly have been realized, had the Pretender afterward followed the advice of the more cool and experienced Highland chieftains. Had he resolved to act only on the defensive, and continued to retire northward, disputing every defile with his pursuers, until he had led the royal army into mountains, where its cavalry could not subsist, and whither its artillery, ammunition, provision, and baggage-waggons could not be drawn, he might at least have obliged the duke of Cumberland to retire in his turn; especially as the Highlanders, from their knowledge of the country, the friendly disposition of the inhabitants, the number of live cattle, and their own sparse diet, could there have found subsistence for a considerable time. And the glory connected with the retreat of the king's troops, independent of every other advantage which might have resulted from such a line of conduct, would have been of infinite service to the Pretender's cause.

But Charles, who had imbibed, from his hot-headed Irish adherents, false notions of military honour, thought it would be disgraceful to retire any farther before his antagonist. He therefore determined to hazard an engagement; though the royal army was not only, in all respects, better appointed, but superior in numbers, by at least one third, to that of his undisciplined followers. And having failed in an attempt to surprise the enemy at Nairn during the night, he marched back to his camp on Culloden moor; where, seemingly in a fit of desperation, it was resolved by the rebel chiefs, fatigued as their men were, to wait the approach of the king's forces, in order of battle. (1)

The duke of Cumberland left Nairn early in the morning, and came in sight of the rebels about noon. They were drawn up in thirteen divisions under their respective leaders, with four pieces of cannon before their centre, where was stationed the Pretender, and the same number on each wing. The duke of Cumberland drew up his army in three lines, disposed in excellent order for resisting the fierce attack of the rebels; several pieces of cannon being placed between the lines, and every second rank instructed to reserve its fire: so that when the Highlanders, having thrown away their muskets, according to custom, advanced with their broad-swords, they were not only received upon the point of the bayonet, but galled by an unexpected fire of musketry, and blown into the air by a concealed artillery. The event

(1) The followers of Charles had indeed much cause for chagrin. They had hoped to attack the king's troops while buried in sleep and security, after celebrating the duke of Cumberland's birth-day. Lord George Murray undertook to conduct the enterprise, and every thing seemed to promise success; when, after a march of seven miles, one of the three divisions, into which the rebel army was formed, lost its way, through the darkness of the night. The other two divisions advanced two miles farther, and within a mile of the royal army, where lord George Murray suspecting, as is said, from the neighing of a horse, that they were discovered, ordered a retreat. (*Contin. of Rapin, vol. ix.*) On this, the Pretender exclaimed that he was betrayed; and the rebels returned to their camp, unperceived, by eight o'clock in the morning; mortified with their disappointment, and stung with the reproach of their prince, whose sanguine spirit would, on that occasion, have been a better guide than the timid caution; if not the treachery, of his general.

was such as William had promised himself. The rebel army, after an ineffectual struggle of thirty minutes, was totally routed, and chased off the field with great slaughter. The king's troops, but especially the dragoons, irritated by their former disgraces, and the fatigues of a winter campaign, gave no quarter. Near two thousand of the rebels were killed in the battle and pursuit, and only three hundred and ten of the royal army.(1)

No victory was ever more complete than that gained by the duke of Cumberland at Culloden, nor any more important in its consequences. All the Pretender's hopes, and even his courage, seemed to abandon him with his good fortune. Having too soon left the field of battle, he was advised by lord Lovat to return and rally his forces, as he promised, but declined compliance. And although two thousand of his faithful Highlanders resolutely assembled at Fort Augustus, and a body of the Lowlanders at Ruthven, in order to know his commands; though a ship arrived from France with forty thousand pounds sterling in specie; and near a thousand men, who had not been at the battle of Culloden, were ready to join him, he desired them all to disperse, and wandered himself under various disguises, in woods and wilds, a wretched fugitive, destitute of the common necessities of life, and in danger every moment of falling into the hands of his enemies. At length, after suffering the most incredible hardships, during five months, in the Highlands and Western Islands of Scotland, whither he was chased by his blood-thirsty pursuers, a price of thirty thousand pounds being set upon his head; after having entrusted the secret of his life to above fifty different persons, many of whom were in low condition, and who knew, that by betraying him they should be enabled to live in affluence,(2) he was taken on board a French frigate, and safely landed on the coast of Brittany.

The heroic attachment of a gallant youth, whose name is said to have been Mackenzie, contributed greatly to the escape of the Pretender. About the 20th of July, when Charles had fled for safety to the top of the mountain of Mamnyncallum, in Lochaber, the king's troops surprised a party of his followers in a hut, on the side of the mountain, and obliged them to surrender, after an obstinate resistance. One young man, however, made his escape. The prisoners assured the commanding officer that this was the Pretender. Animated by the prospect of an immense reward, the soldiers eagerly pursued, and at last overtook the fugitive. They desired him to submit, as resistance would be ineffectual; and intimated that they knew who he was. He seemed to acquiesce in their mistake, but refused quarter, and died with his sword in his hand, exclaiming as he fell, "You have killed 'your prince'!"—Independent of these generous expressions, the person slain resembled so much, in all respects, the description of the Pretender given to the army, that an end was immediately put to farther pursuit: and although government pretended to discredit the report, a general belief of the Pretender's death prevailed, and little search was thenceforth made after him.(3)

Charles was caressed for a time at the court of France, as there was yet a possibility of his being of farther use; but no sooner was the peace concluded, than he was consigned to the most perfect neglect, and condemned to sufferings more severe than any he had yet experienced. On his refusing to depart the kingdom, he was seized by a party of the guards, pinioned, and

(1) *London Gazette*, April 26, 1746. *Contin. Raptin*, ubi sup. Smollett, vol. xi.

(2) One poor gentleman, who had no share in the rebellion, but whose humanity had led him to administer to the necessities of Charles, being apprehended and carried before a court of justice, was asked, How he dared to assist the king's greatest enemy; and why, having always appeared to be a loyal subject, he did not deliver up the Pretender, and claim the reward offered by government for his person? "I only gave him," replied the prisoner, "what nature seemed to require, a night's lodging, and an humble repast. And who among my judges, though poor as I am, would have sought to acquire riches, by violating the rights of hospitality, in order to earn the price of blood?" The court was filled with confusion and amazement at the simple eloquence of this untutored orator: the suit was dismissed, and the prisoner set at liberty.—So much stronger an impression does fellow-feeling and the sense of natural equity make on the human breast, than the dictates of political law, though enforced by the greatest rewards or the severest punishments!

(3) *Contin. of Raptin*, vol. ix.

conducted to the frontiers, in violation of the most solemn engagements ; (1) a parody for which the articles of peace could be no apology, as France had the power of dictating the stipulations of the treaty. He was refined and betrayed, like many of his ancestors, by those in whom he confided ; and with his fortunes, perished the last hopes of the family of Stuart, and of their adherents in the British dominions.

The Pretender's sufferings must have been much aggravated by those of his unhappy adherents, unless we suppose him devoid of all the feelings of humanity, and of all sentiments of generous sympathy. Immediately after the battle of Culloden, the royal army entered the rebel country, which was cruelly laid waste with fire and sword. All the cattle and provisions were carried off. The men, hunted down like wild beasts upon the mountains, were shot on the smallest resistance : and not a hut was left standing to shelter the miserable women and children from the inclemency of the weather. They were left to perish of hunger and cold on the barren heaths. In a few weeks, all appearance of rebellion, and almost of population, being exterminated in the Highlands, the duke of Cumberland returned to London as a conqueror ; leaving his victorious army, formed into twenty-seven divisions, or flying camps, to take vengeance on the surviving fugitives.

A new scene of horror was now exhibited. The asperity of justice threatened with destruction all whom the relentless sword had spared. And although most of the Highland chiefs, and many of their followers, had made their escape beyond sea, the number of rebel prisoners of distinction that suffered death was great beyond example, for some centuries, in this island. Courts being opened in different parts of England for their trial, where they could have procured no evidence in their favour, had they been innocent, and where every accuser was admitted, small possibility remained to them of escaping punishment. Seventeen rebel officers were accordingly condemned, and executed at Kennington common, in the neighbourhood of London ; nine at Carlisle, six at Brumpton, seven at Fenchurch, and eleven at York. They all behaved with the greatest firmness, and seemed to glory in dying for the cause they had espoused. A few received pardons, and the common men were transported to the plantations. (2)

The earls of Kilmarnock and Cromartie, and the lords Balmerino and Lovat, were tried by their peers and found guilty. Cromartie was pardoned, at the intercession of his lady ; the other three were beheaded on Tower-hill. Kilmarnock, a nobleman of elegant accomplishments, but desperate fortune, and who had been educated in the principles of the Revolution, died with strong marks of penitence, either from sorrow at having acted contrary to conscience, or in hopes of a pardon ; it being observed, that he lifted his head from the block, and looked anxiously around, before the fatal blow was struck. Balmerino, who had been bred a soldier, and who had obeyed the dictates of his heart, behaved in a more resolute manner. He seemed even to exult in his sufferings ; but checked his natural boldness, lest it should appear indecent on such an occasion. Lovat, after trying every expedient to save his life, avowed his Jacobitism, and died, not only with composure, but dignity ; feeling the axe, surveying the crowd, and exclaiming, in seeming triumph,

Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori !

" 'Tis great, 'tis noble, thrones usurp'd to shake,
" And sweet to die for our dear country's sake." (3)

Thus was extinguished a rebellion, which, from small beginnings, rose to an alarming height ; and, at one time, threatened a revolution in the state.

(1) Voltaire, *Siècle Louis XV.* chap. xxv.

(2) Smollett, vol. xi. *Contin. of Rabin*, vol. ix.

(3) A sentiment so sublime, from the mouth of a man, who had lived in the habitual violation of every moral duty, and whose sole object was self-interest, forms a severe satire on the common pretensions to patriotism.

In order more effectually to eradicate the seeds of disloyalty, and break the refractory spirit of the Highlanders, the heads of Clans were deprived of their extensive hereditary jurisdiction, which they had abused: and people of all ranks were prohibited, by act of parliament, from wearing the ancient dress of their country. (1)

LETTER XXX.

A general view of the Affairs of Europe, from the Treaty of Dresden, in December 1745, to the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748.

THE treaty of Dresden, and the confirmation of that of Breslaw, by finally detaching the king of Prussia from the house of Bourbon, made a great change in the state of the contending powers, but did not dispose them to peace. The king of France, encouraged by his past successes, and by the absence of the British troops, determined to push his conquests in the Low Countries; and the king of Great Britain, enraged at Lewis for supporting a pretender to his throne, resolved upon vengeance, as soon as the rebellion in Scotland should be finally suppressed. Elated with the exaltation of her husband to the Imperial throne, and having now no enemy to oppose in Germany, the queen of Hungary hoped to be able to give a favourable turn to the war in Italy. She even flattered herself, that the Circles, or the Germanic body, might be induced to take up arms against France; and that, by the co-operation of England and Holland, all Flanders might be recovered, and the victorious house of Bourbon yet completely humbled.

Of all the hostile powers, the king of France was first in readiness to carry his designs into execution. Mareschal Saxe, to the astonishment of Europe, and the terror of the confederates, took Brussels, the capital of Brabant, and the residence of the governors of the Austrian Netherlands, in the beginning of February. Lewis XV. joined his victorious army, consisting of an hundred and twenty thousand men, in the month of April, and obliged the allies under Bathiani, to retire first to Antwerp, and afterward to Breda. Antwerp was invested, and reduced in a few days. Nothing could withstand the French artillery directed by Lowendahl, or the army conducted by Saxe. Mons, reckoned one of the strongest towns in the world, held out only a few weeks. St. Guislain and Charleroy were also obliged to submit; and by the 10th of July, Lewis saw himself absolute master of Flanders, Brabant, and Hainault.

Before this time, prince Charles of Lorraine had assumed the command of the confederate army; which being reinforced with ten thousand Hanoverians, six thousand Hessians, three British regiments, and twenty-five thousand Hungarians under count Palfi, now amounted to eighty-seven thousand men, including the Dutch forces commanded by the prince of Waldeck. Considering that Namur would be the next object of the French monarch, the prince of Lorraine marched toward that place, and occupied an advantageous post in the neighbourhood, within sight of the French army, which was encamped at Gemblours. Mareschal Saxe, who greatly surpassed in abilities all the generals of the allies, not judging it prudent to attack them in so strong a situation, attempted by other means to accomplish the designs of his master. He accordingly reduced Dinant, in the bishoprick of Liege, and thereby acquired the command of the navigation of the Maese above Namur; while Lowendahl, by his direction took Huy, a town and castle of great importance on the same river, and there seized a large magazine belonging to the confederates.

In consequence of the reduction of those two places, the French became masters of the navigation of the Maese; and by cutting off the communica-

(1) This act has been since repealed, from a conviction of its inexpediency. And it is truly extraordinary it should ever have been supposed, that men would become more loyal or submissive because they were compelled to wear breeches.

tion of the confederates with Maastricht, obliged prince Charles, from scarcity of provisions, to quit his post, and abandon Namur to its fate. This place, rendered famous by many sieges, is situated, as I have formerly had occasion to observe, at the conflux of the Sambre and the Meuse. The citadel is built upon a steep rock; and twelve other forts, on the ridges of the neighbouring mountains, seem to render it inaccessible to any attack. The garrison consisted of nine thousand Dutch and Austrians, who defended the works with equal skill and resolution; yet so powerful and well-directed was the fire of the French artillery, that the town was forced to surrender on the sixth, and the citadel on the sixteenth day of the siege.

Meanwhile the confederate army, which was encamped in the neighbourhood of Maastricht, being reinforced by some Bavarian and British battalions under sir John Ligonier, prince Charles resolved to give battle to the main body of the enemy, while weakened by the detachment that conducted the siege of Namur. With this view he passed the Meuse, and advanced toward the French camp; but found mareschal Saxe so advantageously posted at Tongres, that he judged it prudent to march back to Maastricht. He was severely harassed in his retreat. The confederates, however, behaved with great spirit, and at last even repulsed their pursuers.

But the enterprising Saxe, having soon after formed a junction with the troops that had reduced Namur, passed the Jaar at the head of the whole French army; and the allies, sensible that he meant to attack them, took possession of the villages of Liers, Warem, and Roucoux. They drew up their forces in order of battle, and made every preparation for receiving him. At break of day, the French army advanced in three columns, and about noon a terrible cannonading began. By two o'clock the prince of Waldeck, who commanded on the left of the confederates, and against whom the enemy chiefly directed their force, was compelled to give way. The three villages were attacked, at the same time, by fifty-five battalions, in brigades. As soon as one brigade was repulsed, another advanced; so that the confederates, fatigued with continual fighting, and being, by an unaccountable neglect, in a great measure destitute of artillery, while the French played upon them with above an hundred pieces of cannon, were at last obliged to abandon the villages, and retreat towards Maastricht. They lost five thousand men; and the French, who did not attempt to pursue them, near ten thousand. With this battle, in which the Austrians had little share, and which was attended with no small consequences, the operations of the campaign in the Low Countries ended. Both armies, dissatisfied with the issue of the action, and as if ashamed of such an idle waste of blood, went soon after into winter-quarters.

Happily for the allies, the house of Bourbon was less successful this summer in Italy, though artful measures had been taken during the winter, to acquire an absolute superiority over the house of Austria in that country; where Don Philip and Maillebois, who had carried every thing before them the preceding campaign, were still at the head of powerful armies. Lewis XV. was no sooner informed of the defection of the king of Prussia, than he made, without consulting the court of Madrid, advantageous proposals to the king of Sardinia; and these proposals were accepted, and a cessation of hostilities signed.⁽¹⁾ But Lewis had soon reason to repent of his rashness. The king, or rather the queen of Spain who was still at the head of the ad-

(1) This treaty, which secured to Don Philip, beside Parma and Piacenza, a share of the duchy of Milan and all Cremona, had for its chief object, on the part of the king of Sardinia, the independency of Italy. It therefore provided, That no Italian state should be united to the crown of France, Spain, or the Imperial crown. (*Mém. de Noailles*, tom. iv.) Such a policy was perfectly sound, and consistent with the character and situation of the king of Sardinia as one of the Italian princes, but treacherous as one of the confederate and subsidiary powers. Yet has the fidelity of his Sardinian Majesty been universally extolled, because this treaty, to which he positively acceded, and other secret negotiations and intrigues in which he was engaged, and which were defeated by accidental circumstances, have hitherto remained in a great measure unknown. So precarious a thing is human virtue! and so little connexion often between the seemingly meritorious actions of men with the sentiments of honour, or the real motives that influence their conduct.

ministration, enraged at any dismemberment of the possessions intended for the infant Don Philip, reproached the king of France with a breach of the treaty of Fontenilleau; and although matters were afterwards adjusted between the two courts, and the treaty with the king of Sardinia, though so far advanced, broken off, their interests suffered severely by this misunderstanding, which produced a temporary jealousy between the French and Spanish armies. An almost total inaction was the consequence; and that inaction gave rise to new jealousies, and mutual accusations, which led to the greatest misfortune.

Meanwhile the king of Sardinia, the most politic prince of his time, having in vain solicited the signing of the definitive treaty with France, made himself master of Asti, one of the strongest places in Italy, which was garrisoned with five thousand French troops. The pretext assigned for this violation of his engagements was the danger of the citadel of Milan falling into the hands of the Spaniards, who were preparing to besiege it; but his true motive was, a desire of recovering the confidence of his old, or of bringing matters to a crisis with his new allies. The success of the measure exceeded his most sanguine expectations. The confederates were confirmed in their opinion of his good faith, and the king of France was still amused with assurances of friendship. Don Philip accused Maillebois of treachery for not attempting to cover Asti.⁽¹⁾ And the Spaniards, having no reliance on their allies, immediately raised the siege of the citadel of Milan, and marched to Pavia; while the French general, afraid that his communication with Genoa and Provence might be cut off by the Austrians, whose strength increased every day in Italy, evacuated all the countries in the neighbourhood of the Tanaro and the Po, and retired to Novi.

The Austrian army, under prince Lichtenstein, now amounted to forty thousand men, and that of the king of Sardinia to thirty-six thousand. Having no formidable enemy to oppose them, by reason of the misunderstanding between the French and Spaniards, they recovered all the Piedmontese fortresses; and entering the duchy of Milan, drove Maillebois from Novi, ravaged the territory of Cremona, and took Lodi, Guastalla, Parma, and other places. Meantime, a reconciliation having been brought about between the courts of Versailles and Madrid, Maillebois formed a junction with Don Philip at Placenza, and a resolution was taken to force the Austrian camp at St. Lazzaro, before the arrival of the king of Sardinia. An attack was accordingly made and supported with great intrepidity; but so masterly was the conduct of prince Lichtenstein, and so obstinate the courage of the Austrians, that the assailants were compelled to retire, after a bloody contest of nine hours, leaving six thousand men dead on the field, and about an equal number wounded.

Soon after this disaster, Don Philip and his associates received intelligence of an event which threw them into new perplexity; namely, the death of Philip V. of Spain. Weak, but virtuous, he was governed successively by two ambitious women, who infused fresh spirit into the Spanish councils, and roused him, notwithstanding his natural indolence, to the most vigorous measures and most arduous enterprises. The first prince of the house of Bourbon, who sat upon the Spanish throne, under his reign, the slumbering genius of the nation began to revive, and with it the splendour of the monarchy. He was succeeded by his son Ferdinand VI. who at first embraced with ardour the principles of the union between the two branches of the house of Bourbon, and resolved steadily to pursue the objects for which that union had been formed by Elizabeth Farnese, the queen-dowager, who still directed the councils of Madrid.

Don Philip and Maillebois, however, ignorant of the sentiments of the new king in regard to the Italian war, and hard pressed by the allies, were desirous of securing a communication with France. A retreat was accord-

⁽¹⁾ *Mém. de Noailles*, tom. iv. And he would have ordered that general to be arrested, had his heat not been moderated by the count de Gages, who commanded under him. *Id. ibid.*

ingly agreed upon. This was thought a desperate expedient, as the king of Sardinia had now joined the Austrian army, and assumed the chief command. But without the assurance of immediate support, it was perhaps the best that could be adopted in such circumstances, as the French and Spaniards were in danger of being shut up between the Po, the Lambro, the Tidona, and the Trebbia, by a vastly superior and victorious force.

The retreat was conducted with great ability by the count de Maillebois, son of the mareschal of that name. He led the van, and his father and the count de Gages brought up the rear; yet could they not prevent the king of Sardinia from attacking them to advantage at Rotto Fredo, where they behaved with great gallantry, but sustained a severe loss. The surrender of Placenza, which was defended by four thousand men, under the marquis de Castello, was the consequence of this victory.

The Piedmontese and Austrians, conducted by the king of Sardinia, assisted by the generals Botta and Brown (prince Lichtenstein having been obliged to retire on account of his ill state of health) now advanced, to Tortona, which was surrendered to them, while the French and Spaniards took shelter under the cannon of Genoa. Here it was expected they would have made a stand, as that city, by its situation, is very capable of defence. But the marquis de las Minas, who had succeeded the count de Gages in the command under Don Philip, did not judge it prudent to hazard the loss of the remains of the Spanish army. Maillebois concurred in his opinion, so that the Genoese, after repeated assurances of support, were abandoned to their fate. Don Philip retired toward Savoy, which was still in his possession, and Maillebois into Provence.

The retreat of the French and Spaniards was immediately followed by the surrender of Genoa. That haughty republic was subjected to the most humiliating conditions, and the proud city loaded with oppressive and arbitrary contributions. The arrogance and rapacity of Botta, the Austrian general, to whom the command of the place was committed, exceeded all description. And he was encouraged in his tyrannical proceedings by the court of Vienna; which, deaf to the supplications of a distressed people, seemed determined to reduce the Genoese to the lowest state of wretchedness. His most cruel exactions, and even those of Coteck, the commissary-general, who surpassed him in rapacity, were thought too mild and moderate.

The Austrian and Piedmontese armies having now no enemy to encounter, the commanders were employed, for a time, in deliberating toward what quarter they should turn their arms. Botta, who knew how much the heart of his mistress was set upon recovering Naples, proposed that the Genoese should be compelled to furnish transports for invading that kingdom. And had such invasion been instantly undertaken, it could not have failed of success, as the king of Naples had few regular troops beside those in the army of Don Philip.

The consequences of such a conquest to Great Britain would have been of the utmost importance. Spain in that event, would have been under the necessity of deserting France, and concluding a separate peace. And she would have been obliged to purchase it with the sacrifice of her most valuable commercial interests, by giving up her exclusive right to the trade of her American dominions. The two great branches of the house of Bourbon would have been disunited; and England and Austria would have given law to France, after having obtained their own conditions from the Catholic king. (1)

But the king of Sardinia had other interests to manage. He desired nothing less than to see the house of Austria all-powerful in Italy. He therefore persuaded the court of London, which held the purse, and consequently took the lead, in the course of a long and expensive war, That it would be more advantageous to the common cause to invade France; and that by the co-operation of the British fleet, not only Antibes, but Toulon and Marseilles, might speedily be reduced. The consent of the court of

(1) *Mem. de Noailles, tom. iv. Memoire sur les Affaires d'Italie.*

Vienna was obtained, and count Brown entered Provence at the head of fifty thousand men. Advancing as far as Draguignan, he laid the whole country under contribution; while baron Roth invested Antibes, which was at the same time bombarded by a British squadron, under vice-admiral Medley. But the *maréchal de Belleisle*, a man fruitful in resources, and intimately acquainted with the whole science of war, having succeeded *Maillebois* in the command of the French army, so effectually cut off the provisions of the invaders, and otherwise harassed them, that the Austrian general, though able, active, and enterprising, found himself under the necessity of repossessing the Var; and the siege of Antibes was relinquished, after many fruitless efforts both by sea and land, the place being gallantly defended by the *chevalier de Sade*.

The utter failure of this expedition was partly owing to a very singular change of fortune in Italy. The inhabitants of Genoa, driven to despair by the oppressions of the Austrians, had risen against their conquerors, and expelled them. Though degenerate even to a proverb, they seemed inspired with all their ancient spirit of liberty, when they felt the galling fetters of slavery, and resolved to attempt the recovery of that freedom which they had wanted valour to defend. Secretly encouraged in this bold purpose by some of the senators, who also directed their measures, they flew to arms, determined to perish to a man, rather than live any longer in such a cruel and ignominious servitude. And so firm was their perseverance in this resolution, and so vigorous the impulse by which they were actuated, that the *marquis de Botta*, after having sustained great loss, in a variety of struggles, and been driven from every important post, was obliged finally to evacuate the city. Nor did the patriotic zeal of the Genoese stop here: they took the most effectual steps for their future security, conscious that they were still surrounded by their oppressors.

The naval transactions of this year do little honour to the British flag. Nothing of any importance happened in the West Indies. In the East Indies, commodore Peyton, who commanded six stout ships, shamefully declined a second engagement with a French squadron of equal or inferior force; and *la Bourdonnais*, the French commander, in consequence of Peyton's cowardice, made himself master of the English settlement at Madras, on the coast of Coromandel. No event of any consequence happened on the coast of North America, though the campaign in that quarter seemed big with the greatest revolutions.

The British ministry, encouraged by the taking of Louisbourg, and the consequent conquest of the island of Cape Breton, had projected the reduction of Québec, the capital of Canada, or New France, situated on the river St. Laurence, and accessible to ships of the greatest force. Intelligence to this purpose was accordingly sent to the governors of the English colonies in North America, and a body of provincial troops were raised, in order to favour the attempt. Six regiments were prepared for embarkation at Portsmouth, and every thing seemed to promise success. But the sailing of the fleet and transports was postponed, by unaccountable delays till the season of action in those climates was past. A new direction was therefore given to the enterprise, that the armament might not seem altogether useless to the nation. A descent was made on the coast of France, in hopes of surprising Port l'Orient, the repository of the stores belonging to the French East India company. But this project also failed; though not without alarming the enemy, and shewing the possibility of hurting France in her very vitals, by means of such an armament, if well appointed and vigorously conducted. *Lestock*, who commanded the fleet, did not properly second the efforts of the army; which being beside destitute of heavy cannon, could make no impression on the place.⁽¹⁾

The French miscarried in an enterprise of a similar nature, and of equal magnitude. A formidable armament was prepared at Brest for the recovery of Cape Breton, and the reduction of the English settlement of Annapolis.

(1) *Contin. of Rapin*, vol. ix. *Smollett*, vol. xi.

It consisted of near forty ships of war, eleven of which were of the line; two artillery ships; and fifty-six transports, laden with provisions and military stores, and carrying three thousand five hundred land forces, and forty thousand stand of small arms, for the use of the Canadians and Indians in the French interest, who were expected to co-operate with the troops. The fleet sailed in June, but did not reach the coast of Nova Scotia till the beginning of September. A dreadful mortality prevailed on board the transports; and the whole fleet was attacked by furious and repeated storms, and either wrecked or dispersed. D'Anville, the admiral, made his way with a few ships to Quebec; while de la Jonquier, who commanded the land-forces, and had boasted that he would subdue all the English settlements on the continent of America, finding his men reduced to a handful, returned to France without attempting any thing.⁽¹⁾

The court of Versailles having discovered a seeming desire of peace, a congress was opened at Breda, toward the close of the campaign; but the French were so insolent in their demands, that the conferences were soon broken off, and all parties prepared for war with an increase of vigour and animosity. The States-general, who had hitherto acted a shamefully timid and disingenuous part, more hurtful than beneficial to the cause they pretended to aid, now become seriously sensible of their danger, and of the necessity of a closer alliance with the courts of London and Vienna, or of throwing themselves into the arms of France, resolved to take effectual measures for opposing the designs of that powerful and ambitious neighbour. With this view, they engaged to augment their quota of troops, in the Netherlands, to forty thousand: the king of Great Britain agreed to furnish an equal number; and the empress-queen, supported by British money, promised to send sixty thousand Austrians to act in conjunction with them. Beside this grand army, intended to set bounds to the conquests of Lewis XV. an army of ninety thousand Austrians and Piedmontese, under the king of Sardinia, another sovereign in British pay, was to enter Provence, while a smaller body should keep the king of Naples in awe.

Nor was the house of Bourbon unprepared for such a competition. The king of France had ordered an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men to be assembled in the Netherlands; and, in order to give greater firmness to this immense force, he renewed in the person of mareschal Saxe the title of *Mareschal de Camp Generale*, which had been conferred on the famous Turenne, and which gave him a superiority over all the mareschals of France, and even princes of the blood. The Spanish army, under Don Philip in Savoy, was considerably augmented, and sixty thousand French troops were appointed to act in Provence. A final trial of strength seemed resolved on by all parties.

The grand army of the confederates took the field, in three bodies, toward the end of March. The duke of Cumberland, with the British troops, Hanoverians, and Hessians, fixed his head quarters at Tilberg, in Dutch Brabant; the prince of Waldeck, with the troops of the States-general, was posted at Breda; and mareschal Bathiani assembled the Austrians and Bavarians in the neighbourhood of Venlo. The whole army, which amounted to an hundred and twenty thousand men, lay inactive for six weeks, exposed to the inclemency of the weather, and almost destitute of forage and provisions; while mareschal Saxe, sensible that the first care of a general is the health of his soldiers, kept his troops warm within their cantonments at Bruges, Antwerp, and Brussels, furnished with plenty of every thing, and under no necessity of encountering unavailing fatigues. The inactivity, which is said to have been occasioned by the negligence of the Dutch and Austrian commissaries, deprived the confederates of all the advantages they had promised themselves from an early campaign, beside damping the ardour of the troops, and weakening them by sickness.

Meanwhile, mareschal Saxe, having settled with the French ministry the plan of operations, took the field at the head of a prodigious army; and im-

(1) Millot. Voltaire.

mediately detached count Lowendahl, with twenty-seven thousand men to invade Dutch Brabant. At the same time, the French minister at the Hague presented a memorial to the States, in the name of his master, notifying, That his Most Christian Majesty, in thus entering the territories of the republic (a step to which he was forced by the necessity of war) had no design of coming to a rupture with their High Mightinesses. He meant only to obviate the dangerous effects of the protection they afforded to the troops of the queen of Hungary and the king of England; that he had accordingly enjoined the commander of his troops to observe the strictest discipline, and on no account to offer any disturbance to the religion, government, or commerce of the republic. And he concluded with declaring, That he would consider the places and countries he should be obliged to take possession of for his own security, merely as a pledge, which he promised to restore, as soon as the United Provinces should give convincing proofs that they would no longer assist the enemies of his crown.

While the States-general were deliberating on this memorial, which was chiefly intended to amuse the Dutch populace, Lowendahl made himself master of Sluys, Sandburg, Hulst, and many other fortified places of no small importance; the confederates, though reinforced with seven thousand British troops, not daring to oppose his progress. They were obliged by their position to cover Breda and Boisleduc; and all their motions were jealously watched by mareschal Saxe, who covered Antwerp, and the other French conquests in the Low Countries, with an hundred and twenty thousand men.⁽¹⁾ Thus secure, Lowendahl pushed his conquests in Dutch Brabant; and having taken possession of Axel and Terneuse, was making preparations for a descent upon Zealand, when a British squadron defeated his purpose, and a revolution in the government of Holland made a retreat necessary.

Struck with consternation at the progress of the French arms, the inhabitants of the United Provinces, believing themselves betrayed by their rulers, clamoured loudly against the ministry of the Republic. The friends of the prince of Orange did not neglect so favourable an opportunity of promoting his interest. They encouraged the discontents of the people; they exaggerated the public danger; they reminded their countrymen of the year 1672, when Lewis XIV. was at the gates of Amsterdam, and the republic was saved by the election of a stadtholder. And they exhorted their fellow citizens to turn their eyes on William Henry Frizo, the lineal descendant of those heroes, who had established the liberty and independency of the United Provinces; extolling his virtues and talents, his ability, generosity, justice, and unshaken love of his country.

Inflamed by such representations, and their apparently desperate situation, the people rose in many places, and compelled their magistrates to declare the prince of Orange stadtholder; a dignity which had been laid aside since the death of William III. His popularity daily increased; and at last, after being elected by several particular provinces, he was appointed, in the general assembly of the States, "Stadtholder, captain general, and admiral "in chief of all the United Provinces."

On that occasion, count Bentinck, who introduced the new stadtholder, addressed the States-general in the following words:—"I doubt not but "the prince I have the honour to present to you, will tread in the steps of "his glorious ancestors: will heartily concur with us in delivering from "danger the republic now invaded, and preserve us from the yoke of a "treacherous and deceitful neighbour, who makes a jest of good faith, honour, "and the most solemn treaties."⁽²⁾

The beneficial effects of this revolution to the common cause of the confederates soon appeared in several vigorous measures. The States-general immediately gave orders, That no provisions or warlike stores should be exported out of their dominions, except for the use of the allied army; that a fleet should be equipped, and the militia regularly armed and disciplined.

(1) *Mém. de Saxe*.

(2) *Contin. of Rapin*, vol. ix.

They sent agents to several German courts, in order to treat for the hire of thirty thousand additional troops to their army: a council of war was established, for enquiring into the conduct of the governors who had given up the frontier-towns; and orders were issued for commencing hostilities against the subjects of France, both by sea and land, though without any formal declaration of war.

During all these transactions the duke of Cumberland lay inactive, over-awed by the superior generalship, rather than the superior force, of the French commander, who still continued to watch him. At length the king of France arrived at Brussels, and it was resolved to undertake the siege of Maestricht. With that view mareschal Saxe, having called in his detachments, advanced towards Louvain; and the confederates, perceiving his design, endeavoured by forced marches to get possession of the heights of Herdeeren, an advantageous post in the neighbourhood of the threatened city. But in this they were disappointed. The enemy had occupied the post before their arrival, and was preparing to rush down upon them, in order to get between their march and Maestricht, by turning their left wing. An engagement was therefore unavoidable. The duke of Cumberland, therefore, disposed his army in order of battle, on the evening of the 30th of June; and very judiciously directed some regiments of British infantry, during the night, to take possession of the village of Val in the front of his left wing, which extended to Wirle, within a few miles of Maestricht, and was composed of English, Hessians, and Hanoverians. The Austrians, under mareschal Bathiani, who lay at Bilsen, composed the right of the confederate army; and the Dutch, under the prince of Waldeck, occupied the centre.

Matters being thus prepared, both armies waited with impatience the approach of morning. As soon as it was light, the French cavalry made a great shew upon the heights of Herdeeren, in order to conceal the motions of their infantry; which appeared, soon after, coming down into the plain, through a valley between the hills near Rempert, formed in a vast column, of nine or ten battalions in front and as many deep, and bearing directly on the village of Val. They suffered severely, in their approach, from the artillery of the confederates; and the British musquetry saluted them with so warm a fire, that the front of the column was broken and dispersed. Not discouraged by this repulse, fresh battalions continued to advance to the attack, with wonderful alacrity and perseverance; so that the British troops in Val, overpowered by numbers, and exhausted with fatigue, were at last obliged to give way. Being, however, opportunely supported by three fresh regiments, they recovered their footing in the village, and drove out the enemy with great slaughter. The battle now wore so favourable an aspect, that the duke of Cumberland ordered the action to be made general, and victory seemed ready to declare for the confederates, when certain unforeseen circumstances disappointed their hopes.

The motion of the Austrians under Bathiani, on the right wing of the allied army, was so slow as to be equal to an almost total inaction; (1) so that mareschal Saxe, apprehending no danger from that quarter, was able to turn the whole weight of the French army against the village of Val, and not only finally to regain possession of it, after it had been three times lost and won, but to break entirely the left wing of the confederates, in spite of all the efforts of the duke of Cumberland, who exerted himself with great courage, and no inconsiderable share of conduct. The Dutch, in the centre, instead of supporting the broken wing, fell back in disorder, and overthrew, in their flight, five Austrian battalions that were advancing slowly to the

(1) This inaction of the Austrian general is said to have been occasioned by the following circumstance. On the eve of the battle, when a French detachment only was supposed to have occupied the heights of Herdeeren, mareschal Bathiani asked permission of the duke of Cumberland, to attack the enemy before they were reinforced, declaring he would answer for the success of the enterprise. The duke, instead of acceding to the proposal, asked him, by way of reply, where he should be found, in case he was wanted. "I shall always be found," said Bathiani, "at the head of my troops!" and retired in disgust.

charge. The French followed their blow; and having totally routed the centre, divided the right wing of the allied army from the left. At this dangerous crisis, when marshal Saxe hoped to cut off the retreat of the confederates, and even to make the duke of Cumberland his captive, sir John Ligonier, who commanded the British cavalry, rushed at the head of three regiments of dragoons, and some squadrons of heavy horse, upon the victorious enemy. He bore down every thing before him; and although he was himself taken prisoner, by pursuing too far, he procured the duke of Cumberland time to collect his scattered forces, and to retire without molestation to Maestricht. The confederates lost about five, and the French near ten thousand men. (1)

Such was the obstinate and bloody, but partial battle of Val, or Laffeldt, in which the British troops distinguished themselves greatly: and, if properly supported, would have gained a complete victory. Hence the *bon mot* of Lewis XV. that "the English not only ~~lost~~ all, but fought all!"—The action was followed by no important consequences. The duke of Cumberland, having reinforced the garrison of Maestricht, passed the Maese, in the neighbourhood of that city, and extended his army toward Vist, in the duchy of Limberg. The French army remained at Tongres, near the field of battle; and marshal Saxe, after amusing the confederates for a while, with various and contracting movements, suddenly detached count Lowendahl, with thirty thousand men, to invest Bergen-op-Zoom, the strongest fortification in Dutch Brabant, and the favourite work of the famous Cohorn.

This place had never been taken, and was generally deemed impregnable; as, beside its great natural and artificial strength, it can at all times be supplied with ammunition and provisions, in spite of the besiegers, by means of two canals, called the Old and New Harbour, which communicate with the Scheldt, and are navigable every tide. It was defended by a garrison of three thousand men, under the prince of Hesse Philipstal, when Lowendahl sat down before it; and the prince of Saxe Hildburghausen, who was sent to its relief, with an army of twenty battalions and fourteen squadrons, took possession of the lines belonging to the fortification, and from which the garrison could be reinforced on the shortest notice. As soon as the trenches were opened, old baron Cronstrom, governor of Dutch Brabant, assumed the command in the town, and preparations were made for the most vigorous defence. Meanwhile Lowendahl conducted his operations with great judgment and spirit; and although he lost a number of men, in his approaches, by the warm and unremitting fire of the garrison, he was so effectually and speedily reinforced, by detachments of the army under marshal Saxe, that he began very early to have hopes of success. He was even attempting to storm two of the out-forts, when lord John Murray's regiment of Scottish Highlanders, by a desperate sally, beat off the assailants, and burnt some of their principal batteries. Other sallies were made with effect; mines were sprung on both sides, and every instrument of destruction employed, for the space of six weeks after this repulse. Nothing was to be seen but fire and smoke, nothing heard but the perpetual roar of bombs and cannon; the town was laid in ashes, the trenches were filled with carnage!—And the fate of Bergen-op-Zoom, on which the eyes of all Europe were fixed, seemed still doubtful, as the works were yet in a great measure entire, when Lowendahl boldly carried it by assault.

That experienced general, and great master in the art of reducing fortified places, having observed a ravelin, and two bastions somewhat damaged, resolved to storm all three at once. As the breaches were not such as could be deemed practicable, the governor had taken no precaution against an assault: and that very circumstance induced Lowendahl, presuming on such negligence, to hazard the attempt. He accordingly assembled his troops in the dead of night; when the ordinary centinels only were on duty, and the greater part of the garrison was buried in security and repose. The assault was made at four in the morning, by the French grenadiers, who threw them-

(1) *Contin. of Rapin, ubi sup. London Gazette, July 2, 1747.*

elves into the fosse, mounted the breaches, forced open a sally-port, and entered the place almost without resistance. The Highlanders however assembled in the market-place, and fought like furies, till two-thirds of them were cut in pieces. But that was the only opposition the assailants met with. The troops in the lines instantly disappeared; all the forts in the neighbourhood surrendered; and the French became masters of the whole navigation of the Scheldt.(1)

The news of this event occasioned great surprise at London, and threw the United Provinces into the utmost consternation. The joy of the French was proportionally great. Lewis XV. no sooner received intelligence of the taking of Bergen-op-Zoom, than he promoted count Lowendahl to the rank of a mareschal of France; and having appointed count Saxe governor of the conquered Netherlands, he returned in triumph to Versailles. "The peace," said the penetrating and victorious governor, "lies in Maestricht!"(2)—But the siege of that important place being reserved for next campaign, both the French and the allies were in winter-quarters, without engaging in any new enterprise.

Fortunately for the confederates, the French were not equally successful on the frontiers of Italy, during this campaign; although the mareschal de Belleisle, early in the season, saw himself at the head of a powerful army in Provence, which threatened to carry every thing before it. He passed the Var, in the month of April, and took possession of Nice. He reduced Montalban, Villafranca, and Ventimiglia almost without resistance, and obliged the Austrians, under count Brown, to retire toward Finale and Savona. Nor were these the most important consequences of his expedition.

The court of Vienna, enraged at the revolt of the Genoese, was resolved to reduce them again to subjection, and severely to chastise the capital of the republic. Count Schuylenberg, who had succeeded the marquis de Botta in the chief command of Italy, was accordingly ordered to invest Genoa, with a powerful army of Austrians and Piedmontese. Meanwhile the king of France, sensible of the importance of that city to the cause of the house of Bourbon, had remitted large sums, in order to enable the inhabitants to put it in a posture of defence; and, beside engineers and officers to discipline the troops of the republic, he sent thither a body of four thousand five hundred men, under the duke de Boufflers, for the greater security of the place, and to animate the Genoese to a bold resistance. The design took effect. The citizens of Genoa resolved to perish rather than again submit to the Austrians. But the force sent against them made their fate very doubtful.

Schuylenberg assembled his army in the duchy of Milan, in the month of January; and having forced the passage of the Bochetta, entered the territories of Genoa, and appeared before the capital at the head of forty thousand men. As the inhabitants obstinately refused to lay down their arms, and even treated with derision the proposal made them of submitting to the clemency of the court of Vienna, the place was regularly invested; and although the Genoese behaved with great spirit in several sallies, animated by the example of the French troops under the duke of Boufflers, the Austrian general conducted his operations with so much skill, vigour, and intrepidity, that he must at last have accomplished his enterprise, had not his attention been diverted to another quarter. Alarmed at the progress of the mareschal de Belleisle, the king of Sardinia and count Brown represented to Schuylenberg the necessity of raising the siege of Genoa, in order to cover Piedmont and Lombardy. He accordingly drew off his army, and joined his Sardinian majesty, to the great joy of the Genoese; who, in revenge of the injuries they had suffered, ravaged the duchies of Parma and Placenza.(3)

The apprehensions of the king of Sardinia for his hereditary dominions were by no means groundless. While the mareschal de Belleisle lay at Ventimiglia, his brother, the chevalier, attempted to penetrate into Piedmont, by

(1) Voltaire. Millot. Smollett.

(2) *Mém. de Saxe.*

(3) *Mém. de Noailles*, tom. iv. *Contin. of Rapis*, vol. ix.

the way of Dauphiny, at the head of thirty thousand French and Spaniards, emulous of glory under so gallant a leader. When he arrived at the Pass of Exilles, a strong post on the north side of the river Doria, he found fourteen battalions of Piedmontese and Austrians waiting for him, behind ramparts of wood and stone, lined with artillery : and all the passes of the Alps were secured by detachments of the same troops. Not discouraged by these obduracy. But he was repulsed with loss in three successive assaults ; and being determined to perish rather than survive a miscarriage, he seized a pair of colours, and advancing at the head of his troops, through an incessant fire, planted them with his own hand on the enemy's battlements. (1) At that instant he fell dead, having received the thrust of a bayonet and two musket balls in his body. Many other officers of distinction were killed ; and the survivors, discouraged by the loss of their brave commander, retired with precipitation, leaving behind them above five thousand slain.

The marshal de Belleisle was not long informed of his brother's fate, than he retreated toward the Var, in order to join the unfortunate army from Exilles. About the same time, the king of Sardinia, having assembled an army of seventy thousand men, threatened Dauphiny with an invasion. But excessive rains prevented the execution of the enterprise, and the campaign was closed without any other memorable event.

The naval transactions of this year were more favourable to Great Britain than those of any other during the war. Her success was great almost beyond example, but more advantageous than glorious, as she had a manifest superiority of force in every engagement. The English fleet under the admirals Anson and Warren, consisting of eleven sail of the line, three ships of fifty, and one of forty guns, fell in with a French fleet of six sail of the line, in the beginning of May, off Cape Finisterre. The French fleet was commanded by the marquis de la Jonquiere and Mons. St. George, having under their convoy thirty ships laden with stores and merchandise, bound for America and the East Indies. The battle began about four in the afternoon : and although the French seamen and commanders behaved with singular courage, and discovered no want of conduct, six ships of war and four armed East Indiamen were taken. (2) About six weeks after this engagement, and nearly in the same latitude, commodore Fox fell in with a fleet of merchantmen, from St. Domingo, laden with the rich productions of that fertile island, and took forty-six of them.

Admiral Hawke was no less successful. He sailed from Plymouth in the beginning of August, with fourteen ships of the line, to intercept a fleet of French merchantmen bound for the West Indies. He cruised for some time off the coast of Brittany ; and at last the French fleet sailed from the isle of Aix, under convoy of nine ships of the line, besides frigates, commanded by Mons. de Letendour. On the 14th of October, the two squadrons came within sight of each other, about seven in the morning, in the latitude of Belleisle. By noon both were engaged. The battle lasted till night, when six French ships of the line had struck to the British flag. (3) The rest escaped under cover of the darkness ; having all maintained, with great obstinacy, a gallant but unequal fight.

These naval victories, which in a manner annihilated the French fleet, and the sailing of admiral Boscawen, with a strong squadron and a considerable body of land-forces, for the East Indies ; where it was conjectured he would not only recover Madras but reduce Pondicherry, disposed Lewis XV. seriously to think of peace, and even to listen to moderate terms, notwithstanding the great superiority of his arms in the Low Countries. Other causes

(1) Voltaire represents the chevalier de Belleisle as attempting to pull up the palisades with his teeth, after being wounded in both arms. This is a perfectly ludicrous image, and admitting to be true, utterly inconsistent with the dignity of history. But it is by no means uncommon, even with the best French writers, to excite laughter, when they attempt the sublime.

(2) *London Gazette*, May 18, 1747. *Contin. of Rapin*, vol. ix.

(3) *London Gazette*, Oct. 26, 1747.

conspired to the same effect. His finances were almost exhausted: the trade of his subjects was utterly ruined: and he could no longer depend upon supplies from the mines of Mexico and Peru, in the present low state of the French and Spanish navy. The success of his arms in Italy had fallen infinitely short of his expectation; and the republic of Genoa, though a necessary, was become an expensive ally. His views had been totally defeated in Germany, by the elevation of the grand duke to the Imperial throne, and the subsequent pacification between the houses of Austria, Bavaria, and Brandenburg. He was still victorious in the Netherlands: but the election of a Stadtholder, by uniting the former provinces general against him, left little hopes of future conquests in that quarter; especially as the British parliament, whose resources were yet copious, and whose liberality seemed to know no bounds, had enabled their sovereign to conclude a subsidiary treaty with the empress of Russia, who engaged to hold in readiness an army of thirty thousand men, and forty galleys, to be employed in the service of the confederates, on the first requisition.

Influenced by these considerations, the king of France made advances toward an accommodation both at London and the Hague; and all parties, the subsidiary powers excepted, being heartily tired of the war, it was agreed to open a new congress at Aix-la-Chapelle, as soon as the plenipotentiaries could receive their instructions.

In the mean time, vigorous preparations for war were made in every quarter; but the preliminaries of a general pacification were signed at Aix-la-Chapelle, and a cessation of arms took place, before any enterprise of consequence was undertaken, except the siege of Maestricht. Mareschal Saxe invested that important place in the beginning of April; and he concerted his measures with so much judgment, that Lowendahl was enabled to carry on his operations without interruption, though the army of the confederates, under the duke of Cumberland, to the number of an hundred and ten thousand men, lay in the immediate neighbourhood. The town was defended by twenty-four battalions of Dutch and Austrian troops commanded by baron d'Aylva, who opposed the besiegers with great skill and resolution. They prosecuted their approaches, however, with incredible ardour; and effected, at last, a lodgment in the covered way, after an obstinate dispute, in which they lost two thousand of their best troops. But they were dislodged next day, by the gallantry of the garrison, which acquired fresh courage from this success.

Such was the doubtful, and even unfavourable state of the siege of Maestricht, when intelligence arrived of the signing of the preliminaries, and orders for a cessation of arms. Yet was it agreed by the plenipotentiaries, "That for the glory of the arms of his Most Christian Majesty," the place should be immediately surrendered to his general, but restored, on the conclusion of the peace, with all its magazines and artillery. Mareschal Saxe accordingly took possession of Maestricht, while the garrison marched out with the customary honours of war.

But although the negotiation was thus far advanced in the beginning of summer, so many were the difficulties started by the plenipotentiaries of the different powers, that it was the month of October before matters could be finally settled. Meanwhile hostilities were carried on both in the East and West Indies; but no memorable event took place. Admiral Boscawen failed in an attempt to reduce the French settlement of Pondicherry, on the coast of Coromandel; and admiral Knowles, in an attack upon St. Jago de Cuba. Knowles, however, took port Lewis, on the south side of Hispaniola, and demolished the fortifications.⁽¹⁾ He also defeated, off the Havanna, a Spanish squadron of equal force with his own, and took one ship of the line. At length the definitive treaty was signed, and hostilities ceased in all quarters.

This treaty had for its basis a general confirmation of all preceding treaties, from that of Westphalia downward; and for its immediate object, as the means of a general pacification, a mutual restitution of all conquests

(1) *Contin. of Rapin. vol. ix.*

made since the beginning of the war, with a release of prisoners without ransom. The principal stipulations provide, That the duchies of Parma, Placenza, and Guastalla, shall be ceded, as a sovereignty, to the infant Don Philip, and the heirs male of his body; (but it was also stipulated, that, in case he or his descendants shall succeed to the crown of Spain or that of the Two Sicilies, or die without male issue, those territories shall return to the present possessors, the empress-queen of Hungary and the king of Sardinia, or their descendants :) that the subjects of his Britannic majesty shall enjoy the Assiento contract, with the privilege of the annual ship, during the reversionary term of four years, which has been suspended by the war; (but no mention was made of the right of English ships to navigate the American seas without being subject to search, though the indignation occasioned by the violation of that contested right had solely given rise to the war between Great Britain and Spain :) that all the contracting powers shall guarantee to his Prussian majesty the duchy of Silesia and the county of Glatz, as he now possesses them: and that such of the same powers as have guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction of the emperor Charles VI. for securing to his daughter, the present empress-queen of Hungary and Bohemia, the undivided succession of the house of Austria, shall renew their engagements in the most solemn manner, with the exception of the cessions made by this and former treaties.(1)

Such was the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, which has been so generally, and so unjustly censured by English writers, who ought rather to have censured the wanton war, and the wasteful and unskilful manner of conducting it. The peace was as good as the confederates had any right to expect. They had been, upon the whole, exceedingly unfortunate. They had never hazarded a battle, in the Netherlands, without sustaining a defeat; and there was no prospect of their being more successful, had they even been reinforced with the thirty thousand Russians hired, while the same generals commanded on both sides. But matters were so ill managed, that the Russians could not have joined them till the season of action would have been nearly over; and had they been ready more early, it is believed that the king of Prussia would have interposed, from a jealousy of the aggrandizement of the house of Austria, on whose embarrassments he depended for the quiet possession of his conquests. The resources of France were indeed nearly exhausted:—her navy was destroyed: and Lewis XV. made sacrifices proportioned to his necessities. But great as his necessities were, he could have continued the war another year; and the progress of his arms during one campaign, it was feared, might awe the Dutch into submission. A confederacy, always ill combined, would have been broken to pieces; and the hostile powers, left separately at the mercy of the house of Bourbon, must have acceded to worse conditions; or England must have hired new armies of mercenaries, to continue a ruinous continental war, in which she had properly no interest.

But although the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, all circumstances considered, cannot be deemed unfavourable to the confederates, or by any means an ill-timed measure, it must be lamented, that it was the necessary consequence of such a long and fruitless war—of a war, singular in the annals of mankind; by which, after a prodigious destruction of the human species, and a variety of turns of fortune, all parties (the king of Prussia excepted, whose selfish and temporizing policy it is impossible to justify) may be said to have been losers.(2)

This reflection more particularly strikes us, in contemplating the infa-

(1) *Articles of Peace. Contin. of Rapin, vol. ix.*

(2) The settlement, procured for Don Philip in Italy, might have been obtained on the death of the emperor Charles VI. if the house of Bourbon had confined its views merely to that object; and admitting that it could not, it was a very inadequate equivalent for the expenses and losses of the two branches of that house, by land and sea, during the course of the war. The king of Sardinia, after all his subsidies, and some cessions made to him, was a loser; and the queen of Hungary could have dictated better conditions in 1742, when the French were driven out of Bohemia, than she at last acceded to. Even the king of Prussia obtained no more than was ceded to him by the treaty of Breslaw, concluded the same year.

tuation of France and Great Britain: of the former, in lavishing such a quantity of blood and treasure, in order to give an emperor to Germany; and of the latter, in neglecting her most essential interests, in withdrawing her attention from Spanish America, and loading her subjects with an immense public debt, in order to preserve entire the succession of the house of Austria! but more especially the folly of both in continuing the war, for several years, after the object of it was lost on one side, and attained on the other. Nor can we, as Englishmen, in taking such a survey, help looking back, with peculiar regret, to the peaceful administration of sir Robert Walpole; when the commerce and manufactures of Great Britain flourished to so high a degree, that the balance of trade in her favour amounted, on an average, to the immense sum of forty millions sterling annually.(1)

Let us not however, my dear Philis, dwell wholly on the dark side of the picture. So great an influx of wealth, without any extraordinary expenditure, or call to bold enterprise, must soon have produced a total dissolution of manners; and the British nation, overwhelmed with luxury and effeminacy, might have sunk into an early decline. The martial spirit, which seemed to languish for want of exercise, was revived by the war. The English navy, which had been suffered to go to decay, was restored, and that of France ruined. This last advantage was, in itself, worth many millions of treasure: and it was eventually productive of a multitude of beneficial consequences. A desire of re-establishing their marine was one of the chief motives that induced the French ministry to grant such favourable conditions to the confederates at Aix-la-Chapelle; they having already formed the design, as will afterward more fully appear, of extending their settlements both in America and the East Indies.

LETTER XXXI.

France, Spain, and Great Britain, from the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle to the renewal of Hostilities in 1755, with a general View of the Disputes in the East Indies, and a particular Account of the Rise of the War in America.

THE few years of peace, that followed the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, were the most prosperous and happy that Europe had ever known. Arts and letters were successfully cultivated; manufactures and commerce flourished; society was highly polished; and the intercourse of mankind, of nations and of ranks, was rendered more facile and general than in any former period, by means of new roads, new vehicles, and new amusements. This was more especially the case in France and England, and between the people of the two rival kingdoms; who, forgetting past animosities, seemed only to contend for pre-eminence in gaiety, elegance, and mutual civilities.

That harmony, however, was disturbed for a time, by alarming tumults in England, and by a violent dispute between the clergy and the parliaments of France, which threatened a rebellion in the two kingdoms. But both subsided without any important or lasting consequence. The first were the effects of the wantonness of the common people of England, rioting in opulence and plenty, and not sufficiently restrained by a regular police: the second, the indication of a rising spirit of liberty among the more enlightened part of the French laity; as I shall have occasion to shew, in carrying forward the Progress of Society, where the particulars of the dispute will be mentioned.(2) Meanwhile, the two governments turned on one another a watchful eye; and a long season of tranquillity was expected from the awe with which one half of Europe seemed to inspire the other.

The French ministry had formed the plan of dispossessing the English of

(1) Chalmer's *Estimate*, p. 37.

(2) See *LET. XXXVI.*

their principal settlements both in America and the East Indies, or at least of considerably extending their own (as I have already had occasion to hint), when they concluded the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. In these ambitious projects they were encouraged by two able and enterprising men; by la Galissoniere, governor of Canada, and M. Duplex, governor of Pondicherry. But in order to insure success in such distant expeditions, it was necessary for France to restore her marine, and even to raise it, if possible, to a superiority over that of Great Britain. With this view, prodigious efforts were made: naval stores were imported from all the northern kingdoms; a great number of ships were built at Brest and Toulon; and contracts were entered into with different companies in Sweden, for building eighteen sail of the line.

But nothing is attended with so much expense as the raising or restoring a navy. The French finances, though recruiting fast, were not equal to the extraordinary drain. Repeated attempts were therefore made, by the leading men in France, to engage the court of Spain, whose American treasures were now got home in safety, to enter into their ambitious views; and proposals for a family-compact, such as has since been formed, were exhibited to the Spanish ministry, in 1753, by the duke de Duras, the French ambassador at the court of Madrid, under the direction of the duke de Noailles.

When the duke de Duras insisted on the importance of an union between the two crowns, he was told that such an union was already established by the treaty of Fontainebleau; an irrevocable family-compact, and to perfect which it was only necessary to cut off what related to last war. The duke de Duras was ignorant such a treaty existed, and Saint Contest, the French minister for foreign affairs, seemed inclined to keep him in the dark; but the duke de Noailles furnished him with a copy of it, accompanied with observations, which may be considered as the basis of that formidable family-compact which was afterward concluded. He maintained, that the treaty of Fontainebleau, almost all the articles of which related to the late war, and the execution of which, in many particulars (such as the recovery of the island of Minorca and the fortress of Gibraltar to Spain) had been rendered impossible by circumstances, was in a manner annulled by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle; that a true family-compact, such as it was equally the interest of France and Spain to contract for their mutual advantage, which should have for its objects the securing the two branches of the house of Bourbon on the two thrones, and the preservation of their dominions; the glory and greatness of both kingdoms; ought not only to be irrevocable, but independent of time and circumstances; to be affected neither by peace nor war.(1)

All the French intrigues, however, were defeated by the penetration, vigilance, and address of Mr. Keene, the British minister at Madrid, supported by the credit of the judicious and intelligent Mr. Wall, a gentleman of Irish extraction, who had long resided as Spanish ambassador at the court of London; and by the still more powerful influence of Farinelli the famous Italian singer, who entirely governed the queen, a princess of Portugal, whose ascendant over her husband was absolute and uncontrollable.(2)

The naturally pacific Ferdinand, though well affected toward the elder branch of his family, was thus induced to disregard all the splendid allurements of the court of Versailles, and all insinuations to the disadvantage of that of Great Britain, as insidious attempts to drag him into a new war. In answer to a memorial presented by the French ambassador, in 1754, on the subject of the family-compact, and accompanied with a letter, in which Lewis XV. mentions the patience, beyond measure, with which he had suffered the unjust proceedings of England for four years, the Catholic king declared, That he was sensible of the importance of the harmony between the two crowns, and between the two branches of the house of Bourbon; but having always an eye to the general tranquillity of Europe, and the jealousy which a formal compact would excite, he thought it the interest of

(1) *Mém. Politic. et Militaires, composés sur les Pièces Originales, recueillies par Adrien Maurice, duc de Noailles, maréchal de France, et Ministre d'Etat, par M. l'Abbé Millot, tom. iv.*

(2) *Id. ibid.*

two monarchies to avoid such a measure; and that the differences with England would be better composed, through the mediation of the allied powers, than by a threatening league.⁽¹⁾

Withdrawing his heart wholly from ambition, the Spanish monarch therefore placed all his glory in reviving commerce, and encouraging arts and manufactures, too long neglected among his subjects. He disgraced the marquis de la Encenada, his prime minister, for endeavouring, in conjunction with Elizabeth Farnese, the queen-dowager, to alter his measures; and Wall being placed at the head of the administration, the same wise and pacific measures were pursued during the subsequent part of the reign of Ferdinand VI.

The disgrace of Encenada, which happened when all things seemed ripe for a perpetual league between France and Spain, gave a fatal blow to the projects of the court of Versailles. But the French ministry had already gone too far, to be tamely forgiven by Great Britain. They were sensible of it; and as their navy was not yet in full force, they attempted, though too late, to disarm resentment, and conciliate favour, by an hypocritical appearance of moderation. Their views were obvious to all Europe. And when they found they could no longer deceive, or sooth the court of London, they attempted to intimidate it, by threatening the German dominions of George II. in hopes that the apprehension of this danger would make their encroachments in America be winked at, until they were in a condition to avow their purpose. But before we enter upon that subject, a variety of others must be discussed. A view must be taken of the state of the settlements of the rival powers in both extremities of the globe.

Though Madras was restored to the English East India company, and Louisbourg to the French monarchy, agreeable to the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, hostilities between the subjects of France and England could never be said properly to have ceased, either in North America or the East Indies. The taking of those two important places, and the ineffectual attempts to recover them, had irritated the spirit of the two nations. And plans were laid by each, as we have seen, during the latter years of the war, for the conquest of the principal settlements belonging to the other, both in the East Indies and in North America. But those plans proved abortive. And all such ambitious projects seem to have been relinquished on the part of Great Britain, at the peace; for although she gave up Louisbourg with reluctance, that reluctance proceeded less from any purpose of extending her possessions in North America, than from an apprehension of the injuries and inconveniences to which it would again expose her colonies, in case of a new war. The views of France were very different, when she, with no less reluctance, restored Madras to the English East India company.

M. Dupleix, governor of Pondicherry, having gallantly defended that place against the British armament under Bussy, in 1748, immediately conceived the great idea of advancing the interests of the French East India company, by acquiring for France large territorial possessions in the south of Asia; and even of making himself master, by degrees, of the whole peninsula of India Proper. On the two sides of that vast peninsula, which projects out into the sea to the extent of a thousand miles, and occupies the immense space between the widely-separated mouths of the Indus and the Ganges, the European companies have established many factories. The west side is called the Malabar, and the east the Coromandel coast. This extensive and fertile territory chiefly belongs to the Great Mogul. But the successors of Aurengzebe (the last of the descendants of Tamerlane, the illustrious Tartar conqueror of Indostan, who maintained with vigour supreme dominion in the East) had sunk into a state of indolence and effeminacy; and since the irruption of the famous Kouli Khan, in 1738, had possessed so little authority, that all the great officers of the crown were become in a manner independent princes. The Subahs, or Mahometan viceroys of provinces; the Nabobs, or governors of inferior districts; and even the Rajas,

(1) Nonilles, ubi supra.

or tributary Indian princes, now began to consider themselves as absolute sovereigns; paying to the Mogul emperors any homage they thought proper, and frequently making war on one another.

The better to carry his grand scheme into execution, Dupleix formed the project of making Subahs and Nabobs; and even of becoming a Nabob himself. In this project he was encouraged by his own situation and the circumstances of the times. The late war had brought a number of French troops to Pondicherry, and the state of affairs in India was highly propitious to his views.

The subahship of the Dekan, which extends from Cape Comorin almost to the Ganges, having become vacant in 1748, and being claimed by different competitors, Dupleix and his associates, after a series of bold enterprises and singular events, in which the intrepidity of the French, the abject condition of the natives, and the weakness and corruption of the court of Delhi, were equally conspicuous, disposed of it in 1750, in favour of Murzafa Jing, grandson of the late subah. Murzafa, who had gallantly disputed the viceroyalty with his uncle, Nazir Jing, was slain soon after in battle, and succeeded in the subahship of the Dekan by Sallabat Jing, another uncle; who being conducted by a body of French troops to Aurengabad, the capital of the province, there governed in security, under the protection of France, independent of the Great Mogul, to whose authority he bid defiance. Both this prince and his predecessor made liberal cessions to their European benefactors.

Before M. Dupleix had thus far succeeded in his plan, he was enabled to procure the nabobship of Arcot, in which Pondicherry is situated, for a man whose attachment and submission might be depended upon. The person singled out for that purpose was Chunda Saheb, son-in-law to a former nabob, whom he had hoped to succeed. But the court of Delhi disappointed his ambition, by bestowing the nabobship of Arcot upon Anawaradean Khan, an aged prince, whose fortune had undergone a variety of revolutions. Through the intrigues of Dupleix, however, and the assistance of French troops, Chunda Saheb vanquished his rival, who fell in battle, and obtained a grant of the disputed government from Murzafa Jing.

The new nabob vigorously supported the French in their usurpations. They became masters of an immense territory, extending six hundred miles along the coast of Oromandel. M. Dupleix had even the address to get himself appointed nabob of the Carnatic during the life of Chunda Saheb. And he and his associates in the east, encouraged in their ambitious views by the court of Versailles (though afterward timidly abandoned by it), proposed to obtain from the Great Mogul, or from the subah of the Dekan, a cession of the capital of the Portuguese settlements on the coast of Malabar, and to seize upon the whole country that lies, in a triangular form, between Masulipatam, Goa, and Cape Comorin. (1)

In the mean time, Mahommed Ally, son of the late nabob of Arcot, having taken shelter in Trichinopoly, a strong fortress still in his possession, implored the assistance of the English, with whom his father had lived in friendship. And, in order to induce them to espouse his cause, he represented that his interests and theirs were intimately connected; that their danger was common, as the French, if suffered to proceed in their conquests, would soon make themselves masters of all the Carnatic. He accordingly received a reinforcement under major Lawrence, a brave and experienced officer; and the enemy being compelled to retire from Trichinopoly, he went in person to Fort St. David, and entered into close alliance with the governor, in the name of the English East India company, to which he gave up some commercial points, of no small moment, that had been long disputed.

Mahommed Ally, in consideration of this alliance, received another reinforcement under captain Cope, and a third under captain Gingen. A num-

(1) These ambitious projects are owned by Voltaire, Raynal, and other French writers. And Mr. Orme, one of the most judicious English writers on the affairs of Indostan, imputes to M. Dupleix yet more extensive plans of dominion.

ber of actions took place, and with great diversity of fortune. Sometimes victory declared for the French, and sometimes for the English. But no decisive advantage had been gained before the campaign of 1751, when a great military character appeared on that theatre where he was afterward to make so distinguished a figure.

This was the famous Mr. Clive, who had gone out to Fort St. David as a writer, or accomptant, to the English East India company, and was at that time commissary to the army. He proposed to divide the French force, by attacking Arcot, the capital of the province of the same name, and the seat of the nabob. Being furnished, for that purpose, with one hundred and thirty European soldiers, he accordingly repaired to Madras; where receiving a small reinforcement, he happily accomplished his enterprise. Arcot was taken. But before the victor had leisure to secure his conquest, or to think of a retreat, he was besieged in the place, by a numerous army of French and Indians, under Raja Sahib, the son of Chunda Sahib.

The ruin of captain Clive and his brave associates seemed now inevitable; and the more timid began to represent it (as posterity certainly would, if it had taken place) as the natural consequence, and just punishment, of his presumptuous rashness. By his courage and conduct, however, he repelled all the efforts of the assailants; who, having suffered severely in many desperate attacks, were forced to relinquish their enterprise, after a vigorous siege of fifty days. (1) This defence is memorable in the annals of war. It was maintained with wonderful intrepidity and perseverance against greatly superior numbers, provided with skilful engineers, by a handful of men, under a young commander, in a great measure ignorant of the military science; but the resources suggested by whose genius were such, as would have been employed by the greatest masters in the art of defending fortified places.

Receiving soon after a reinforcement under captain Kirkpatrick, captain Clive pursued the enemy; and coming up with them in the plains of Arni, gained a complete victory, after an obstinate dispute of five hours. But this victory did not put an end to the war. The French, who were still powerful at Pondicherry, quickly assembled a new army, and took the field in conjunction with their allies, Sallabat Jing and Chunda Sahib. The English, who persevered in supporting Mahommed Ally, were joined by the Rajah of Tanjore, and other princes in their alliance. Major Lawrence assumed the chief command of the Company's troops; and captain Clive, who shared his confidence, acted under him, and continued to give fresh proofs of his military genius. The whole peninsula of India rung with the din of arms, and some of its finest provinces were laid waste. At length, after a variety of efforts, in which the advantage was generally in favour of the English, the French and their allies were effectually defeated; and Chunda Sahib being made prisoner by the Rajah of Tanjore, was put to death, cruelly, but politically, commanded his head to be struck off, to prevent future disputes.

In consequence of this success, the French were stripped of many of their late acquisitions. Mahommed Ally, the disputed nabob of Arcot; and the ambitious and enterprising Clive, who had been killed in 1754, a cessation of arms took place between the two nations, as a prelude to a treaty of peace. A conditional truce was negotiated, by which the French and English companies agreed to renounce all oriental government and dignity; nevertheless, that might arise between the princes of the country, and that such as were particularly stipulated to remain in the hands of the company, should be delivered up to the government of the country. These stipulations it is unnecessary to enumerate, as they were too numerous. Before this conditional treaty had received the sanction of the two companies in Europe, a new war between the two nations broke out in another quarter of the globe, and soon embroiled the whole world.

(1) Orme's *Hist. of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan*, book iii.

(2) *Ibid.*

The province of Nova Scotia in North America, to which the French gave the name of l'Acadie, was ceded to Great Britain, as we have seen, at the peace of Utrecht. But the soil being reputed barren, and the climate intensely cold, only a few English families settled in that much contended country, notwithstanding its advantageous situation for carrying on the fishing trade, and its abounding in naval stores; so that the French inhabitants, having taken the oath of allegiance to their new sovereign, continued to enjoy their possessions, their religion, and every other privilege, under the British government, which exacted from them neither rent nor taxes. As they were exempted from the obligation of carrying arms against the subjects of his Most Christian Majesty, they assumed to themselves the name of *Neutrals*. This peaceful character, which they were bound by every tie of honour and gratitude to maintain, they shamefully violated in 1746, when France attempted to regain possession of the country. Their conduct on that occasion, though not altogether hostile, was utterly inconsistent with their political situation, and sufficiently shewed the Necessity of peopling Nova Scotia with British subjects; as well to secure its dependence as a colony, as to render it of any benefit to the mother-country; the Neutrals being clandestinely supplied with French commodities from Canada and Cape Breton. (1)

The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, which left a number of men, belonging to the sea and land service, without employment, was highly favourable to such a project. The British ministry accordingly offered great encouragement to all soldiers, sailors, artificers, and reduced officers, who chose to settle in Nova Scotia. Beside large lots of land, proportioned to their rank in the army or navy, government engaged to pay the charge of their passage, to build them houses, to furnish them with all the necessary utensils for husbandry and the fishery, and to defray the expense of subsistence for the first year. In consequence of this liberality, about three thousand families, many of whom were German Protestants, embarked for Nova Scotia. The town of Halifax, intended as a naval and military station, in order to repress the encroachments of the French, was built, and the harbour strongly fortified.

Now it was that the disputes between France and England, concerning the limits of Nova Scotia (which had not hitherto been distinctly settled, by reason of its neglected condition), began to be hotly agitated by the commissaries of the two crowns. And new disputes, of still more importance, arose, relative to the boundaries of the British provinces to the southward, on which the French had attempted systematically to encroach. Their plan was to unite, by a chain of forts, Canada and Louisiana, their two extensive colonies, and to circumscribe the English colonies within that tract of country which lies between the Alleghany mountains and the sea. This matter will require some elucidation.

Though the British colonies had made few settlements beyond the Apalachian mountains, and were chiefly for the convenience of the Indian trade, the inhabitants had always considered the extent of their country toward the west as unlimited, as it had been settled before the French had so much extended their settlements in Louisiana. Nor did the people of the two Carolinas ever think of extending their plantations to the banks of the Mississippi, or of encroaching on the property of an European nation. But the jealousy of the Indians, who were apt to take any settlement in the back-country, as an invasion on that portion of their territory, which the ambition of the Europeans had still left them, and the determination to preserve, with the last drop of their blood, a state of savage nature, for the purposes of the chase, their favourite amusement, and, beside war, their sole occupation. Toward the north, the boundaries of the British colonies, those of Nova Scotia excepted, were better understood, as the province of Canada, on which they bordered, had been longer settled than Louisiana; yet on our northern colonies the French had made encroachments, and with impunity.

(1) *Contin. of Rapin, vol. ix.*
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In consequence of those encroachments, and others necessary to complete her ambitious plan, France would have enjoyed, in time of peace, the whole Indian trade, and the English colonies, in time of war, must have had a frontier of fifteen hundred miles to defend against blood-thirsty savages, conducted by French officers, and supported by disciplined troops. It was in effect to attempt the extinction of the British settlements. And yet, without such inter-communication between Canada and Louisiana as was projected, the French settlements, on the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence, could never, it was said, attain to any high degree of consequence or security; the navigation of the one river being at all seasons difficult, and that of the other blocked up with ice, during the winter months, so as to preclude exterior support or relief.

This scheme of usurpation, which is supposed to have long occupied the deliberations of the court of Versailles, was ardently embraced by De la Jonquiere, now commander-in-chief of the French forces in North America, and by la Galissoniere, a man of bold and enterprising spirit, who had been appointed governor of New France in 1747. By their joint efforts, in addition to those of their predecessors, forts were erected along the Great Lakes, which communicate with the River St. Lawrence, and also on the Ohio and the Mississippi. The vast chain was almost completed, from Québec to New Orleans, when the court of England, roused by repeated injuries, broke off the conferences relative to the limits of Nova Scotia.

These conferences had been artfully protracted and perplexed by the commissaries of the court of France. They wanted to confine the province of Nova Scotia solely to that peninsula, which is formed by the bay of Fundy, the Atlantic Ocean, and the Gulf of St. Lawrence; while the English commissaries made it extend to Pentagoet, to the west, and to the banks of the river St. Lawrence, on the north, and proved, by incontrovertible arguments, that these were its real boundaries; boundaries which the French themselves had marked out, when it was restored to them by treaty, under the name of l'Acadie, and particularly at the peace of Breda. (1)

During those unavailing disputes, the French were carrying on their encroachments in America, with great boldness, in different quarters. The rising settlement of Halifax, which they foresaw was intended as a bridle upon them, particularly excited their jealousy; and the active and vigilant governor of Canada, beside erecting several forts within the disputed limits of Nova Scotia, had instigated, first the Indians, and afterward the French Neutrals, to take up arms against the British government. Hostilities were likewise commenced on the banks of the Ohio, where the French surprised a fortified post of considerable importance, called Log's-town, which the Virginians had established for the conveniency of the Indian trade; and after pillaging its warehouses of skins and European goods to the amount of twenty thousand pounds, under pretence that it was within the government of New France, which comprehended in its jurisdiction both Canada and Louisiana, they murdered all the English inhabitants except two, who fortunately escaped to relate the melancholy tale. About the same time, M. de Don-tecœur, with a thousand men and eighteen pieces of cannon, embarked at Venango, a fort which the French had raised on the banks of the Ohio, and reduced another British post, established by the Virginians, on the forks of the Monongahela.

Certain intelligence of these hostilities having reached England, orders were sent to the governors of her colonies to drive the French from their usurpations in Nova Scotia; from their fortified posts upon the Ohio; and every where to oppose force to force. But fatal experience soon made the British ministry sensible of the great superiority of the military strength of their enemies in North America; a superiority arising from the original constitution of the colonies of the two rival kingdoms, and other concurring circumstances. The government of New France, being moved by one spring, was capable of more vigorous efforts than the powerful but separate go-

vernments belonging to Great Britain. The interests of the English colonies were often contradictory: they had frequent disputes with each other, concerning their boundaries; and the inhabitants (little habituated to arms, and divided by religious feuds,) were perpetually quarrelling with their governors, and disputing, on the most urgent as well as the most trivial occasions, the prerogatives of the crown or the rights of the proprietary, as their governments happened to be constituted; in one colony verging toward monarchy, in another bordering on democracy. This want of concert, which had often rendered our more wealthy and populous colonies inadequate to their own defence against a naturally inferior enemy, had long been lamented by the more enlightened part of the inhabitants, and was well understood by the French. (1) In order to remedy so palpable a political defect, two measures seemed necessary; namely, a confederacy among all the British governments on the continent of North America, and an alliance with the most considerable Indian nations in their neighbourhood.

As a preliminary step toward such a confederacy, the governor of New York, accompanied by deputies from the other colonies, gave a meeting to the Iroquois, or as they are commonly called, *The Indians of the Six Nations*, at Albany. But only a few of their chiefs attended; and it was evident that even those were much cooled in their affection to the English government. This change was occasioned by the powerful but secret influence of the French agents, who had lately employed every means to corrupt the savages. In order to counteract their intrigues with the Six Nations, valuable presents were made, in the name of his Britannic Majesty, to such of the Indian chiefs as had thought proper to attend; and liberal promises to the whole. They refused, however, "to take up the hatchet," their phrase for going to war. They could only be induced to declare, That they were willing to renew their treaties with the king of England, and hoped he would assist them in driving the French from the places they had usurped in the back country.

Encouraged even by so slight an indication of friendship, and the ardour of the people of the different colonies for war, a resolution was adopted by the general assembly at Albany, to support the British claims in every quarter of North America. In consequence of this resolution, major Washington, a provincial officer, was dispatched from Virginia, with four hundred men, to watch the motions of the enemy; and to recover, if opportunity should offer, the places they had taken upon the Ohio. Washington encamped on the banks of that river, where he threw up some works for his security, and hoped to be able at least to defend himself until he should receive a reinforcement, which was speedily expected from New York.

In the mean time, de Villier, the French commandant on the Monongahela, having in vain summoned Washington to abandon his post, marched up to his entrenchments at the head of eight hundred men, and attempted to carry the works by assault. But Washington defended himself with so much intrepidity, as to render all the efforts of the enemy abortive: and he obtained very honourable terms for himself and his detachment. It was agreed that both parties should retire; the English toward Will's Creek, and the French toward the river Monongahela. But scarce were the articles signed, when a fresh body of French and Indians appeared; and although, de Villier pretended to adhere to his engagements, he very patiently suffered the Indians to harass the English in their retreat, and even to plunder their baggage. (2)

No sooner did the courts of London and Versailles obtain intelligence of those violent proceedings, than both were made sensible that a rupture was now become inevitable. France continued to send reinforcements of men, and supplies of money and stores to Canada, for the prosecution of

(1) It was on this principle, and the military spirit of the French colonists, that the old and experienced duke de Noailles encouraged, by memorials, the court of Versailles in its ambitious projects in North America, though under colour of providing for the security of its own settlements. *Mém.* tom. iv.

(2) *Ibid.*

her ambitious projects ; and orders were sent, by Great Britain, to the governors of her several colonies to arm the militia, and use their utmost endeavours to repel the hostile attempts of the enemy, until troops could be embarked for their farther protection. But although prepared to cut with the sword the Gordian knot of a long and intricate negotiation, the ministers of the two kingdoms breathed nothing but peace ; and exchanged, in the name of their master, mutual professions of good will. At length, however, undoubted intelligence having been received in England, that a powerful armament, destined for America, was ready to sail from Brest and Rochfort, an end was put to dissimulation.

Roused at this information, the British government equipped, with all possible expedition, a fleet under the command of Boscawen, in order to watch the motions of the enemy ; and on the 27th of April, the English admiral, having taken on board two regiments of soldiers, sailed from Plymouth with eleven ships of the line, and one frigate. He directed his course to the banks of Newfoundland ; and, a few days after his arrival there, the French fleet from Brest, under the command of M. de la Mothe, came to the same latitude, in its passage to Quebec. But the thick fogs, which prevail on those banks, especially in the spring season, prevented the hostile fleets from seeing each other : so that part of the French fleet made its way immediately by the Gulf of St. Lawrence, to Quebec, whilst the other division passed through the dangerous Straits of Belleisle, and also reached the place of its destination. Two French ships, however, the Alcide and the Lys, the one of sixty-four, the other fifty-four guns, being separated in the fog from both divisions of the fleet, were taken off Cape Race, the most southerly point of the island of Newfoundland, by the Dunkirk and the Defiance, two sixty-gun ships of the English squadron, commanded by the captains Howe and Andrews.

Although the taking of these two ships, with which the war with France may be said to have commenced, fell greatly short of the expectations formed from the English armament, it served nevertheless to animate the nation. The people now saw, that government was determined to temporize no longer, but to repel with vigour the future encroachments of the French upon the British settlements in America, and also to chastise them for their past violences. Nor were the Americans wanting to themselves in exerting a proper spirit. The governor and assembly of Massachusetts's Bay, the chief of the New-England provinces, had passed an act toward the close of the year prohibiting all intercourse with the French at Louisbourg ; and, early in the spring, they raised a body of troops, which they sent to the assistance of Mr. Lawrence, governor of Nova Scotia, in order to enable him to complete the execution of a plan he had formed for driving the French from the posts they had usurped in that province. The enemy had foreseen this attempt, and made preparations to resist it, though without effect. A detachment of regulars and provincials, under lieutenant colonel Monckton, quickly reduced all the French forts, one after another, and restored perfect tranquillity to Nova Scotia.

The British arms were less successful in other quarters. While colonel Monckton was employed in reducing the French forts in Nova Scotia, preparation had been made in Virginia for attacking their posts upon the Ohio. The conduct of this expedition was committed to major-general Braddock, who had been sent from England for that purpose, early in the season, with two regiments of foot. After a mortifying delay of some months, occasioned by the contractors failing in their engagements, he passed the Allegany mountains at the head of two thousand two hundred men, and rapidly advanced toward Fort du Quesne, the chief object of his enterprise. Being informed, during his march, that the garrison of that fort, which had been lately built on the Ohio near its conflux with the Monongahela, expected a reinforcement of five hundred regular troops, he left colonel Dunbar, with eight hundred men, to bring up his heavy baggage, and proceeded with the main body, for the sake of greater expedition. But unfortunately, through this haste, he did not take sufficient care to reconnoitre the savage country,

with which he was as little acquainted as with the nature of an American war, where the danger of surprise is perpetual in woods, defiles, and morasses. And he was too proud to ask the advice of the provincial officers, for whom he entertained a sovereign contempt: although Hyde Park had hitherto been the only theatre of his own military experience, and the evolutions of a regiment of guards, at a review, his chief essays in arms.

In consequence of these unpropitious circumstances, partly arising from the haughty and obstinate character of the general, partly from his ignorance of the scene of war, and of the nature of the hostilities in which he was engaged, Braddock's enterprise terminated in awful misfortune. As he was advancing with careless confidence, and had arrived within ten miles of Fort du Quesne, he fell into an ambuscade of French and Indians, so artfully planted in a defile, that they could take an unerring aim from behind trees and bushes, without being themselves exposed to any danger. About noon a concealed fire began upon the front and left flank of the English army, which was by that time in the middle of the defile. The van-guard fell immediately back upon the centre; and the British troops being seized with a panic, from the unusual appearance and horrid shrieks of the savages who now shewed themselves, a total rout ensued. Braddock himself, however, seemed insensible to fear. Equally imprudent and intrepid, he resolutely maintained his station, instead of attempting a retreat, or bringing up his cannon to scour the thickets with grape-shot; and gave orders to the few gallant officers and soldiers, who remained about his person, to form and advance against the almost invisible enemy, whose every shot did execution. His obstinacy seemed only to increase with the danger by which he was pressed. At length, after having five horses killed under him, he was mortally wounded in the breast by a musket-ball. Sir Peter Halket, and many other brave officers, with about seven hundred private men, also were slain.⁽¹⁾

It is worthy of remark, that, in this action, the Virginians and other provincial troops, whom Braddock, by way of contempt, had placed in the rear, were so little affected with the panic that disordered the regulars, that they offered to advance against the enemy, till the fugitives could be brought back to the charge. But that was found impracticable; the terror of the two front regiments being so great, that they never stopped their flight till they met the rear-division, which was advancing under colonel Dunbar. All the artillery, baggage, ammunition, and provisions of the principal division, under Braddock, fell into the hands of the victors, together with his own cabinet, containing his official letters and instructions, of which the French court afterward made great use in their printed memorials and manifestoes.

Although no enemy pursued, the whole English army retreated to Fort Cumberland, near Will's Creek, in the back country of Virginia. And there it was expected to have continued during the latter part of the summer; but the chief command having devolved on general Shirley in consequence of the death of Braddock, he ordered all the troops fit for service to march to Albany, in the province of New York; Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, were therefore left, during the remainder of the year, exposed to the barbarous incursions of the French and their scalping Indians.

Those colonies were able to have provided effectually for their own defence, had they been unanimous in their measures. But the usual disputes, between their governors and assemblies, defeated every salutary plan proposed for that purpose. The northern colonies were less divided in their councils, and more active in their preparations for war. New York and New Jersey, following the example of New England had prohibited all intercourse with the French settlements in North America, at the same time that their assemblies voted very considerable supplies: and two expeditions were resolved upon; one against the French fort at Crown Point, the other against that at Niagara, both supposed to be built upon the British territories.

(1) *Mod. Univ. Hist.* ubi sup. Smollett, vol. xii. *Contin. of Rapin*, vol. ix.

The expedition against Crown Point was committed to the care of a gentleman since known by the name of sir William Johnson, a native of Ireland, who had long resided upon the Mohawk river, in the western parts of New York; where he had acquired a considerable estate, and was universally beloved, not only by the English inhabitants, but also by the neighbouring Indians, whose language he had acquired, and whose affections he had won by his humanity and affability. The expedition against Niagara was to be conducted by Shirley in person.

Albany was appointed as the rendezvous of the forces to compose both armaments, and most of the troops arrived there before the end of June. But by reason of the delay in bringing up the artillery, provisions, and other necessities for the expedition against Crown Point, general Johnson could not set out before the end of August. Shirley was sooner ready, though not before the melancholy news of Braddock's defeat had reached Albany. The influence of that intelligence on the spirit of the troops was altogether astonishing. A general damp hung over the whole; terror communicated itself from rank to rank, and many soldiers deserted: so that when Shirley arrived at Oswego, he had scarce the appearance of an army, instead of a force sufficient not only to secure the British settlements in those parts, but to reduce the strong fortress of Niagara, situated between the lakes Ontario and Erie, and the great key of communication between Canada and Louisiana. The attempt was therefore laid aside, as impracticable; and Shirley having marked out the foundations of two new forts in the neighbourhood of Oswego, which stands on the south-east side of lake Ontario, and augmented the garrison of that place to the number of seven hundred men, returned ingloriously to Albany with the wretched remnant of his army.(1)

In the mean time general Johnson, having advanced as far as lake George, on which he intended to embark, was unexpectedly attacked in his camp by the baron Dieskau, commander-in-chief of the French forces in Canada, at the head of two thousand men. And although the camp was both naturally and artificially strong, there is reason to believe that the French general might have forced it, if he had immediately stormed the English entrenchments. Fortunately, however, he ordered his troops to halt at the distance of about an hundred and fifty yards, whence they began their attack with platoon-firing, which was able to do little or no execution upon troops defended by a strong breast-work. The English, meanwhile, plied their great guns and musketry so warmly, that the central body of the enemy, composed of the French regulars, began to flag in their fire; and the Canadians and Indians, who formed the flanks of their army, squatted below bushes, or skulked behind trees. Encouraged by these favourable appearances, the English and their Indian allies leaped over the breastwork, and completed the discomfiture of the assailants. After killing many, and entirely dispersing the whole, they took several prisoners, among whom was Dieskau himself, an old and experienced officer, who was mortally wounded.(2) But this action, though decisive in favour of the English, was followed by no important consequences; as general Johnson did not think it prudent to pursue his victory, and it was found too late in the season to proceed to the attack of Crown Point.

Such was the termination of the first campaign in North America; which, all things considered, notwithstanding the defeat of Dieskau, and the expulsion of the French out of Nova Scotia, was estimated to the disadvantage of Great Britain. But that disadvantage was counterbalanced, in the opinion of the nation, by the great number of French merchants ships that had been captured during the summer. No sooner was intelligence brought of the taking of the Alcide and Lys, which it was thought would be considered by the court of Versailles as an indirect declaration of war, than an order was issued by the British ministry, to make prize of all French ships on the high seas, wherever they might be found. In consequence of that order,

(1) *Mod. Univ. Hist.* ubi sup. Smollett, vol. xii. *Contin. of Rapin*, vol. ix.

(2) *London Gazette*, Oct. 30, 1755.

above three hundred trading vessels belonging to France, many of which were very valuable, being laden with West India produce, and about eight thousand seamen, were brought into the ports of England, before the end of the year.(1)

Contrary to all political conjecture, the French made no reprisals. As this inaction could not be imputed to moderation, it was justly ascribed to a consciousness of their inferiority at sea, and a desire of interesting in their cause the other European powers. Stunned by the unexpected blow, that impaired their naval strength, and distressed the trading part of the kingdom, they were at a loss how to proceed; having always flattered themselves, that the anxiety of George II. for the safety of his German dominions, which they had for some time threatened, would prevent him from adopting any vigorous measures, notwithstanding their encroachments in America. But discovering at length their mistake, by the capture of their ships, and seeing no hopes of restitution, the court of Madrid having declined the dangerous office of mediator, they now resolved to put their threat in execution; and an army of two hundred thousand men, with their vicinity to the country to be invaded, seemed to promise the most brilliant success.

While the flames of war were thus breaking out between France and England, the southern parts of Europe were visited by a more dreadful calamity than even war itself. A violent earthquake, which shook all Spain, Portugal, and the neighbouring countries, threw the inhabitants into the utmost consternation, and laid the city of Lisbon in ruins. About ten thousand persons lost their lives; and many of the survivors, deprived of their habitations, and altogether destitute of the means of subsistence, were obliged to take up their abode in the open fields. But they were not suffered to perish. The British parliament, though pressed with new demands, generously voted one hundred thousand pounds sterling for the relief of the unhappy sufferers in Portugal. And this noble instance of public liberality was enhanced by the manner of conferring the benefit. A number of ships, laden with provision and clothing, were immediately dispatched for Lisbon; where they arrived so opportunely, as to preserve thousands from dying of hunger or cold.(2)

LETTER XXXII.

General View of the State of Europe in 1756, with an Account of the Operations of War, in all Parts of the World, till the Conquest of Hanover by the French, in 1757.

No sooner did France resolve to invade the electorate of Hanover, and the king of Great Britain to defend it, than both became sensible of the necessity of new alliances. Spain and Portugal seemed determined to remain neutral, and the States-general of the United Provinces politically pursued the same line of conduct. The German powers were less quietly disposed.

The court of Vienna, ever since the treaty of Breslaw, but more especially since that of Aix-la-Chapelle, had viewed the rising greatness of the king of Prussia with envious eyes. The empress-queen had never been reconciled to the loss of Silesia; one of the most fertile countries in Europe, and which yielded a clear annual revenue of four millions of dollars, to a rival whom she personally hated. She accordingly entered secretly into a league with the empress of Russia for the recovery of that fine province, and even for stripping the king of Prussia of his hereditary dominions. But this league, into which the king of Poland, as elector of Saxony, also was drawn, did not escape the vigilance of the penetrating Frederick. And time and circum-

(1) Smollett, vol. xii. *Contin. of Rapin*, ubi sup.

(2) *Id.* *Ibid.*

stances enabled him to break its force, before the scheme of his enemies was ripe for execution.

As soon as the king of Great Britain saw his German dominions seriously threatened by the French, who had already formed magazines in Westphalia, with the consent of the elector of Cologne, he applied to the court of Vienna for the troops which it was bound to furnish by treaty. But the empress-queen excused herself from fulfilling her engagements, under pretence that the war having originated in America, did not come within the terms of her treaty with the court of London. Thus disappointed by the Imperial court, as well as in his application to the States-general, his Britannic Majesty concluded a subsidiary treaty with the court of Petersburg; in consequence of which the empress of Russia engaged to hold in readiness, for his support, an army of fifty-five thousand men, on the frontiers of Lithuania, and to put them in motion on the first notice.

The treaty was perfectly agreeable to the court of Vienna, whose secret views it was calculated to promote; as it afforded the Russians a decent pretext for entering Germany, and even encouraged them to such a measure by a liberal subsidy. The two empresses, therefore, flattered themselves, that they should not only be able to accomplish their ambitious project, but to make Great Britain bear the expense of the execution of it. The ruin of the king of Prussia seemed inevitable to all the powers who expected to share in his dominions. His own sagacity, however, at once saved him from the machinations of his enemies, and gave a new turn to the politics of Europe. Though assured of the friendship of France, and acquainted with her views, he boldly declared, That he would oppose the introduction of foreign troops into the empire, under whatsoever pretence; and consider as enemies those who should attempt to introduce them.

The king of Great Britain, alarmed at this strong declaration, yet pleased with its professed object, the exclusion of foreign troops, concluded at Westminster, on that principle, a treaty with the king of Prussia; not doubting but he should still be able to preserve a good understanding with the courts of Vienna and Petersburg. But the house of Austria, forgetting its jealousy of the family of Bourbon, in its animosity against the Prussian monarch, not only entered into a league with France, along with Russia and Sweden, but partly gave up its barrier in the Netherlands, which had been acquired by torrents of British blood, and millions of British treasure, in order to cement more closely the unnatural confederacy. These new and singular alliances, signed at Versailles, necessarily drew tighter the bands of union between George II. and his nephew, the king of Prussia.

Meanwhile the people of Great Britain, having no confidence in their ministry, were seized with a shameful panic, notwithstanding their naval superiority, at the rumour of a French invasion. That panic was in some measure dissipated, by the arrival of a large body of Hanoverians and Hessians, for the protection of the kingdom. But new jealousies and fears arose, as soon as the alarm of the invasion subsided; the foreign troops being represented, by the dissatisfied part of the nation, as the most dangerous enemies of the state. The attention of the public was, however, called off from that object, for a time, by the news of the invasion of the island of Minorca by a French armament under the duke de Richelieu. This measure was immediately followed, on the part of Great Britain, by a declaration of war against France, which was answered by a counter-declaration from the court of Versailles.

The English populace, who in all great political contests may be said to direct the resolutions of the throne, were pleased with that indication of spirit in the government, as well as with the treaty with the king of Prussia; which was also approved by the parliament, and industriously represented by the court as essential to the support of the Protestant interest in Germany. But certain unfortunate events revived the clamour against the ministry, and increased the national despondency, for which there was but too much cause; the martial spirit of the people being almost extinct, and

the councils of the sovereign divided. These matters will require some explanation.

Various causes had contributed to the extinction of the martial spirit in Great Britain. The long peace that succeeded the treaty of Utrecht, the establishment of a standing army, and the consequent neglect of the militia, all had a tendency to estrange the people of England from the use of arms. The citizen having delivered his sword into the hands of the hireling soldier, cheerfully contributed to the expenses of government, and looked up for safety to a band of mercenaries, whom he considered as dangerous to public liberty.

That disinclination to arms, increased by a lucrative commerce, was encouraged by the court; which, during the whole reign of the first, and great part of that of the second George, was under perpetual alarm on account of the intrigues of the adherents of the house of Stuart. The war between Great Britain and Spain, which began in the year 1739, and afterward involved all Europe, revived, in some degree, a martial spirit in the British army and navy. But the body of the people of England, as appeared on the irruption of the Highlanders, in 1745, had relinquished all confidence in themselves. Being accustomed to pay for protection, though jealous of their very protectors, they trembled before a small body of desperate mountaineers.

Many motions were made in parliament, that the militia might be put on a respectable footing, for the general security of the kingdom. But the jealousy of government long prevented any effectual step being taken for that purpose; while the peace that followed the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, by relaxing still farther the manners of the nation, had made the people yet less warlike. And as the small standing army, widely dispersed over the extensive dominions of the empire, was evidently insufficient for its protection, the unarmed and undisciplined inhabitants of Great Britain were justly filled with terror and apprehension at the prospect of a French invasion.

In this extremity a militia-bill, on the same principles with the law now in force, was framed by the honourable Charles Townshend, and passed the House of Commons, but was rejected by the House of Peers. Thus deprived of the only constitutional means of defence, by a government that owes its existence to the suffrage of the people, and a family which reigns but by their voice, England submitted to the indignity of calling in foreign mercenaries, for her defence against an enemy who had often trembled at the shaking of her spear, and who was now more inferior than in any former period, in every naval and military resource.

That indignity was keenly felt by all orders of men in the state, and the national despondency, and the orderly behaviour of the foreign troops, only could have prevented a popular insurrection. The principal servants of the crown, on whom the public indignation chiefly fell, were severely blamed for exposing the kingdom to such an indelible disgrace. The ministry, indeed, had never been properly settled since the death of Mr. Pelham, in 1754. That minister, though sufficiently disposed to gratify his sovereign in his passion for German alliances and continental politics, was believed to be at bottom a sincere friend to his country, and to the liberties of the people. His brother the duke of Newcastle, who succeeded him as first commissioner of the treasury, and who was no less compliant to the court, possessed neither his virtues nor his talents; and Mr. Fox, who had lately been appointed secretary of state, and was considered as the ostensible minister, though a man of abilities, was supposed to be void of principle. He was besides very unpopular, as he had made the motion in the House of Commons for bringing over the Hanoverians and Hessians, instead of adopting any vigorous measure for internal defence.

The British ministry, however, were blamed for events which it was not altogether in their power to govern, distracted as they were by the national panic. And in order to increase that panic, as well as to conceal their design upon Minorca, the French had marched down large bodies of troops to their maritime provinces, contiguous to the coast of England. Nor were their naval preparations less formidable. Beside a great number of frigates and

flat-bottomed boats, which might be employed as transports, they had near forty ships of the line at Brest and other ports on the ocean. It was therefore judged prudent to keep a superior English fleet in the Channel; and as it was conjectured the French could not have above six or eight sail of the line at Toulon, an English squadron of only ten sail of the line, two ships of forty-eight guns, and three frigates, was sent into the Mediterranean.

The command of this squadron was given to admiral Byng, son of the celebrated naval officer of that name, who destroyed the Spanish fleet off Messina, in 1718. When Byng arrived at Gibraltar, where his squadron was augmented by an additional ship of the line, he learned that the French had already landed fifteen thousand men in the island of Minorca, and were besieging the castle of St. Philip, which commands the town and port of Mahon. Having on board a reinforcement for the garrison of that fortress, he immediately sailed for the place of his destination, after receiving a detachment from the garrison of Gibraltar. He was joined on his way by the Phoenix frigate, commanded by captain Harvey; who confirmed his former intelligence, and informed him particularly of the strength of the enemy's fleet. It consisted of twelve sail of the line and five frigates, under the marquis de la Galissoniere.

On the approach of the English admiral to the harbour of Mahon, he had the satisfaction to see the British colours still flying on the castle of St. Philip. But, notwithstanding that animating circumstance, his attempts for its relief were feeble and ineffectual. In a word, Mr. Byng seems to have been utterly discouraged, from the moment he learned the strength of the French fleet, though little superior to his own, and to have given up Minorca for lost as soon as he heard it was invaded. This fully appears, both from his subsequent conduct, and from his letter to the secretary of the admiralty, before he arrived at Mahon. In that letter, (which forms a kind of prelude to the account of his miscarriage) after lamenting that he did not reach Minorca before the landing of the French, he expressed himself thus:—"I am firmly of opinion, that throwing men into the Castle will only enable it to hold out a little longer, and add to the numbers that must fall into the enemy's hands; for the garrison, in time, will be obliged to surrender, unless a sufficient number of men could be landed to raise the siege. I am determined, however, to sail up to Minorca with the squadron, where I shall be a better judge of the situation of affairs, and will give general Blakeney all the assistance he shall require. But I am afraid all communication will be cut off between us; for if the enemy have erected batteries on the two shores near the entrance of the harbour, (an advantage scarce to be supposed they have neglected) it will render it impossible for our boats to have a passage to the sally-port of the garrison. (1)"

Admiral Byng's behaviour was conformable to those desponding ideas. When the French admiral advanced, to prevent him from throwing troops into the citadel of Mahon, he disposed his fleet in order of battle; but kept at such a distance, under pretence of preserving the line unbroken, that his division did very little damage to the enemy, and his own noble ship of ninety guns was never properly in the engagement. The division under rear-admiral West, however, the second in command, drove three of the French ships out of the line: and, if supported, would have gained a complete victory. As an apology for not bearing down upon the enemy, Byng is said to have told his captain, that he would avoid the error of admiral Matthews, who incurred the censure of a court-martial by his wrong-headed temerity, in rashly violating the laws of naval discipline!

The consequences of this indecisive action were such as had been foreseen by those acquainted with the sentiments of the English admiral. Byng, though in some measure victorious, as the French admiral bore away to

(1) Letter from on board the Ramillies, Gibraltar Bay, to Mr. Cleveland, Secretary of the Admiralty, May 5, 1756. "If I should fail in the relief of Port Mahon," adds he, "I shall look upon the security and protection of Gibraltar as my next object, and shall repair down here with the squadron. J. B."

support that part of his line which had been broken by Mr. West, and although the English fleet had lost only about forty men, immediately retired to Gibraltar, as if he had sustained a defeat. The reasons assigned for that retreat, in which a council of war concurred, were his inferiority to the enemy in number of men and guns; his apprehensions for the safety of Gibraltar, and the impossibility of relieving Minorca; though it appeared, on the fullest evidence, that no attempt to afford such relief was made, and that the landing of troops, at the sally-port of the castle, was very practicable. (1)

The French fleet, on the retreat of admiral Byng, returned to its station off the harbour of Mahon. And the garrison of fort St. Philip, being thus deprived of all hope of relief, general Blakeney, the governor, surrendered the place, and with it the island of Minorca, after a siege of nine weeks.—The defence was not so vigorous as might have been expected, considering the strength of the works, the advantageous situation of the castle or citadel, and the rocky soil, which renders it almost impracticable to open trenches. But the garrison was too small by one third, not exceeding three thousand men: the besiegers were numerous, amounting to near twenty thousand, and repeatedly reinforced with fresh regiments, after the retreat of the English fleet. Their train of artillery was awfully formidable, consisting of near one hundred pieces of battering cannon, beside mortars and howitzers. The duke de Richelieu pushed his approaches with ardour, and even led on his troops in person to several desperate assaults. Therefore, although only two of the outworks were taken when the capitulation was signed, and but one hundred of the garrison slain, while the French had lost about five thousand of their best troops, the conduct of Blakeney, when contrasted with that of Byng, appeared to such advantage, that he became extremely popular on his arrival in England, notwithstanding his want of success, and was raised by his sovereign to the peerage.

The fortune of admiral Byng was very different. The public cry was loud against him; and he was odious to the ministry, on whom he had endeavoured to throw the blame of his miscarriage. He was superseded by sir Edward Hawke in the command of the fleet in the Mediterranean, and brought home under arrest to be tried for his life.

The news of the taking of Minorca transported the French populace, and even the court, with the most extravagant joy and exultation. Nothing was to be seen, in France, but triumphs and processions; nor any thing heard but anthems, congratulations, and hyperbolical compliments to the victor.—The people of England were depressed in an equal degree, when informed of the loss of that important place. But instead of ascribing it to the number and valour of the French soldiers and sailors, or to the skill of their commanders, the great body of the English nation imputed it wholly to the cowardice of Admiral Byng, and the improvidence of the British ministry. Petitions accordingly poured in from all quarters, demanding justice, and an inquiry into the conduct of administration relative to Minorca.

Meanwhile a general hope prevailed, that misfortune would not extend to every scene of action. And very sanguine expectations were entertained of success in North America, where the war had originated, and where our most essential interests were supposed to be at stake. Orders had been issued for raising, in the English colonies, four battalions of regulars, which were soon completed, and disciplined by experienced officers. Two additional regiments were sent from the mother-country. And government resolved to take upon itself the whole weight and conduct of the war in America, on account of the divisions in the provincial assemblies. The earl of Loudon was appointed commander-in-chief of all the British forces there, and general Abercrombie succeeded Shirley, as second in command.

The plan of operations for the campaign was great, yet promising and flattering. It was proposed to reduce the fortress of Niagara, situated, as already observed, at the junction of the lakes Ontario and Erie, in order to

(1) See the *Examination* of Lord Blakeney and Mr. Boyd in the printed *Trial of Admiral John Byng*.

cut off the communication between Canada and Louisiana, and prevent the French from supporting their new posts upon the Ohio ; to besiege Fort du Queene, the principal of those posts ; to take Ticonderoga and Crown Point, that the frontier of New York might be delivered from the danger of invasion, and Great Britain acquire the command of Lake Champlain, over which forces might be transported in case of any attempt upon Quebec. Albany was agreed upon as the place of rendezvous.

At that station general Abercrombie arrived on the fifth day of June, and assumed the command of the forces there assembled. They consisted of about four thousand regulars, including the American battalions ; four independent companies belonging to the colony of New York ; a regiment of militia from New Jersey ; a formidable body of men raised by the New England provinces, and four companies levied in North Carolina.

The English colonies toward the south, but especially Virginia and Maryland, had suffered so severely from the ravages of the French and Indians, to which they were still exposed, that it was with the utmost difficulty they could defend themselves. The inhabitants of Pennsylvania, of whom Quakers form the most considerable body, though exposed to similar barbarities, could hardly be prevailed upon to make any provision for their own security ; but, instead of sending troops to the general rendezvous, when smote on one side of the head, they presented the other to the savage assailant. And the number of negro slaves, in South Carolina, above the due proportion of white inhabitants, was so great, that the assembly judged it inconsistent with the safety of the province to spare any part of their domestic force for distant enterprises.

The army assembled at Albany, however, though perhaps too small to have completed the whole extensive plan of operations, was of sufficient strength to have performed very essential service, if it had entered immediately upon action. But as general Abercrombie delayed the execution of every part of that plan until the arrival of Lord Loudon (which proved too late in the season for any thing of consequence to be afterward effected, or at least undertaken with a reasonable probability of success,) another campaign was lost to Great Britain, through neglect and procrastination ; while time was afforded the French, not only to take precautions at their leisure against any future attack on their back settlements, but to proceed unmolested in their ambitious scheme of encroaching on the British colonies, and reducing all our fortifications in the neighbourhood of the Lakes. The marquis de Montcalm, who had succeeded Dieskau in the command of the forces in Canada, and who possessed a bold military genius, accordingly invested Oswego, and reduced it in a few days. The garrison, to the number of sixteen hundred men, were made prisoners of war ; and, beside seven armed vessels and two hundred batteaus, one hundred and twenty-one pieces of cannon, fourteen mortars, with a great quantity of ammunition and provisions, also fell into the hands of the enemy.(1)

So unfortunate for Great Britain was the issue of the second campaign in North America ! Nor did our affairs wear a more favourable aspect in the East Indies. Admiral Watson, who commanded the British fleet in those latitudes, had indeed, in the beginning of the year, reduced Gheria ; the principal fortress of Tulagee Angria, a piratical prince, whose ancestors had established themselves near Bombay, on the coast of Malabar, and who had there become rich and powerful by pillaging European vessels. And the English factories at Madras and Fort St. David, where hostilities could never be said to have ceased, were able to maintain their ground against the French and their Indian allies. But destruction came from an unexpected quarter, and fell upon a place that was thought to be in the most perfect security.

The vast commerce of England to the East Indies, since the middle of the present century, and her immense territorial acquisitions in Bengal,

(1) *Paris Gazette*, Oct. 30, 1756.

where this blow was struck, provoke me to attempt a description of that rich country, whose memorable revolutions I shall have occasion to relate.

Bengal, the most easterly province of Indostan, lies between the twentieth and twenty-seventh degrees of north latitude, and extends from east to west almost seven hundred miles. As Egypt owes its fertility to the Nile, Bengal is indebted for its opulence to the Ganges. This magnificent body of water, after having received, in a course of six hundred miles, from its irruption through the mountains on the frontier of India, to the twenty-fifth degree of latitude, seven large rivers, and many inferior tributary streams, enters the province of Bengal near the mountain of Tacriagully, whose foot it washes, and whence it runs in a south-east direction to the sea.

An hundred miles below Tacriagully, the Ganges stretches towards the south an arm, which is called the river Cossimbuzar, and fifty miles lower, another arm, called the Jelingeer; which, after flowing about forty miles to the south-west, unites with the Cossimbuzar at a town named Nuddeah. The river formed by the junction of the Cossimbuzar and Jelingeer is sometimes called the *Little Ganges*, but more commonly the river Hughley; which, after flowing one hundred and twenty miles in a southern direction, enters the sea at the island of Sagor.

The principal stream of the Ganges, which, for the sake of distinction, is called the *Great Ganges*, continues to receive, from the going out of the Cossimbuzar, to the middle of the twenty-second degree of latitude, a multitude of small rivers. There its flood is joined by that of the Barampurah, a yet greater river, which rises on the eastern side of those vast mountains that send forth the Ganges to the west. The conflux of those two mighty rivers is tumultuous, and has formed several large islands between their junction and the open sea, which their waters reach about thirty-five miles lower.

Tacriagully, is the termination of a stupendous range of mountains, which accompanies the course of the Ganges from the west. And about fifty miles beyond Tacriagully, where these mountains begin to form the northern boundary of Bengal on the western side of the Ganges, another range of mountains strikes from the south, but in a curve swelling westward, which terminates within sight of the sea, about thirty miles from Ballasore. To the north, those mountains divide Bengal from the southern division of Behar or Bahar; and, to the south, they seem the natural separation of Bengal from Orixa. Eastward, the province of Bengal extends as far as Rangamatty, a town belonging to the king of Assem, on the river Barampurah.

The sea-coast of Bengal, between the mouth of the river Hughley and that of the Great Ganges, extends, from east to west, one hundred and eighty miles; and the whole is a dreary inhospitable shore, which sands and whirlpools render inaccessible to ships of burden. For several miles within land, the country is intersected by numerous channels, through which both rivers disembogue themselves, by many mouths, into the ocean; and the islands formed by these channels are covered with thickets, and occupied chiefly by beasts of prey. But the country higher up is very differently inhabited; and so desirable, that it has been called the *Paradise of India*.

The triangle formed by the Cossimbuzar and Hughley rivers to the west, by the Great Ganges to the east, and by the sea-coast to the south, as well as a large tract, on each hand, to the north of this Delta, is as level as the Lower Egypt, and no where exhibits a single stone. The soil is a stratum of the richest mould, lying on a deep sand; which being interspersed with shells, indicates the land to have been overflowed. Such parts of that immense plain as are not watered by the Ganges or its branches, are fertilized by many other streams from the mountains; and for the space of three months, from May to August, when the sun is mostly vertical, heavy rains fall every day. (1)

In consequence of these advantages of soil and climate, the inhabitants of Bengal are enabled to subsist by less labour than the people of any other

country on the face of the earth. Rice, which forms the basis of their food, is produced in such plenty, that two pounds are often sold for a farthing. Many other grains, and a vast variety of fruits and culinary vegetables, as well as the spices that enter into their diet, are raised with equal ease, and in the greatest abundance. Salt is found in the islands near the sea, and the sugar-cane thrives every where. Fish swarm in all the streams and ponds; and the cattle, though small, are incredibly numerous. Hence, in spite of despotism, the province is extremely populous: and the labours of agriculture being few and light, many hands are left for the fine fabrics of the loom, the principal branch of oriental industry. More pieces of cotton and silk are accordingly manufactured in Bengal, notwithstanding the indolence and effeminacy of the inhabitants, who are utterly destitute of all vigour of mind,⁽¹⁾ than in any other country of Indostan of three times the same extent; and as these manufactures are chiefly intended for exportation, and sold cheaper than any where else, the trade of Bengal has ever excited the avidity of the Europeans, since navigation opened them a passage thither by the Cape of Good Hope.

As early as the year 1640, the agents of the English East India company obtained leave to build a factory at Hughley; a town situated on the river of the same name, about one hundred miles from the sea, and then the principal port in the province of Bengal. But the officers of the Mogul government superintended the progress of the buildings, and objected to every thing which resembled, or might be converted into a station of defence; the court of Delhi, at that time, disdaining to allow, in any part of its dominions, the appearance of any sovereignty but its own, or the erection of a single bastion by any European power.⁽²⁾ Nor does this contradict what has been formerly said of the first European settlements on the sea-coast of Indostan; the territory on which they stood, and many of the forts themselves, having either been purchased, or wrested from princes who had not submitted to the Great Mogul.

The same jealous policy that prohibited the English from erecting fortifications, also forbade the introduction of military force. An ensign and thirty men, to do honour to the principal agents, were all the troops the East India company was permitted to keep at Hughley. In this-naked condition, and in consequence of it, exposed to frequent fines and exactions, the factory continued, until the year 1686; when, as a remedy against such arbitrary impositions, an attempt was made by the company to establish a defensible post by force of arms. The enterprise ultimately failed: yet were the English agents permitted to settle a factory at Soota-nutty, on the same river, about ten miles lower than Hughley, in 1689; and the year following, they received a *phirmaund* or patent from Aurengzebe, allowing them to trade free of customs, on condition of paying annually a stipulated sum.

These indulgences were granted to the English from an apprehension of their utterly abandoning the trade of Bengal, as they had removed to Madras after the miscarriage of their armament. And other causes contributed to root them more firmly in that province. In 1696, the rajah's on the western side of the river Hughley took up arms; and the principal part of the nabob's forces being then with the court at Dacca, the rebels, headed by the rajah of Burdawan, made great progress, before a body of troops sufficient to oppose them could be assembled. They took Hughley, plundered Muxadabad, and thence proceeded to Rajahmahal.

On the rise of this rebellion, all the European factories in the province of Bengal augmented their soldiery, and declared for the nabob; earnestly requesting, at the same time, his permission to put their several settlements in a posture of defence against the common enemy. The nabob, in general terms, desired them to provide for their safety. An apology for so doing was what they had all along sought. Happy, therefore, in being furnished

(1) This languor may be ascribed partly to the climate, and partly to the vegetable diet of the inhabitants, whose religion precludes them the use of animal food.

(2) Orme, ubi sup.

with an order so conformable to their views, the Dutch raised walls, with bastions, round their factory, about a mile to the south of Hughley. The French fortified with no less diligence, and more skill, their settlement at Chandernagore, two miles lower on the river; and the English, as their bulwark, erected Fort William at Calcutta, a small town where they had built their principal magazines, contiguous to Soota-nutty. (1) Such was the origin of the three European fortifications in the province of Bengal.

From the time that the English established themselves at Calcutta, which they were soon after permitted to purchase, together with its territory, from the Zemindar or Indian proprietor, the trade of the company continued to flourish, in spite of many discouragements from home: and the town increased wonderfully in population, notwithstanding the jealousy of the nabob. The company's agents had even the address to obtain from the Great Mogul, in 1717, the privilege of passports or *dustucks*, which, being recognized throughout the province of Bengal, their goods were thenceforth exempted from customs, and no longer liable to be stopped by the officers of the revenue.

This was a singular indulgence, and contributed greatly to facilitate and augment the trade of the English East India company; more especially as none of the other European companies were entitled to the same indulgence, nor any of the natives, except two or three principal merchants, who purchased it from the nabob at an exorbitant price. (2) But the envy and jealousy, occasioned by those advantages, excited against the English the hatred both of the European and country powers; and that jealous hate in the latter, brought on the fatal catastrophe, which makes this digression necessary.

On the death of the nabob, or more properly Subah Allaverdy, who had governed with great ability, for many years, the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixia, the supreme authority devolved, according to his destination, upon his grandson Surajah Dowlah, a weak and tyrannical prince. Equally timid, suspicious, and cruel, the new viceroy determined to take vengeance on all whom he feared, and to owe his security to the inability of any power within his jurisdiction to hurt him. The English had particularly awaked his apprehensions by the taking of Gheria, a fortress deemed impregnable in Indostan, by their increasing strength in the Carnatic, and by the growth of their settlement at Calcutta.

Other circumstances conspired to point the resentment of Surajah Dowlah immediately against the English factory in Bengal. He was informed, and not altogether without foundation, that the agents of the East India company had abused their privilege of *dustucks*, by making them subservient not only to the importation of European, and the exportation of India goods, but to the importation of commodities from other parts of Indostan, and even of the same province, to the great diminution of the public revenue, and in direct contradiction to the purpose for which they had been granted, the encouragement of foreign commerce. He therefore determined to get those passports recalled by the court of Delhi, or to deny the validity, and also to punish the abuse. And the governor and council of Calcutta, by refusing to deliver up to him a noble refugee, who had taken shelter with all his treasures within their presidency, farther confirmed him in his hostile resolution.

Enraged at this refusal, though seemingly occasioned by misapprehension, the nabob, who had assembled an army of fifty thousand men, with an intention of striking a blow in a distant quarter, ordered it to march directly toward Calcutta; where the English, he was told, were building new fortifications. He himself headed his troops; and advanced with such rapidity, that many of them died of fatigue. Sufficient force, however, remained for the accomplishment of his enterprise. After attempting in vain to oppose the enemy in the streets and avenues, the English inhabitants took refuge in

(1) Orme's *Hist. Indost.* book vi.

(2) *Ibid.*

Fort William; a place in itself by no means strong, and defended only by a small garrison. Conscious of his inability to hold out, Mr. Drake, the governor, called, at two in the morning a council of war, to which all except the common soldiers were admitted; and after debating long, Whether they should immediately escape to the company's ships in the river, or defer their retreat until the following night, the council broke up, without coming to any positive determination. But as the first proposal was not carried into execution, the second was generally understood to have been embraced.

Meanwhile the besiegers vigorously pushed their attacks, and hoped every moment to carry the fort by storm. Filled with terror, and utterly unacquainted with military service, many of the company's servants, and even some members of the council, went off to the ships. A party of militia, it was observed, that had conducted the women on board the preceding night, did not return to the garrison. They who remained in it looked at one another with wild affright. The governor, who had hitherto discovered no want of courage, now panic-struck at the thought of falling into the hands of Surajah Dowlah, who had threatened to put him to death, hurried into a boat that lay at the wharf, without apprizing the garrison of his intention. The military commanding officer, and several other persons of distinction, pusillanimously followed his example, and accompanied him to one of the ships.

The astonishment of the garrison at this desertion could only be equalled by their indignation. Nothing was heard for a time but execrations against the fugitives. At length, however, the tumultuous concourse proceeded to deliberation: and Mr. Parkes, the eldest member of the council left in the fort, having resigned his right of seniority to Mr. Holwell, that gentleman was unanimously invested with the chief command. The number of militia and soldiery now remaining, amounted only to one hundred and ninety men. The new commander, therefore, having seen some boats return to the wharf, locked the gate leading to the river, in order to prevent future desertions.

The same promptitude and spirit distinguished Mr. Holwell's whole conduct. But all his gallant efforts were found insufficient to preserve the fort. Soon convinced of their weakness, and conscious of their danger, the garrison threw out signals for the ships or boats to repair to the wharf. That rational hope of escape, however, failed them. One ship having struck on a sand-bank, not a single vessel of any kind offered afterward to yield them a retreat. As a last resource, Mr. Holwell threw a letter from the ramparts, intimating a desire to capitulate; many of the garrison having been killed since the departure of the governor, and more of the survivors thrown into a state of despondency. Encouraged by this indication of weakness, the besiegers made a desperate but ineffectual assault; after which one of the nabob's officers appeared with a flag of truce. It was answered by another from the fort. A parley ensued; but before any articles of capitulation could be settled, the troops of Surajah Dowlah forced open one of the gates, and made themselves masters of the place, though without putting any of the garrison to the sword. (1)

About an hour after the taking of Fort William, the nabob entered it, accompanied by his general Meer Jaffier, and most of the great officers of his army. Having given directions for securing the company's treasure, he seated himself, with all the state of an Asiatic conqueror, in the principal apartment of the factory, and ordered Mr. Holwell to be brought before him. On the first appearance of that gentleman, Surajah Dowlah expressed violent resentment at the presumption of the English, in daring to resist his power, and chagrined at the smallness of the sum found in the treasury. Softened, however, in the course of three conferences, he dismissed the English chief, as he thought proper to call him, with repeated assurances, on the word of a soldier, that he should suffer no harm.

Notwithstanding these assurances, Mr. Holwell and his unfortunate companions (whom he found, on his return, surrounded by a strong guard) were

(1) Orme, ubi sup.

forced into the common dungeon of the fort, usually called *The Black Hole*, about eight o'clock in the evening; and in that dungeon, only eighteen feet square, were they condemned to pass the night in one of the hottest climates of the earth, and in the hottest season of that climate. They could receive no air but through two small grated windows, almost totally blocked up by a neighbouring building, which deprived them of the common benefit even of the sultry atmosphere. Their distress was inexpressible, in consequence of the heat, and the pressure of their bodies, as soon as the door was shut. They attempted to force it open, but without effect. Rage succeeded disappointment. The keenest invectives were uttered, in order to provoke the guard to put an end to their wretched lives, by firing into the dungeon; and whilst some, in the agonies and torment of despair, were blaspheming their Creator with frantic execrations, others were imploring relief from heaven in wild and incoherent prayers.

Mr. Holwell, who had taken his station at one of the windows, exhorted his fellow-sufferers to composure, as the only means of surviving till morning. In the mean time he addressed himself to an old Jemtedar, an officer of the guard, who seemed to have some marks of humanity in his countenance, promising him a thousand rupees, if he would separate them into different apartments. He retired to procure an order for that purpose; but returned in a few minutes, with a sorrowful face, and said it was impossible! Misapprehending his meaning, Mr. Holwell proffered him a larger sum. He retired a second time, and again returned with the same woe-foreboding look; while the prisoners rent the air with the cries of despair, were blaspheming their Creator with frantic execrations, others were imploring relief from heaven in wild and incoherent prayers.

"Unhappy men!"—said the Jemtedar,—"submit to necessity. The Subah is asleep!—and what slave dares disturb his repose?" (1)—A stronger picture of despotism was never drawn, nor a deeper scene of human misery exhibited.

All sentiments of friendship, compassion, or respect, were henceforth extinguished in the breasts of the devoted prisoners. No one would give way for the relief of another; but every one employed his utmost strength to obtain a place near the windows, or to maintain that station. The feeble sunk, never more to rise, and were trampled upon by their stronger companions. The havoc of death and the struggle for air continued until morning appeared; when, the door being opened, of one hundred and forty-six persons, thrust into the Black Hole, twenty-three only were brought out alive. And Mr. Holwell, and other two of the survivors, were condemned to further sufferings. They were sent prisoners to Muxadabad, the capital of the province, in hopes of extorting from them, by cruel usage, a confession of the factory's hidden treasures. Calcutta was pillaged, and Fort William secured by a garrison of three thousand men. (2) The affairs of the English East India company seemed finally ruined in Bengal.

The accumulated misfortunes of Great Britain did not, however, discourage the king of Prussia, her brave ally, from taking vigorous measures in order to defeat the designs of his numerous enemies; or to acquire that ascendancy in Germany which he had long been ambitious of attaining, and which was now become in some degree necessary for his own preservation, as well as to enable him to fulfil his political engagements with his Britannic Majesty. Nor did George II. fail to act with proper dignity. He ordered his electoral minister to deliver a memorial to the diet at Ratisbon, expressing his surprise, to find the treaty which he had lately concluded with the king of Prussia industriously represented as a ground of apprehension and terror; that as France had made open dispositions for invading the electorate of Hanover, and disturbing the peace of Germany; and the empress-queen, notwithstanding her obligations to Great Britain, had denied him the succours stipulated by treaties, he had negotiated that alliance

1) Holwell's *Narrative*. Orme, book vii.

(2) *Id.* *ibid.*

merely for the security of his own dominions, and the preservation of the tranquillity of the empire, neglected by its head.(1)

The behaviour of his Prussian Majesty was still more stately. Having ordered his minister at the court of Vienna to demand a clear explication, and proper assurances concerning the hostile preparations he saw making on the frontiers of Silesia, and receiving only evasive answers, he resolved to anticipate the designs of his enemies, by carrying the war into their dominions, instead of coolly waiting its approach in his own. And he called Heaven and earth to witness, that the empress-queen alone would be chargeable with all the innocent blood that might be spilt, and the dismal consequences that must attend the prosecution of hostilities, by refusing the declaration which he had required; namely "that she had no intention to attack him either this year or the next." He had constituted her, he said, arbitress of peace or war; and her military preparations and mysterious replies left him no room to doubt which alternative she had chosen, though she declined a liberal and open decision of the momentous question.

In order to invade Bohemia with success, it is not only convenient, but almost necessary, to take possession of Saxony. The king of Prussia, who had projected the invasion of that kingdom, and who hoped to be able to reduce it to obedience before the empress-queen could assemble her troops, or any of the other confederates be in a condition to attack him, therefore resolved to occupy his electorate; a measure in which he thought himself justified, as he knew that the elector had concurred in all the schemes formed by the courts of Vienna and Petersburg for the ruin of the house of Brandenburg, and waited only for an opportunity to co-operate also in the execution of them. He accordingly entered Saxony with a great army, consisting of seventy battalions and eighty squadrons, divided into three bodies, which pursued different routes, and assembled, by concert, in the neighbourhood of Dresden.

Unable to resist so powerful a force, Augustus abandoned his capital, which was immediately occupied by the Prussians, and joined his little army of fourteen thousand men, encamped at Pirna. That camp, which was deemed impracticable, he had not chosen merely on account of its strength, but also because he thought its position secured him a communication with Bohemia, whence only he could expect succour, and whither he might retire in case of necessity. Relying on these advantages, on the attachment of his subjects, and his intimate connexions with the court of Vienna, he scornfully rejected the reasonable requisition of the king of Prussia. That, as a proof of the sincerity of his suspicious professions of neutrality, he should withdraw his army from the strong post which it occupied, and order the troops to return to their former quarters, in different parts of the electorate.

This refusal induced the king of Prussia to change his plan of operations. As he had no magazines in Bohemia, he did not think it safe to penetrate into that kingdom, and leave the Saxons masters of the Elbe behind him. He therefore resolved to surround their camp; and, as he could not hope to force it, to oblige them to surrender, by cutting off their supplies, before he proceeded farther. With this view, he encamped at Gross Zedlitz, in the neighbourhood of Pirna, and soon reduced the Saxon army to the greatest distress. Meanwhile he sent two large detachments, one under marshal Keith, the other under marshal Schwerin, to the frontiers of Bohemia, in order to keep the Austrians in awe, and deprive them of the power of making any vigorous effort for the relief of the Saxons, by obliging them to divide their forces. Keith took post at Jorndorf, and Schwerin at Auesch, opposite Konigsgratz.

That was a less father than a great line of conduct. Had the king of Prussia marched into Bohemia with the main body of his army, the moment he found the king of Poland reject his propositions of neutrality, leaving twenty thousand men to block up the Saxon camp at Pirna, he might have made himself master of the whole kingdom, before the Austrians could have

been in a condition to oppose him. Olmutz, and even Prague, must soon have fallen into his hands, both being yet unprovided against a siege; (1) whereas, by the plan that he pursued, the empress-queen had leisure to assemble two considerable armies in Bohemia, and to put its principal towns in a state of defence. The smallest of these armies, commanded by prince Piccolomini, took post at Konigsgratz, in order to oppose Schwerin; the largest under mareschal Brown, encamped at Kolin, and was destined to march to the relief of the Saxon army, as soon as the necessary preparations could be made for that purpose.

These preparations being completed, mareschal Brown quitted his camp at Kolin, and advanced to Budyn on the Eggra, in order to concert measures with the Saxons for accomplishing their enlargement. Now seemingly sensible of his mistake, in not having entered Bohemia, the politic and enterprising Frederick, having left a body of troops to continue the blockade of Pirna, joined the division of his army under Keith, and resolved to give battle to the Austrian army under Brown. Such an opportunity he soon found.

The Austrians having passed the Eggra, and encamped at Lowositz, his Prussian Majesty thought it necessary to pass the mountains of Bascopal and Kletchen; to put the defiles behind him, and occupy the avenues leading to the plain before mareschal Brown's camp, that he might without difficulty attack him, if he should judge it convenient. He accordingly left Tirmitz, to which he had advanced from Jornsдорff, and arrived at Wilmina about eight o'clock in the evening. Fearing the enemy might decamp in the night, and occupy the mountains of Radowitz and Lobosch; and, by that movement, not only render it impossible for him to attack them, but even oblige him to fall back to Ausig, he resumed his march, and occupied the mountains, of which he was apprehensive the Austrians would take possession.

By break of day the Prussian army, consisting of sixty-five squadrons, and twenty-six battalions, with one hundred and two pieces of cannon, was formed in order of battle; the infantry in two lines, and the cavalry in three, behind. The right wing of the infantry was posted in the village of Radostitz, at the foot of the hill of the same name. Before that hill rises another, called the Homolkaberg; which although much lower than the former, is yet so high as to command all the plain below, as far as the village of Sulowitz. To this hill the king of Prussia afterwards extended his right wing, and placed a battery of heavy cannon upon it. His centre occupied the valley formed by the Homolkaberg and the Loboschberg; and on the latter his left wing was posted.

The Loboschberg is a remarkably high and steep mountain, and extends into the plain almost to Lowositz. That side of it is covered with vineyards, which are separated by stone walls. In these mareschal Brown had posted a large body of Croats, who were sustained by several battalions of Hungarian infantry. Parallel to those mountains, and at some hundred yards distance from the foot of them, runs a marshy rivulet; which in many places spreads itself in the plain, and forms a kind of lake. Between this rivulet and the hills, on which the Prussian army was formed, strikes a very deep ravin, or sewer, hollowed by land floods, from Sulowitz to Lowositz. The only passes over that ravin and rivulet are at these two villages, and by a narrow stone bridge between them. The ground behind the rivulet rises a little, especially toward Sulowitz; and on this rising ground the Austrian army, consisting of seventy-two squadrons and fifty-two battalions, with

(1) *Hist. of the late War in Germany*, by major-general Lloyd, who served several campaigns in the Austrian army, and afterward in that of prince Ferdinand. "The conquest of these two places," adds this intelligent author, "would have enabled his Prussian majesty to begin the next campaign in Moravia, at least, and perhaps on the Danube, with the siege or blockade of Vienna; whence he might, without any risk, have sent a considerable corps to the frontiers of Hungary, and the army destined to guard Saxony into the empire, between the sources of the Maine and the Upper Danube. The first would have hindered the empress-queen from receiving any succours from these countries, and the last would have effectually prevented those princes, who were the king of Prussia's enemies, from uniting against him."

ninety-eight pieces of cannon, was posted. It was formed in two lines; the infantry in the centre, and the cavalry, as usual, on the wings. A little before the commencement of the action, however, the cavalry on the right wing marched forward, and occupied the plain to the left of the village of Lowositz. That village mareschal Brown had ordered to be fortified, and had placed some of his best infantry in it, with a great quantity of artillery. He had likewise raised a strong battery, and some redoubts on the plain before it. By these means he thought he had rendered his right inaccessible, as his centre and left, covered by the marshy rivulet and the ravin already mentioned, certainly were. He therefore resolved to wait battle in that position.

The action began about seven in the morning, between the left wing of the Prussians and the troops which mareschal Brown had posted in the Loboschberg. But in consequence of a thick fog, through which nothing could be seen at the distance of an hundred yards, no considerable advantage was gained, on either side, till near noon, when the fog began to clear up. It was soon entirely dissipated: and the hostile armies stood full in view of each other, agitated with anxious hopes and fears. The king of Prussia, having examined the Austrian army for some time, judged its right to be the weakest, for many reasons, but chiefly because it was commanded from the Loboschberg. He therefore ordered his second line to enter into the first, with the cavalry in the centre, that he might occupy the Homolkaberg and Loboschberg in force. This being readily executed, the whole army was put in motion, inclining always to the left, whence the projected attack was to be made; and the left wing being reinforced, and protected by the fire of a numerous and well-served artillery, marched down the Loboschberg toward Lowositz, and drove the Croats out of the vineyards into the plain.

Mareschal Brown believing that the fortune of the day depended on his being able to keep possession of Lowositz, threw almost his whole right wing into it. The action, therefore, was here long and obstinate. At length, however, it was determined in favour of the Prussians. Seeing his right wing forced to give way, the Austrian general ordered his left to advance through the village of Sulowitz, and attack the enemy's right. This it endeavoured to execute, but in vain. A small number only of the infantry could pass the village; and these, galled by the heavy fire of a powerful artillery, being unable to form on the other side, fell back in confusion. Brown was now under the necessity of attempting a retreat; which he conducted in a manner so masterly, that no effort was made to annoy him.

The Austrians, however, though thus compelled to quit the field, were not totally defeated. Mareschal Brown took a new position, a little further back; the strength of which obliged the victorious Frederick to remain satisfied with the advantage he had gained, and to keep his line behind Lowositz. But while the enemy continued in that position, his Prussian Majesty had by no means effected his design. As the victory was incomplete, it was still possible for the Austrian general to attempt the relief of the Saxons. He was now, indeed, as much in a condition to undertake it as before the action, his loss being incomparably inferior to that of the Prussians.

From this very embarrassing situation the superior talents of the king of Prussia happily extricated him. He sent the prince of Beurn with a large body of horse and foot to Tischkowitz, as if he had proposed to turn the enemy's left flank, and to hem them in between the Elbe and the Egra. That manœuvre had the desired effect. Afraid of the consequence naturally to be expected from such a motion, mareschal Brown hastened to repass the Egra, and occupied his old camp at Budyn. (1)

Thus ended the battle of Lowositz, which began, as already observed, at seven o'clock in the morning, and ended at three in the afternoon. The loss on each side was nearly equal, amounting in all to about six thousand killed and wounded. Both parties claimed the victory; but if we judge by effects, the only means of settling such doubtful questions, the Prussians have an

(1) Lloyd, ubi sup

undoubted right to the honour of the day. The Austrians certainly intended to disengage the Saxons, and with that view advanced to Lowositz. The king of Prussia could have no other object immediately in view, but to prevent their executing this design. He accomplished his aim by the battle of Lowositz, and the subsequent movement, which made the Austrians retire behind the Eggra. Had the Prussians gained a more complete victory, or the king pursued a bolder line of conduct, they would have been enabled to take up their winter-quarters in Bohemia.

Having failed in this attempt to relieve the Saxons on the left of the Elbe, mareschal Brown resolved to try his fortune on the right. He accordingly passed that river, and advanced to Lichtenhayen. The Saxons also passed the Elbe, near the village of Ebenhart, at the foot of the mountain of Lilienstein, where they found themselves encompassed by inextricable difficulties. The Prussians had taken possession of all the defiles before them; the bridge over the Elbe was broken down behind them; and the Austrian general gave them notice that he could not march to their assistance. They had no choice left, but to perish or surrender prisoners of war. They embraced the latter alternative; and their electoral prince, Augustus III. king of Poland, who had taken refuge in the castle of Konigstein, was forced to abandon his hereditary dominions, and retire into that kingdom.

The king of Prussia having thus completed one part of his military plan, commanded his army to quit Bohemia, and took up his winter-quarters in Saxony. Now it was that the victorious monarch, in order to justify his rigour toward the unhappy Saxons, on whom he levied heavy contributions, at the same time that he seized the public revenues, made himself master of the archives of Dresden; and even ordered the secret cabinet, in which the papers relative to foreign transactions were kept, to be violently broke open, although the queen of Poland placed herself against the door.

This violence has been generally reprobated, but very unjustly. Though perfectly acquainted with the laws of politeness, and sufficiently disposed to observe them, his Prussian majesty did not allow them to interfere with the rigid maxims and more important laws of policy. He rightly considered, that the passionate obstinacy of the queen of Poland, in personally opposing the command of the conqueror, deprived her of all the respect that was due to her sacred person; as a princess of her years and experience could not fail to know, that his desire of possessing the papers in question must increase in proportion to her zeal to protect them. She drew the insult upon herself; and admitting her death, which happened soon after, to have been the consequence of such insult, the king of Prussia was not chargeable with it. Her part was submission.

In the papers seized, the learned and enlightened Frederick, whose sensibility of heart perhaps has not always equalled his liberality of mind, found abundant proofs of the conspiracy formed against him by the courts of Vienna and Petersburg, and of the share which the court of Dresden had taken in that conspiracy. From those papers, which the king of Prussia published in his own vindication, it appeared, That although the king of Poland did not choose to insert at first, in his accession to the confederacy, the words *reciprocal engagement of assisting one another with all their forces*, that he was willing, nevertheless, to come to an understanding, for the partition of the dominions of the house of Brandenburg, by *private and confidential declarations*, and *just conditions and advantages*; (1) that it was resolved, in the grand council of Moscow, to attack the king of Prussia, without any ulterior discussion, not only in case of his attacking any of the allies of Russia, but also if he should be attacked by any of the allies of the Czarina; (2) that it had been concerted between the two Imperial courts of Petersburg and Vienna, that the latter, the better to mask the true reasons of arming, should do it under the pretext of keeping herself in a condition to fulfil her engage-

(1) Letter from the count de Brühl, the Saxon Minister, to count Fleming, the Imperial minister, dated Dresden, March 8, 1758.

(2) Letter from the Sieur Funck, the Russian minister, to the count de Brühl, dated Petersburg, Oct. 20, 1755.

ments with England, in case of need; and when all the preparations were finished, then to fall suddenly upon the king of Prussia.(1)

Though the king of Prussia was not so successful as might have been expected, considering his superior military talents, the number and discipline of his troops, and the unprepared state of his enemies, who did not propose to begin their operations till the next campaign,(2) the progress of his arms gave great joy to the British court, while it filled the nation with shame and confusion by turning their eyes on their own disasters; on the supposed misconduct of the ministry, the losses in America, and the miscarriage of the unhappy Byng, whom the voice of the people had already devoted to destruction for his pusillanimity. Willing to reprove, as far as possible, all grounds of dissatisfaction, his Britannic Majesty changed his ministers; and, in a noble speech from the throne, expressed his confidence, That, under the guidance of divine Providence, the union, fortitude, and affection of his people would enable him to surmount all difficulties, and vindicate the dignity of his crown against the ancient enemy of England.

At the head of the new administration was placed William Pitt, the most popular man in the kingdom, who accepted the office of secretary of state of the southern department, in the room of Mr. Fox. Mr. Legge, another popular commoner, was made chancellor of the exchequer; and the duke of Devonshire succeeded the duke of Newcastle, at the head of the treasury.

The first measures of the patriotic minister do equal honour to his head and heart. He procured an order for sending home the foreign troops: he encouraged the framing of a bill, which immediately passed into a law, for establishing a national militia, upon the footing on which it now stands, as our only constitutional defence, and he complied with the wishes of the people, in bringing on the trial of admiral Byng, and promoting an inquiry into the conduct of the former ministry.

Byng was accordingly tried, by a court-martial, on board the *St. George*, in Portsmouth harbour, and sentenced to be shot; he having, in the opinion of his judges, fallen under that part of the twelfth article of war, which prescribes death to any commander "who shall not, during the time of action, "do his utmost, from whatever motive or cause, negligence, cowardice, or "disaffection, to distress the enemy." And they were farther unanimously of opinion, That beside failing in his duty, by keeping back, during the engagement between the English and French fleets, and consequently not using his utmost endeavour "to take, seize, and destroy the ships of the French "king, that he did not exert his utmost power for the relief of *St. Philip's "castle."* But they recommended him to mercy, as the article of war on which they decided made no allowance for an error in judgment. His majesty laid the sentence before the Twelve Judges, who confirmed it.

Meanwhile a violent clamour, on account of this judgment, was raised by admiral Byng's friends, who severely arraigned the proceedings against him, and ascribed his miscarriage solely to the ignorance and improvidence of the late corrupt administration. The people, though enraged at Byng, for his dastardly behaviour, joined in the cry against the discarded ministers. And addresses were presented from all parts of the kingdom, requesting that a strict inquiry might be made into their conduct, from the time they received the first intelligence of the purpose of the French to invade Minorca, to that of the action in the Mediterranean, between the admirals Byng and Galiassoniere. Such an inquiry was accordingly instituted in the house of commons, and openly conducted by a committee of the whole house, who were furnished from the public offices with all the papers that could throw light upon the subject; and, after the closest investigation, they came to several resolutions highly favourable to the execrated administration, instead of making any discovery to their disadvantage.

The first and last of these resolutions deserve particular notice. By the former, the committee declared it appeared to them, "That his majesty, from

(1) Letter from count Fleming to count de Bruhl, dated Vienna, June 9, 1756.

(2) Letter from count Fleming to count de Bruhl, dated Vienna, July 28, 1756.

"the 27th day of August, in the year 1755, to the 20th day of April, in the following year, received such repeated and concurrent intelligence, as gave just reason to believe that the French king intended to invade Great Britain or Ireland." And in the latter, they gave it as their opinion, "That no greater number of ships of war could be sent into the Mediterranean than were actually sent thither under the command of admiral Byng; nor any greater reinforcement than the regiment which was sent, and the detachment, equal to a battalion, which was ordered, from Gibraltar, to the relief of Fort St. Philip, consistently with the state of the navy, and the various services essential to the safety of his majesty's dominions, and the interests of his subjects."

Though thus foiled in their attempt to criminate the ministry, the friends of admiral Byng did not yet abandon him to his fate. Another effort was made to save him. A member of the court-martial that had condemned him, and who was also a member of parliament, made application to the house of commons in behalf of himself and several other members of that tribunal, praying the aid of the legislature to be released from the oath of secrecy imposed upon courts martial, that they might make known the grounds on which sentence of death had passed upon admiral Byng, and disclose such circumstances as might perhaps shew the sentence to be improper.

Little attention was paid by the commons to this application, till the king sent a message to the house, by secretary Pitt, informing them, That although he was determined to let the law take its course, with relation to admiral Byng, unless it should appear, from new evidence, that he had been unjustly condemned, his majesty had thought fit to respite execution of the sentence of the court-martial, that the scruples of some members might be fully explained and weighed. In consequence of this message, a bill was immediately brought in, and passed the house of commons, for releasing the members of the court-martial from their obligation of secrecy. But it was rejected almost unanimously by the lords, after they had examined such members of that court as were members of the house of commons; sufficient reason not appearing to them for obstructing the course of justice, by giving way to such unmeaning, or pretended scruples, in support of which no forcible arguments were produced, nor any latent circumstance, in favour of the person whom they regarded, brought to light.

Perceiving that all hope of life was now cut off, admiral Byng collected a degree of courage that would have done him honour, and which had been better exerted, in the day of battle. He was shot, according to his sentence, on board of ship, and behaved to the last with composure and dignity. Immediately before his death, he delivered a paper to the marshal of the admiralty, in which he lays claim to a *faithful discharge of his duty, according to the best of his judgment*. And perhaps he was sincere; but men, under such circumstances, are very apt to be partial to themselves. "Persuaded I am," adds he, (after congratulating himself that a few moments would deliver him from the virulent persecution of his enemies) "that justice will be done to my reputation hereafter. The manner, and cause, of raising and keeping up the popular clamour and prejudice against me will be seen through. I shall be considered as a victim destined to divert the indignation and resentment of an injured and deluded people from the proper objects."

No! my dear Philip: let us rather consider his blood as a libation due to the offended Genius of England, and indispensably necessary to wash out the stain which had been thrown upon her naval glory. An admiral who had acted as Byng did, on such an occasion, and with such a force, setting aside all temporary circumstances, could only atone for his misconduct with the sacrifice of his life, as an awful warning to future commanders. (1)

While the English ministry, in compliance with the wish of the people,

(*) Even Dr. Smollett, his warm advocate, after saying, "he was rashly condemned, unmeanly given up, and cruelly sacrificed to ~~the~~ considerations," has the candour to admit, That "the character of admiral Byng, on point of personal courage, will with many people remain problematical: they will be of opinion, that if the spirit of a British admiral had been properly exerted, the French fleet would have been defeated, and Minorca saved. A man's opinion of danger," continues he, "varies at different

were thus bringing to punishment a commander-in-chief, whom they considered as the cause of their greatest disgrace, and with whom they hoped their misfortunes would expire, (for which they have been unjustly ridiculed, and represented as Barbarians, by their more giddy and volatile neighbours) the French were enjoying the tortures of a maniac, who had attempted to kill their king. On this fanatical wretch, named Francis Damien, whose gloomy mind had always bordered upon madness, and whose understanding was now evidently disordered by the disputes between the king and the parliaments relative to religion (which I shall afterward have occasion to explain), was practised, without effect, every refinement in cruelty that human invention could suggest, in order to extort a confession of the reasons that induced him to make an attempt on the life of his sovereign.⁽¹⁾ He maintained a sullen silence in the midst of the most exquisite torments, or expressed his agony only in frantic ravings. And his judges, tired out with his obstinacy, at last thought proper to terminate his sufferings by a death shocking to humanity; which, although the act of a people who pride themselves in civility and refinement, might fill the heart of savages with horror. He was conducted to the common place of execution, amidst a vast concourse of the populace, stripped naked, and fastened to the scaffold by iron gyes. One of his hands was then burnt in liquid flaming sulphur. His thighs, legs, and arms, were torn with red-hot pincers. Boiling oil, melted lead, rosin, and sulphur, were poured into the wounds; and to complete the awful catastrophe, tight ligatures being tied round his limbs, he was torn to pieces by young and vigorous horses.⁽²⁾

The attempt against the king's life had no influence upon the French councils, as it was soon discovered that his wound was not mortal. The court of Versailles therefore, in conformity with its engagements and its views, assembled a great army; the main body of which, consisting of eighty thousand men, commanded by mareschal d'Etrees, and other officers of high reputation, passed the Rhine early in the spring, and marched by the way of Westphalia, in order to invade the territories of the king of Prussia, as was pretended, but in reality to reduce the electorate of Hanover; and by that bold measure to oblige the king of Great Britain to submit to the encroachments of the French in America, or to the loss of what he valued as the apple of his eye or the cords of his heart, his German dominions. The smaller division, composed of twenty-five thousand men, under the prince de Soubise, was destined to march toward the Maine, to strengthen the Imperial Army of Execution.—Some explication will here be necessary, in order to make the nature of this army perfectly understood.

No sooner did the king of Prussia enter Saxony, the preceding campaign, than a process was commenced against him in the Aulic council, and also before the diet of the empire. By the influence of the court of Vienna, and the terror of the powerful confederacy it had formed, he was condemned for contumacy; and the fiscal had orders to notify to him, That he was put under the ban of the empire, and adjudged fallen from all the dignities and possessions which he held in it. The circles of the empire were accordingly commanded to furnish their contingents of men and money, in order to put this sentence in execution. But the contingents were collected slowly; the troops were badly composed; and probably the army of the Empire would never have been able to act, had it not been seconded by the French forces

"times, in consequence of an irregular tide of animal spirits; he is often actuated by considerations which he dares not avow. And after an officer, thus influenced, has hesitated or kept aloof in the hour of trial, the mind, eager for its own justification, assembled, with surprising industry, every favourable circumstance of excuse, and broods over them with parental partiality; until it becomes not only satisfied but enamoured of their beauty and complexion, like a doting mother, blind to the deformity of her own offspring." (*Continuat. Hist. England*, vol. i.) These ingenious reflections, and others of a like kind, which do honour to the discernment of Smollett, and distinguish his character as an historian, will long be remembered, after the malice of his enemies, and his own political prejudices, his generous but self-deluding personal attachments, and his violent resentments are forgot.

(1) He stabbed the king with a penknife, between the fourth and fifth ribs, as he was stepping into his coach.

(2) Smollett. *Voltaire. Trial and execution of R. F. Damien.*

under the prince de Soubise. This general, before he passed the Rhine, made himself master of Cleves, Meurs, Gueldres; whilst a detachment, from the army of mareschal d'Etrees, seized upon the town of Embden, and whatever else belonged to his Prussian majesty in East Friesland.

Alarmed at the danger which threatened his electoral dominions, George II. seemed disposed to enter deeply into the continental quarrel, and even to send over a body of British troops for the protection of Hanover. In these views, however, he was thwarted by Pitt and Legge, his new ministers; who, adhering to the patriotic principles in which they had been bred, and in the diffusing of which they had grown up to popularity, and raised themselves to power, considered Hanover as a useless and expensive appendage to the crown of Great Britain, and all continental connexions as inconsistent with our insular situation.

The popular ministers were deprived of their employments, for daring to oppose the will of their sovereign in council. And although it was too late to adopt new measures for the campaign with any probability of success, the duke of Cumberland was sent over to command an army of *observation*, as it was called, intended for the defence of Hanover. This army, which consisted of forty thousand Hessians and Hanoverians, including a few regiments of Prussians, attempted in vain to obstruct the progress of mareschal d'Etrees. The duke of Cumberland, after some unsuccessful skirmishes, was obliged to retire behind the Weser; and the French passed that river without opposition.

If the duke of Cumberland's situation now seemed desperate, that of the king of Prussia, after making every allowance for his own superior talents, and the valour and discipline of his troops, did not wear a more favourable aspect at the opening of the campaign. An army of one hundred and thirty thousand Russians was on the borders of Lithuania, and in full march to invade the kingdom of Prussia. The Swedes were ready to enter Pomerania, in hopes of recovering their former possessions in that country. The empress-queen, having made vast preparations during the winter, had augmented her army to one hundred and eighty thousand men; (1) yet did she resolve to act only on the defensive, until her allies could take the field. Then she flattered herself the king of Prussia would be obliged to divide his forces into so many bodies, that he would be unable, any where, to make a vigorous resistance.

Conformable to this defensive system, the Austrian army was broken into four divisions; the first of which, commanded by the duke d'Altemberg, was posted at Egra; the second, under mareschal Brown, at Budyn; the third, under count Konigseg, at Reichenberg; and the fourth, under mareschal Daun, in Moravia. By these dispositions, mareschal Brown, who commanded in chief, thought he could effectually cover Bohemia, which was understood to be the first object of the enemy, and stop their progress, should they attempt to advance.

The king of Prussia however, having resolved to penetrate into that kingdom, was not diverted from his purpose by this formidable force, or the strong positions it had taken. He therefore ordered his army, in like manner with the Austrians, to assemble in four divisions: one under prince Maurice of Anhalt Dessau, at Chemnitz; another, under himself and mareschal Keith, at Lockwitz; the third, under the prince of Bevern, at Zittaw; and the fourth under mareschal Schwerin, in Silesia. As each of these divisions was strong, he thought he might safely order them to enter Bohemia separately; but with instructions to unite as soon after as possible, for mutual support, and to form an entire junction in the neighbourhood of Prague.

The Prussian plan of operations being thus concerted, prince Maurice quitted his station at Chemnitz in the beginning of April, and marched by Zwickau and Plawen, toward Egra; as if he intended to attack the place, or at least to penetrate that way into Bohemia. And in order to confirm

(1) Lloyd's *Campaigns*, vol. i.
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d'Aremberg in this opinion, he commanded his light troops to make a faint upon the duke's quarters at Wildstein. The Austrian general, taking the alarm, threw himself into Egra; while prince Maurice returned to Averbach, and marched with great celerity, by Brix and Billan, to Linay, where he joined the king of Prussia.

Not thinking it practicable to force the camp at Budyn, which was very strong, his Prussian majesty passed the river Egra higher up, near Koschitz. Here his light troops and van-guard met those of the duke d'Aremberg, who was on his march to join marshal Brown. On seeing the Prussians, however, they fell back upon Welwarn; and marshal Brown finding the enemy had passed the Egra, and were encamped on his left flank, judged it necessary to quit his position at Budyn, and retire to Prague.⁽¹⁾ Thither he was followed by the king of Prussia, who encamped on the Weissenberg, to the left of the Moldaw, which the main body of the Austrians, now commanded by prince Charles of Lorraine, had quitted, and removed to the other side of that river.

While these things were passing on the side of Saxony, where his Prussian majesty had spent the winter, and whence he still drew supplies, the prince of Bevern having put his division in motion, marched from Zittaw to Reichenberg. He there found count Königsegg, with a body of twenty thousand men, encamped in a valley formed by two very high mountains. Through the middle of that valley runs the river Neiss, into which fall many torrents from the neighbouring mountains. The sides of those mountains are covered with thick woods, which are almost impassable. The Austrian general, therefore, occupied only the valley between, extending his wings no farther than the foot of the mountains.

The prince of Bevern, who, by pursuing this route, had put himself under the necessity of fighting, in order to join marshal Schwerin had now no choice left but the mode of giving battle. Taking advantage of the disposition of the enemy (after an unsuccessful attack upon their cavalry in the centre, which were strongly supported by their infantry and artillery on the two wings), he sent several battalions as high as possible into the mountain on his right, in order to come on the flank and rear of the Austrians posted in the wood at the foot of the mountain. His commands were punctually executed, and attended with full effect. The Austrians abandoned the wood: the prince renewed his attack upon their cavalry, which, unable to sustain the fire of the Prussian infantry, were forced to give way. On this advantage, he ordered his whole right wing to occupy the ground the Austrian cavalry had quitted, and obliged count Königsegg to retire toward Liebenaw, with the loss of a thousand men.

The prince of Bevern marched to that place, but found the Austrians so advantageously posted, that he did not think it prudent to attack them; more especially as he knew the advance of the army under marshal Schwerin would suddenly force them to retire. It so happened. Having received intelligence of Schwerin's approach, Königsegg quitted his camp next day, and marched with precipitation to Prague.

Meanwhile Schwerin, informed of the action at Reichenberg, and the retreat of the Austrians, wisely changed his route. He marched on the Iser, hoping still to be able to cut off Königsegg, before he could reach Prague. And although he failed in that attempt, he was so fortunate as to seize an immense magazine, which the enemy had formed at Jungbuntzlau.⁽²⁾ Being afterward joined by the prince of Bevern's division, he proceeded to Brandeis, where he continued till the fourth of May. He then passed the Elbe, and encamped on the other side; in order to concert measures with the king, before he advanced farther.

His Prussian majesty, who had thrown a bridge over the Moldaw, near Podbaba, passed that river with part of his army in the night, leaving the remainder under marshal Keith, on the Weissenberg. Next morning, at break of day, he formed a junction with Schwerin; and having reconnoitred

(1) Lloyd's *Campaigns*, vol. i.

(2) Lloyd, *ubi sup.*

the enemy, from one of the highest hills on the other side of Broaiz, he resolved to give them battle.

The Austrians, amounting to about eighty thousand men, were encamped with their left wing toward Prague, on the Ziskaberg; and their right extending beyond the village of Conraditz, on a hill near Sterbohl. The mountains before the Austrian camp were so steep and craggy, that no cavalry or artillery could possibly ascend them, and the deep valley at their foot was wholly occupied by hussars and Hungarian infantry. Yet was the king of Prussia, regardless of these difficulties, inclined to attack the enemy in front. But through the persuasion of mareschal Schwerin, he changed his opinion, and permitted that able general to make the attack on their right, where the ground falls gradually, and where the infantry could pass over certain meadows, and the cavalry and heavy artillery over dams.(1)

The action began about eleven o'clock; when the Prussian cavalry having passed the dams, the Austrian generals perceived that the king's intention was to attack their right flank, and ordered all their cavalry thither from the left. It came with great celerity, and formed itself with that on the right in one hundred and four squadrons, in three lines, with intervals equal to the front of a squadron. This movement was made with so much promptitude, that the prince of Schonauich, the Prussian lieutenant-general of horse, who had only sixty-five squadrons, afraid of being outflanked, judged it necessary to attack the enemy instantly, without waiting for the cavalry of the right wing, which the king had ordered to reinforce him. The attack was accordingly made with vigour; but the Prussian cavalry being outflanked by eight squadrons, was twice repulsed, in spite of its most strenuous efforts. In the third attack, however, the Austrian cavalry was entirely broken, by the bravery of twenty squadrons of hussars, led by general Zeithen, and pushed with such violence upon the grenadiers, as to throw them into confusion.

During this shock of the cavalry, the Prussian grenadiers of the left wing having passed the meadows, were obliged to advance through a very narrow road, in order to join the rest of the line, which was already formed. As soon as the grenadiers appeared on the other side of the defile, they were saluted by a battery of twelve pounders, charged with cartridges, and forced to retire in the greatest disorder. They were followed by two whole regiments; and the second battalion of Schwerin's began to give way, when the mareschal himself, who had been continually on the other side of the defile, took the colours of his regiment in his own hand; and having collected the broken troops, advanced with a strong pace toward the enemy, exhorting the soldiers to follow him. He received a bullet in his breast, and instantly fell from his horse, without the least signs of life.(2) But his death did not pass unrevenged.

The king of Prussia, observing that the Austrian right wing, in the ardour of pursuit, had advanced so far as to leave an opening between it and the left, laid hold of this favourable opportunity to occupy that vacant space. And while he thus separated the enemy's two wings from each other, he at the same time, by an additional stroke of generalship, ordered a body of troops to possess the ground where his own left had stood: so that when the Austrian right wing was forced back by the bravery of mareschal Schwerin, and the gallant officers who succeeded him in the command, that victorious body found itself surrounded, and fled in confusion toward Maleschiz: while the left wing, furiously attacked by the Prussian infantry, under prince Henry, with fixed bayonets, was obliged to take refuge in Prague. The centre also was broken, after an obstinate dispute, and chased into the same city.(3)

Such was the famous battle of Prague, in which the valour and military skill of the Austrians and Prussians were fully tried, and which proved fatal to two of the greatest generals in Europe. For mareschal Brown received

(1) Letter from count Schwerin, general-adjutant to the mareschal of that name, who was present at the consultations.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Lloyd, vol. i

a wound, which his chagrin rendered mortal; though his pride is supposed to have been more hurt by being obliged to command under the prince of Lorraine, than from the event of the day. The loss on both sides was very considerable. The Prussians, by their own account, had three thousand men killed, and more than double that number wounded, beside three hundred and ninety-seven officers, many of whom were of high rank. The loss of the Austrians, in killed, wounded, and taken, cannot be computed at less than twelve thousand, although they acknowledged little more than half that number.

But these were all the immediate consequences of the king of Prussia's victory. The main body of the Austrian army, to the number of fifty thousand men, found shelter in Prague, under prince Charles of Lorraine; and about sixteen thousand, chiefly cavalry, assembled at Beneschau the day after the battle, and immediately joined mareschal Daun, who had arrived the evening before, from Moravia, and encamped at Bohmisch Brodt, on hearing of the disaster of the Austrians. The intrepid Frederick, however, elated with his good fortune, and thinking that every thing must submit to his victorious arms, invested Prague, with an army little superior to that confined within the walls!

It was certainly very extraordinary, that so great a general as the king of Prussia should think it possible to reduce an army of fifty thousand men, in so extensive a town as Prague, with one of equal force. Hence the memorable saying of the celebrated mareschal de Belleisle, who had defended the same place, as we have seen, in 1742, with fifteen thousand men against the whole power of the house of Austria, and retired with honour and glory, when he found his provisions fail: "I know Prague; and if I were there with one half of the troops under the prince of Lorraine, I would destroy the Prussian army." (1)

But the supineness of the Austrians in some measure justified the king of Prussia's temerity. They suffered themselves to be shut up in Prague for six weeks, without making one vigorous effort for their enlargement; although the Prussian army, beside forming a chain of posts extending many miles, was separated by the river Moldaw into two parts, any one of which might have been cut off. Fifty thousand men, provided with arms and artillery, submitted to this inglorious restraint, and continued inactive till they began to feel the pressure of famine; and the prince of Lorraine, seemed, at one time, disposed to capitulate. When mareschal Brown, then sick in bed, was consulted on that subject, he made the following spirited reply: "Tell prince Charles, my advice is, That he instantly march out, and attack mareschal Keith!" (2)

The prince of Lorraine, however, did not choose to carry matters to that extremity, so long as any hope of relief remained; and the king of Prussia, by a new and more extraordinary instance of self-confidence than any he had yet exhibited, saved the Austrian army from the necessity of such a desperate effort, or the indelible disgrace of a surrender. While occupied in the siege of Prague, contemning the strength of the garrison, he had sent out several detachments, in order to raise contributions, and to seize or destroy the magazines which the Austrians had formed in different parts of Bohemia. Elated with the success of these detachments, and fearing that mareschal Daun, whose army now amounted to forty thousand men, might not only disturb his operations, but give prince Charles, by some manœuvre, an opportunity to get out of the place, he dispatched the prince of Bevern, with twenty-five thousand men, in order to drive him farther back.

As the Prussians advanced, mareschal Daun prudently retired, successively to Kolin, Kuttenberg, and Haber. But no sooner had he received all the reinforcements he expected, than he attempted to bring the prince of Bevern to action; and even, by rapid marches, to cut off his communication with the army before Prague. Informed of the enemy's motions, the king,

(1) Lloyd, vol. i. c.

(2) Lloyd, ubi sup.

of Prussia quitted his camp, with ten battalions and twenty squadrons, and marched toward Colin. There having formed a junction with the army under the prince of Bevern, he resolved to attack mareschal Daun, without further delay.

On his approach, with this intention, the Prussian monarch found the Austrian army, consisting of sixty thousand men, drawn up in two lines; the infantry, contrary to the common disposition, on the wings, and the cavalry in the centre. The right wing was posted on a hill, extending toward Kuttenberg and Kolin; the left on another and higher hill, lying toward Zasmuck. At the bottom of these two hills, and in the space between, which was covered by a chain of fish-ponds and morasses, mareschal Daun had extended two lines of horse, and kept a third in reserve; for as he knew that the Prussians were stronger in cavalry than infantry, the king having with him ninety squadrons, and only twenty-eight battalions, he supposed they would make their greatest effort against the centre of the Austrian army, in order to cut it in two. But no sooner did he perceive the king's intention of attacking him on the right flank, than he ordered his body of reserve to march to the right wing, in order to cover the flank. And he afterward directed his second line to march also thither, close up to the reserve.

His Prussian majesty ordered his army to halt, between nine and ten in the morning, in a plain near Slatislunz and Novimiesto, while he reconnoitred the enemy's position; and having resolved to attack them, notwithstanding the strength of that position, and their superiority in numbers, his army was again put in motion, and the battle soon after began. (1) At half an hour past one, the head of the Prussian columns, both of infantry and cavalry, appeared opposite the Austrian army, which was prepared to receive them. And about two o'clock the grand attack, conducted by prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, and supported by a powerful artillery, was pushed with resistless fury upon the Austrian right wing, which was at first thrown into disorder, but instantly recovered itself, and afterward behaved with equal firmness and gallantry. This conflict lasted about an hour and a half. Then the fire of the Prussian infantry began to slacken, and they were obliged to retire, in order to draw breath. They soon, however, renewed the combat; but were again compelled to yield to superior strength. Seven times did they return to the charge, from two till half past six o'clock. About that time, the last and most violent effort was made by the king in person, at the head of his cavalry. It was continued till after seven; when the Prussians, sinking under numbers and the disadvantage of ground, in which their cavalry could not properly act, were forced finally to relinquish the contest. But they remained on the field till nine, and retired without being pursued. The slaughter on both sides was great, and nearly equal. About twenty thousand men were left dead on the spot, or dying of mortal wounds.

In consequence of the loss of this memorable battle, one of the most obstinate and bloody of which there is any example in modern times, the king of Prussia was obliged immediately to raise the siege of Prague, and afterward to evacuate Bohemia.

General Lloyd's reflections on the siege of Prague, and the battle of Kolin, are too interesting to be here omitted. The siege of Prague, with about fifty thousand men in it, he observes, was an imprudent and dangerous measure, more especially as the king of Prussia was then in circumstances that required some decisive stroke, and that as soon as possible; that Prague covered no essential pass into that country, and contained no considerable magazine, neither was it necessary for the king to form one there, because the country itself furnished abundantly all kind of subsistence; that if, in-

(1) For the particulars of the battle of Kolin, and most of the other great actions between the Austrians and Prussians, the author is indebted to the late major-general Lloyd, whose excellent, but unfinished *Campaigns*, must make his death sincerely lamented by all military men. Where this prime authority fails, recourse has been had to the accounts of the different actions published by the courts of Berlin and Vienna, as well as to those transmitted to the court of Versailles by French officers in the Austrian service, which seem in general more accurate and impartial, and form a kind of standard for judging of the two former.

stead of besieging this town, his Prussian majesty had sent twenty thousand men, the morning after his victory, in pursuit of the Austrian right wing, which had fled to Beneschau, and marched with the main body of his army to Böhmisch Brodt, against mareschal Daun, it is more than probable he might have destroyed both; that they certainly could not have retired without losing their artillery and baggage, and must have fallen back with the utmost expedition on the Danube; that prince Charles of Lorraine must likewise have marched to the Danube, in order to join the remainder of the Austrian army, as he could not, in his then situation, have undertaken any thing of himself; that this would have given the king of Prussia all the time necessary to reduce Olmutz, and even Prague itself, which must have been left to a common garrison; but that, allured by the uncertain and vain, though flattering hope of making fifty thousand men prisoners, he lost sight of Daun and the Austrian right wing, and with it an opportunity of giving some decisive blow; that when, informed of the enemy's approach, he had still time to repair the fault he had committed,—“he might and ought to have raised the siege of Prague, and have marched with his whole forces against mareschal Daun;” and if he had succeeded, it is highly probable that he might also have routed prince Charles, before he could have reached the Danube. (1)

In regard to the battle of Kolin itself, this ingenious author very judiciously remarks, that as his Prussian Majesty was in proportion much stronger in cavalry than infantry, he ought to have chosen the most convenient ground on the enemy's front for that species of troops; and that as he had given them an opportunity, by making his dispositions in open day, to reinforce their right and its flank, whither they had brought two thirds of their army, he ought to have refused both his wings, and have made an effort with his cavalry, sustained by his infantry and artillery, on the enemy's centre, where they had only cavalry, and therefore most probably would have been forced to give way: whereas by persisting to attack their right, he could bring only his infantry into action, the ground being very improper for cavalry, as well on account of the ravines and woods, as of the villages before the enemy's front; that having resolved to attack the Austrian right wing, the king of Prussia should have brought thither all his infantry, leaving only a line of horse on his right, which would have been sufficient, as the enemy's left could never quit its advantageous position, and descend into the plain; that this would have enabled him to sustain properly his vanguard, which was left exposed; to have taken the enemy in flank, and to have gained the battle. (2) In a word, it appears from these reflections, that the king of Prussia erred, in forming an attack where he could not conveniently combine the different species of arms; whereas the enemy had both infantry and cavalry, with a great artillery, to sustain the points attacked; in letting his vanguard advance so far, that it could not be supported by the line, and in attacking with too little infantry, considering the nature of the ground. Hence the loss of the battle.

Nor were the arms of his Prussian Majesty, or those of his allies, more fortunate in other quarters. No sooner did the Russians, who had hovered long on the frontiers, enter the kingdom of Prussia, than general Lewwald was ordered to oppose their progress. He accordingly assembled an army of thirty thousand men, in the month of June, and took post at Insterburgh, in order to observe the motions of the enemy. Meanwhile general Fermor, with one division of the Russian army, assisted by a fleet from Revel, carrying nine thousand land forces, invested Memel; and, after a short siege, made himself master of that important place, which was of infinite consequence to the Russians, as they could make it a military station, and a magazine of provisions and stores, that might be constantly supplied by means of their navy.

This enterprise being successfully executed, the whole Russian army, con-

(1) Lloyd, vol. i.

(2) Ibid.

sisting of sixty-two thousand foot, and nineteen thousand horse, with near twenty thousand Tartars, Calmucks, and Cossacks, united under marechal Apraxin, on the river Russ, and advanced toward the Pregel. General Lewhald, on the approach of the enemy, quitted his camp at Insterburgh, and retired to Wehlaw, where he continued until he received positive orders to hazard a battle. Having reconnoitred the position of the Russians, who had passed the Pregel, and were encamped at Gross Jagerdorff, near Nor-kitten; he accordingly attacked them unexpectedly, at five o'clock in the morning, with great fury. Though thus in a manner surprised, they received the shock with a firmness that astonished him; and after a warm and general action of three hours, during which victory remained doubtful, and every possible exertion had been made, he was forced to retreat, with the loss of two thousand men. (1)

Unacquainted with the valour and discipline of the Russian infantry, since found to be the best in Europe, Lewhald deprived himself of the power of making a vigorous or successful effort in any one point, by extending his little army in a line opposed to that of the enemy, which he in vain endeavoured to break, as they had every where, through this mistaken disposition, a much greater number of men in action, than he could possibly present. (2) In vain did he attempt to cut their army in two, and take them in flank, by penetrating through certain openings. They received the Prussians on the point of the bayonet, and forced them to give way. He drew off his army, however, in good order, and re-occupied his former camp at Wehlaw.

While the Russians, now victorious, were ravaging the king of Prussia's dominions on one side of Germany, the French were stripping him of his possessions on the other, and laying the electorate of Hanover under contribution. After the duke of Cumberland passed the Weser, he continued to retreat before mareschal d'Etrees, until he reached the village of Hastenbeck. Having chosen an advantageous post, he there attempted to make a stand, on the 26th of July, but being worsted, after a vigorous resistance, he was obliged to quit his station. Instead, however, of marching immediately after the action, as prudence seemed to dictate, toward Wolfenbuttle, Halberstadt, and Magdeburg, where he might have formed a junction with the Prussian forces, his royal highness retired to Hoya, under pretence of covering Bremen and Verden; though, in reality, in order to keep up a communication with Stade, whither had been removed the archives, and most valuable effects of Hanover.

In the mean time that electorate, abandoned to the enemy, was laid under contribution. And the duke de Richelieu, the celebrated conqueror of Minorca, having succeeded to the chief command of the French army, soon saw himself master of Bremen and Verden, and obliged the duke of Cumberland to take refuge under the cannon of Stade. There, encamped between the Aller and the Elbe, it was supposed his royal highness would be able to maintain his ground till the close of the campaign, as the season was already far in the decline. But the enemy having taken effectual measures for cutting off his communication with the Elbe, he was under the necessity of signing the singular convention of Closter-seven; by which an army of thirty-eight thousand Hanoverians, Hessians, and other troops in the pay of his Britannic Majesty, was dissolved and distributed into different quarters of cantonment, without being disarmed, (3) or considered as prisoners of war.

(1) Prussian account of the battle. The Russian account is imperfect and contradictory.

(2) Lloyd, vol. i. p. 143.

(3) The court of France afterward insisted on the *disarming* of the troops, though the convention had observed a *profound silence* on that head. It only stipulated, That on the cessation of hostilities, the auxiliary troops should be sent home, and that such part of the Hanoverian army as the duke of Cumberland could not place in the city of Stade, should go and take quarters in the country beyond the Elbe, and not be recruited. (See the *Articles of the Convention* itself and the *Vindication of the King of England's Conduct as the Elector of Hanover*, published by authority.) Notwithstanding the notoriety of this fact, two cotemporary authors have affirmed, That in consequence

The French were left, "till the definitive reconciliation of the two sovereigns," (1) in full possession of the countries they had conquered, though under the express condition of abstaining from future violence, hostilities being immediately to cease on both sides.

HAVING thus subdued the German dominions of his Britannic majesty, the French were now at liberty to turn their whole forces against those of the king of Prussia. Mareschal Richelieu accordingly made his way into Halberstadt and the Old Marche of Brandenburg; first exacting contributions, and then plundering the towns. The army of the empire, under the prince of Hildburghausen, reinforced by that under the prince de Soubise, was on full march to enter Saxony. Twenty thousand Swedes, commanded by general Ungern Stornberg, had already entered Prussian Pomerania, under pretence of guaranteeing the treaty of Westphalia; and having taken the towns of Demmin and Anclam, and reduced the islands of Usedom and Wollin, they laid the whole country under contribution, without meeting with the smallest resistance, as the garrison of Stettin, consisting of ten thousand men, could not leave that important fortress, in order to oppose their progress. The kingdom of Prussia was still a prey to the barbarities of the Russians. One Austrian army had entered Silesia, and laid siege to Schweidnitz; while another, penetrating through Lusatia, passed the Prussian armies, and suddenly presenting itself before Berlin, laid that capital under contribution. The ruin of his Prussian majesty seemed inevitable.

This illustrious prince, driven out of Bohemia, was on all sides surrounded by powerful armies; and, in consequence of the convention of Closter-seven, he seemed to be deserted by the only ally on whom he could place any dependence. In what manner he extricated himself out of these difficulties, and what line of policy was pursued, in such delicate circumstances, by his Britannic majesty, we shall afterward have occasion to see.

LETTER XXXIII.

State of Europe, and the History of the general War, continued from the Convention of Closter-seven, to the Battle of Minden, or Thoruhausen, in 1759.

THE affairs of England, where tumult, clamour, and discontent had long prevailed, were still in disorder, when intelligence arrived of the humiliating convention of Closter-seven, which overwhelmed the court with shame and confusion. Pitt and Legge, the two popular ministers, had been restored to

of the convention of Closter-seven, "thirty-eight thousand Hanoverians laid down their arms." *Contin. Hist. Eng.* vol. ii. Annual Reg. 1758.

(1) This indefinite mode of expression gave rise to one of the most intricate disputes that ever employed the pens of political writers; and as self-interest dictated the arguments on both sides of the question, much ingenuity and force of reasoning were displayed. The French with great plausibility maintained, that no other meaning could reasonably be affixed to the words of the convention (which however they attempted to mend by certain Jesuitical explanations) than that which was natural and obvious: That the suspension of arms was to continue, and they consequently in possession of their conquests, till a general pacification. (*Parallel of the Conduct of the King of France with that of the King of England.*) The English ministry, on the other hand, affirmed, that the suspension of arms was a mere military regulation, which was to continue in force only till the issue of a negotiation, then depending, begun by his Britannic Majesty, in quality of elector of Hanover, and the suddenly expected declaration of the courts of Vienna and Versailles relative to such negotiation; that this was the reason why it was not thought necessary to fix the time the suspension of arms was to last. It was drawn up, they said, by the generals of the two armies, who mutually agreed that it should be of force without the ratification of the two courts; a thing impossible, if it is supposed the king of England's German dominions were to be delivered up into the hands of foreigners till a general peace, of which there was not the least prospect. "But it is evident," added they, "that France herself did not understand the hands of the Hanoverians to be tied up till a general peace, by the suspension of arms concluded at Closter-seven, from her insisting on having that stipulated, as an express condition, in her artful scheme of explication, proposed by the count de Lynar, the Danish minister." *Indication of the King of England's Conduct as Elector of Hanover.*

their respective offices, in compliance with the general wish of the nation, expressed in many warm addresses to the throne. But they had not yet had time to plan any regular system of measures; and the first enterprise they hazarded miscarried to the no small mortification of their friends, and to the severe disappointment, sorrow, and surprise of the whole kingdom.*

This was an expedition to the coast of France, in order to raise the drooping spirits of the people by an appearance of vigour, and the credit of the British arms, so sunk in the eyes of all Europe, by some great blow; and to induce, if possible, the French monarch to withdraw part of his troops from Germany, for the defence of his own dominions, instead of prosecuting foreign conquests. Its ultimate purpose was the relief of the electorate of Hanover, and its immediate object the destruction of the French shipping and naval stores at Rochefort. The destination of the armament, however was kept a profound secret. But the highest expectations of success were formed from the magnitude of the preparations, and the confidence which the public had in the abilities of Mr. Secretary Pitt, by whom the enterprise was said to have been planned.

Happily these expectations began in some measure to abate, in consequence of certain unforeseen delays, before the sailing of the fleet. At length, on the ill-omened day that the duke of Cumberland signed the convention of Closter-seven, the formidable armament put to sea. It consisted of eighteen ships of the line, under sir Edward Hawke, beside frigates, fire-ships, bomb-ketches, and a number of transports, carrying ten regiments of land forces, commanded by sir John Mordaunt. The hopes of the people were again revived; their petitions to heaven were fervent; and imagination, warmed by vows and wishes, looked fondly forward to some important conquest. What then was the astonishment of the nation, when this mighty fleet, which had cost the government almost a million of money, after beating off the coast of France for three weeks, and filling the inhabitants of the sea-ports with terror, returned to England without having taken so much as a fishing town;—without having attempted or effected any thing! except destroying some half-finished fortifications on the little island of Aix, situated at the mouth of the river Charente, which leads up to Rochefort.

Language cannot paint the expressions of disappointment that appeared in every countenance. Every heart seemed to feel the national disgrace, and every eye to lighten with indignation at the officers employed in the expedition. The officers endeavoured to throw the blame of their miscarriage on the ministry, in planning an impracticable enterprise. The ministry, supported by the voice of the people, retorted the charge, by accusing the officers of cowardice or incapacity. A *court of inquiry*, appointed by his majesty, censured the conduct of sir John Mordaunt, the commander-in-chief; and a *court-martial*, composed of officers of reputation, acquitted him of the charge of disobeying his instructions. The public opinion remained the same.

In the course of this trial and inquest it appeared, That the ministry had reason to believe, on good information, that an attempt upon Rochefort would be very practicable. Nor was there any thing offered to prove the impracticability of such attempt, if it had been made when the fleet first arrived before that place. But it was proved, to the satisfaction of every unprejudiced mind, and to the severe regret of all lovers of their king and country, of every man who had any pride in the military glory of England, That the time which ought to have been employed in action was spent in consultations and councils of war, and the purposed descent finally relinquished without any sufficient cause.(1) In a word, the principal officers, admiral Hawke excepted, seemed mutually desirous to avoid a landing. And their frequent consultations, notwithstanding the ardour of the troops, who were impatient to retrieve the honour of their country, seemed to have more in view than a common excuse for inaction; a concerted apology for not making a descent, than any hostile purpose against the enemy.

While the people of Great Britain were mourning over this shameful mis-

(1) See the printed *Evidence* in the publications of the times.
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carriage, which, joined to the accumulating misfortunes of the king of Prussia, and the mortifying convention of Closter-seven, exhibited a most melancholy picture of their affairs in Europe, those in America did not afford a more flattering prospect. Although a large reinforcement of troops had been sent thither, and a vast supply of warlike stores, the third campaign served only to swell the triumphs of the enemy.

The attack upon Crown Point, so long meditated, was laid aside for an expedition against Louisburg. Lord Loudon, who in person was to command the land forces, accordingly left New York on the ninth of July, with a body of six thousand men, and sailed for Halifax; where he was joined by admiral Holbourn with a considerable fleet, and about five thousand land forces. But when the fleet and army were almost ready to proceed for Cape Breton information was brought to Halifax, that the Brest fleet, consisting of seventeen ships of the line, beside frigates, with a reinforcement of troops, and an abundant supply of ammunition and provisions, was arrived at Louisburg. This intelligence immediately suspended the preparations, and damped the ardor of the British officers. Councils of war were held one after another; and the result of the whole was, That as the place which had been the object of their armament was so strongly reinforced, the French fleet rather superior to the English, and the season of the year so far advanced, it was advisable to defer the enterprise till a more favourable opportunity.

Thus terminated the projected expedition against Louisburg, like that against Rochefort, in a manner inglorious to the British arms, and disgraceful to the spirit of the British officers. But those were not the worst consequences that attended it.

Since the taking of Oswego, the French had remained masters of the Great Lakes: nor could the British forces prevent their collecting the Indians from all parts, and seducing or compelling them to act in their favour, the country of the Six Nations, the only body of Indians who preserved even the shadow of friendship to England, was abandoned to the mercy of the barbarous enemy. The British forts at the great Carrying Place were demolished, and Wood Creek was industriously shut up. In consequence of these unfortunate circumstances, all communication with our Indian allies was cut off; and what was still worse, the whole English frontier lay perfectly uncovered to the irruptions of the French and their desolating savages. All our fine settlements on the Mohawk river, as well as on the ground, called the German Flats, were destroyed.

Elated with so many advantages, the French were ambitious of distinguishing the campaign by some important blow. And no sooner did the marquis de Montcalm learn, that lord Loudon, with the main body of the English forces, had left New-York, than he determined to lay siege to Fort William Henry. This fort had been built on the southern side of Lake George, in order to cover the frontier of the British settlements, as well as to command the Lake. The fortifications were good, and the place was defended by a garrison of two thousand five hundred men, commanded by colonel Monro. Nor were those its only security. An army of four thousand five hundred men, under the conduct of general Webb, was posted at no great distance, and a much greater force might have been assembled. The French forces, collected from Crown Point, Ticonderago, and the adjacent forts, together with a party of Indians and Canadians, are said to have amounted to nine thousand men. With these, and a good train of artillery, Montcalm advanced against the object of his enterprise, while General Webb beheld his approaches with an indifference bordering on infatuation, or intimately allied to baseness. In a word, the enemy meeting with no obstruction from the quarter whence they dreaded it most, obliged the English fort to surrender.

The garrison was allowed to march out with the honours of war. But the Indians in the French army, disregarding the articles of capitulation, fell upon the soldiers, and the savages in the English service, as soon as they left the place, pillaging them, dragging them out of their ranks, scalping,

tomahawking, and exercising upon them every species of cruelty known among the natives of North America.(1) And what is yet more extraordinary, and what it is to be hoped posterity will not credit, two thousand Englishmen, with arms in their hands, and in danger every moment of becoming the victims of such violence, remained tame spectators of these barbarities, or sought safety only in flight!

The marquis de Montcalm, however, no less generous than brave, was able at length to quell the fury of the savages, and treated the sufferers with great humanity. Yet his summons to colonel Monro, when he began the siege, leaves room to suppose, that he meant, in case of resistance, to strike terror into the British troops by a new display of Indian cruelty. "I am still able," says he, "to restrain the savages, and to oblige them to ob-
"serve a capitulation, as none of them have been killed; but this control
"will not be in my power in other circumstances."(2)

When intelligence of those new losses and disgraces arrived in England, the people, already sufficiently mortified, sunk into a general despondency. And certain moral and political writers, who foretold the ruin of the nation, and ascribed its misfortunes to a total corruption of manners and principles, and utter extinction of the martial spirit, gained universal credit.(3) But the more zealous friends of the new administration, in conjunction with the younger officers of the army and navy, warmly vindicated the national character, and seemed to long for an opportunity to give the lie to the visionary prognostics of splenetic theory and croaking melancholy. In the mean time public opinion, ever fluctuating, and wholly governed by events, took a less gloomy direction. The first ray of hope came from the East.

When admiral Watson returned to the coast of Coromandel, after reducing the fortress of Gheria, the residence of the famous pirate Angrir, he was informed of the loss of Calcutta, with all the horrid circumstances attending it, and resolved upon revenge. He accordingly took on board Mr. Clive, now advanced to the rank of colonel, with part of the English East India company's troops at Madras, and sailed for the bay of Bengal. By a zealous co-operation of the sea and land forces, the forts of Buzbuzia and Tannah were speedily reduced. The town of Calcutta was recovered; and the English colours being once more hoisted on Fort William, Mr. Drake and the members of the council, who had hitherto remained on board the ships in the river, were again put in possession of the government.

Not satisfied with this success, the British commanders made themselves masters also of the large town of Hughley, where the nabob had established his principal magazines. Enraged at so many losses, and dreading more, Surajah Dowlah assembled a great army, and marched toward Calcutta, determined severely to chastise the audacity of the invaders, and even finally to expel every Englishman from the province of Bengal. But he met with so warm a salute from colonel Clive, captain Coote, and other gallant officers, at the head of the company's troops, reinforced with six hundred sailors from the fleet, as induced him to sue for peace, and agree to such terms as the English commanders thought proper to dictate. He engaged to restore to the East India company all their factories, goods, and money, which had been seized by his orders; to reinstate them in all their former privileges and to allow them to extend their presidency over thirty-eight neighbouring villages, conformable to a disputed grant that had been obtained from the Great Mogul.(4).

Informed of the new war between France and Great Britain, and having nothing now to fear from the nabob, the English commanders resolved to turn their arms against the French factories in Bengal. Their first object

(1) These barbarities are strongly delineated in many letters from the officers, after they arrived at New York.

(2) Letter, dated Aug. 3. 1757, and signed MONTCALM.

(3) The most distinguished of these writers was Dr. Brown, whose *Estimate of the Manners and Principles of the Times*, abounding with awful predictions, was bought up and read with incredible avidity, and as much confided in as if he had been divinely inspired.

(4) Orme's *Hist. Indost.* book vii. Lond. *Gazette*, Sept. 20, 1757.

was the reduction of Chandernagore, the principal French settlement in the province, and a place of great strength, situated a little higher on the river Hughley than Calcutta. In the expedition against this town and fort, colonel Clive commanded seven hundred European troops, and sixteen hundred Sepoys, or soldiers of the country, habituated to the use of fire-arms. The squadron, consisting of three sail of the line, and a sloop of war, was conducted by the admirals Watson and Pocock. The place was defended by six hundred Europeans, and three hundred Sepoys, who gallantly disputed every post. But so powerful was the cannonade from the ships, as soon as they could bring their guns to bear upon the works, and from two batteries, mounted with twenty-four pounders, that assailed with a cross-fire the two bastions of the fort against which the men of war laid their broadsides, that the garrison was obliged to surrender, after a short but vigorous conflict of three hours.

As conquest naturally expands the views of the conqueror, Clive, who was formed for vast undertakings, no sooner found himself in possession of Chandernagore, than he conceived the design of humbling still farther the nabob of Bengal, and of advancing to a yet greater height the interests of the English East India company. And the conduct of that prince furnished him with many pretexts for renewing hostilities.

Surajah Dowlah was backward in fulfilling the treaty he had lately concluded with the company. He attempted to evade the execution of the chief articles of it; and he had entered into secret intrigues with the French, to whom he seemed disposed to afford protection in return for support. The English colonel therefore resolved to compel him to perform his stipulations; and, in case of refusal, to chastise him for his breach of faith, and even to divest him of his authority. In the last resolution he was confirmed (if it was not suggested) by a discovery of the disaffection of Meer Jaffier, commander-in-chief of the nabob's forces, and of the intrigues of Surajah Dowlah with the French officers in the Dekan.

The measures employed by Clive, to accomplish this revolution, do no less honour to his sagacity and address, as a politician, than to his vigour and skill as a commander. While he conducted an intricate and dangerous negotiation with Meer Jaffier, by means of his agents, he counterfeited friendship so artfully, as not only to quiet the suspicions of the Nabob, but to induce him to dissolve his army, which had been assembled at Plassy, a strong camp to the south of his capital, before the taking of Chandernagore, in consequence of a report, that the English commander meant next to attack Muxadabad. "Why, do you keep your forces in the field," said he insidiously, "after so many marks of friendship and confidence?—They distress all the merchants, and prevent us from renewing our trade. The English cannot stay in Bengal without freedom of commerce. Do not reduce us to the necessity of suspecting, that you intend to destroy us as soon as you have an opportunity. (1)"

In order to quiet these pretended fears, Surajah Dowlah recalled his army, though not without great anxiety. "If," cried he, with keen emotion, "the colonel should deceive me!"—And the secret departure of the English agents from Maxadabad soon convinced him that he was deceived. He again assembled his army, and ordered it to re-occupy its former camp at Plassy; after having made Meer Jaffier, by the most solemn oaths upon the Koran, renew his obligations of fidelity and allegiance.

The English commander, who had hoped to take possession of that important post, was not a little disconcerted by this movement. The nabob had reached Plassy, twelve hours before him, at the head of fifty thousand foot, and eighteen thousand horse. These forces were protected by fifty pieces of cannon, planted in the openings between the columns, into which the Indian army was divided, and partly directed by forty Frenchmen. Clive, however, though surprised at the enemy's numbers as well as at their formidable array, resolved to give them battle. He accordingly drew up his little army, con-

(1) Orme, ubi sup.

sisting of about one thousand Europeans, and two thousand Sepoys, under cover of eight field pieces. The cannonade was brisk on both sides, from eight o'clock in the morning till near noon; when a heavy shower damaged the enemy's powder, and their fire began gradually to flag.

Nor was this the only circumstance in favour of the English army. Surajah Dowlah, who had hitherto remained in his tent beyond the reach of danger, and been flattered every moment with assurances of victory, was now informed that Meer Murdeen, the only general on whose fidelity he could rely, was mortally wounded. Overwhelmed by so weighty a misfortune, he sent for Meer Jaffier, and throwing his turban on the ground, "Jaffier!" exclaimed he, "that turban you must defend." The traitor bowed, and with his hand on his breast, promised his best services. But no sooner did he join his troops, than he sent a letter to colonel Clive, acquainting him with what had passed; and requesting him either instantly to push on to victory, or to storm the nabob's camp, during the following night.

The letter, however, was not delivered till the fortune of the day was decided; so that Clive was still held in some degree of suspense with respect to the ultimate intentions of Jaffier. Meanwhile the nabob, understanding that his general continued inactive, suddenly ordered a retreat. Mounting a camel, soon after, he fled toward Muxadabad, accompanied by two thousand horsemen. And the English army, having surmounted every difficulty, entered his camp about five in the afternoon, without any other obstruction than what was occasioned by baggage and stores; it being utterly abandoned by his troops which were seen flying on all sides in the utmost confusion. (1)

Having at length received Meer Jaffier's letter, Clive pressed on with his victorious army to Daudpore, regardless of the rich plunder of the enemy's camp. He arrived there about eight o'clock in the evening, and next morning saluted the traitor nabob (though more properly subah) of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixah.

The new nabob hastened with his troops to Muxadabad, whither he was followed by the English commander. From that city, Surajah Dowlah had made his escape in disguise, the day after his defeat; accompanied only by his favourite women, and by the eunuch who governed his seraglio, having lost all confidence in his army, and in his officers, both civil and military. He was taken; brought back to his capital; imprisoned, and put to death by order of Meerum, the son of Jaffier; an ambitious and cruel youth, who was unwilling to leave any thing in the power of fortune that violence could secure. (2) Nor can his conduct be blamed on the maxims of Asiatic policy. His father's sway, which otherwise might have been disputed, was instantly acknowledged over all the three provinces that composed the viceroyalty or subahship.

It now only remained for colonel Clive to make Meer Jaffier, whom he had seated in the *Musnud* or throne, fulfil the conditional engagements into which he had solemnly entered, before the English army was put in motion for his support. After attempting some evasions, by pleading the lowness of his predecessor's treasury, the nabob found it necessary to adhere to every stipulation. And a treaty to the following purport was read, and acknowledged to have been signed by him.

"I engage, That as soon as I shall be established in the government of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixah, I will maintain the treaty of peace concluded with the English by Surajah Dowlah; that the enemies of the English shall be my enemies, whether they be Indians or Europeans; that all the effects and factories belonging to the French in Bengal, the paradise of nations, or in Bahar and Orixah, shall remain in the possession of the English—and I will never more allow them to settle in any of the three provinces; that, in consideration of the losses which the English company have sustained by the capture and plunder of Calcutta by the nabob, and the charges occasioned by maintaining forces to recover their factories, I

(1) Orme, *Hist. Indost.* book vii.

(2) *Ibid.*

"will give one *Crore* of rupees," equivalent to twelve hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling; "and that, for the effects plundered from the English inhabitants of Calcutta, I will give fifty *lacks* of rupees," equivalent to six hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds sterling. He also agreed to indemnify the Armenian, Gentoo, and other Asiatic inhabitants of Calcutta, and greatly to enlarge the territory of the English East India company. (1) In a word, the indemnification and restitutions, with a donation of fifty lacks of rupees to the fleet and army, exclusive of private gratuities, amounted to the enormous sum of two millions seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling. Near one third of that sum was immediately paid in coined silver.

Before information arrived in England of this great revolution in the south of Asia, so favourable to the interests of Great Britain, a variety of events had happened in Europe, which served to revive the spirit of the English nation, and give a more agreeable turn to the affairs of his Britannic majesty and his allies.

While the king of Prussia was wholly occupied in observing the motions of the Austrians, and struggling to preserve his footing in Bohemia, the army of the empire, under the prince of Hildburghausen, having formed, as already observed, a junction with the French army under the prince de Soubise, at Erfurth, assumed the title of the *Combined Army*, whose immediate object it was to drive the Prussians out of Saxony. The generals of that army accordingly resolved to march down the Saala, (supposing they had nothing to apprehend from his Prussian majesty) and begin their operations with the siege of Leipsic. This enterprise they chose, in preference to any other, because they would there be at hand to receive all kind of succours from Richelieu's army, now entirely at liberty, in consequence of the convention of Closter-seven; and also because, in case of success, they could take up their winter-quarters in that part of Saxony, and proceed next campaign, in full force, to the entire conquest of the country, as well as to that of Magdeburg and Brandenburg. But all their designs were broken, by the vigilance and activity of the enterprising Frederick.

Aware of the necessity of opposing the progress of the French and Imperialists, or of humbling himself at the feet of his enemies, the king of Prussia pursued a line of conduct worthy of a hero and a commander. Leaving an army of forty battalions and seventy squadrons under the prince of Bevern, to observe the motions of the Austrians, and defend Silesia, he marched to Dresden; quickly assembled a new army, and proceeded to the Saala. The enemy abandoned Erfurth, on his approach, and retired to Eisenach. He followed them, with an intention to give them battle, but found them too advantageously posted to hazard an attack; and as they seemed studiously to decline an action, he fell back on the Saala, the better to subsist his troops. Various movements were afterward made by both armies. And the generals of the combined army having received a reinforcement under the duke de Broglie, during the absence of his Prussian majesty, who had been obliged to march to the relief of his capital, they resumed their resolution of penetrating into Saxony. They accordingly passed the Saala, established their head-quarters at Weissenfels, and sent the count de Mailly to summon Leipsic.

Mareschal Keith, who had thrown himself into that important place with six thousand men, treated the summons with contempt. And before the enemy could form the siege, he was happily joined by the king of Prussia, who now saw the necessity of giving battle to the combined army, consisting of fifty thousand French and Imperialists, with less than half its number. With this view he passed the Saala at Weissenfels, Merseberg, and Halle, the enemy having repassed the same river on his approach, and assembled his troops near the village of Rosbach. The combined army was encamped in the neighbourhood; and his Prussian majesty, having examined the post,

(1) Orme, ubi sup. Lond. Gazette, Feb. 14, 1758.

(2) Orme, book vii.

tion of the enemy, resolved to attack them. He accordingly advanced with that intention; but finding they had changed their position, he desisted from the attempt, and encamped, with his left at Rosbach, his centre at Shartaw, and his right toward Bedra. The generals of the combined army, considering this position as the effect of fear, and elated with their great superiority in numbers, determined to bring him to an engagement next morning. In consequence of that resolution, they put their troops in motion about eleven o'clock, and advanced in order of battle; the cavalry in front, and the infantry in the rear.

The king of Prussia remained quiet till two o'clock; when perceiving that the enemy's purpose was to attack his left flank, he ordered the main body of his army to march in that direction, behind the heights of Riechertswerben. These concealed his motions; and, in order further to deceive the enemy, he left his camp standing, as if he had been in the most perfect, and even infatuated security. Confident of victory, the French and Imperialists advanced with so much precipitation, that their army was thrown into some disorder in its march; and before they had time to form, they were unexpectedly attacked and routed by the Prussian horse. Their cavalry attempted to rally behind the village of Busendorff; but the Prussians pursued their advantage with such ardour, that the enemy were again routed and forced to quit the field.

Meanwhile the generals of the combined army endeavoured to form their infantry, though with little success. It was suddenly broken by the Prussian foot, supported by the cavalry and artillery. The prince de Soubise, however, did not yet give up the battle as lost. He ordered the body of reserve, consisting of five regiments of cavalry, to advance and sustain the infantry, in hopes of thus enabling them to form the line. But these fresh regiments were instantly attacked, broken, and driven off the field, like the former; and the infantry, after a vigorous combat, was also obliged to give way. A complete victory remained to his Prussian majesty, who did not lose above three hundred men; whereas the loss of the French and Imperialists amounted to near nine thousand, including killed, wounded, and prisoners. Among the latter were eleven generals, and three hundred officers of inferior rank. (1)

With the battle of Rosbach ended the campaign in Saxony, the combined army being no longer fit for action. But there was yet no rest for the victorious Frederick. A great army of Austrians and Hungarians, under prince Charles of Lorraine, assisted by mareschal Daun and general Nadasti, had entered Silesia, in spite of all the efforts of the prince of Bevern, and threatened an entire conquest of that fine province, which had been the cause of so much bloodshed. Their first enterprise was the siege of Schweidnitz; a rich, populous, and strong town, situated in a plain about three miles beyond the mountains which separate Silesia from Bohemia, and garrisoned with six thousand men.

The siege of this important place was committed to general Nadasti, who invested it on the 27th of October. Meantime the prince of Bevern lay encamped in the neighbourhood of Breslaw, in order to cover that capital; while the prince of Lorraine and mareschal Daun took post at no great distance to watch his motions, and prevent his marching to the relief of Schweidnitz. And Nadasti, who was reinforced during the siege by a large body of Bavarians and Wurtembergers, conducted his operations with so much vigour, that, three redoubts being carried at once by assault, the place was taken, and the garrison made prisoners of war, after the trenches had been open only twelve days.

Prince Charles, having thus secured a communication with Bohemia, by acquiring the command of the defiles, and also a place well stored with provisions to retire into, in case of disaster, was encouraged to attack the prince of Bevern in his camp, though now strongly fortified, as soon as he was joined by Nadasti. The cannonading began at nine in the morning, and was continued with great fury till noon, where the Prussian entrenchments were

(1) Lloyd, vol. i. p. 97.

formed in every quarter. Twice were the Austrians repulsed with great slaughter; but their third attack was irresistible. The Prussians were driven from most of their redoubts; and the prince of Bevern taking advantage of the friendly approach of night, which only prevented his entrenchments being entirely forced, abandoned his lines, and retired behind the Oder. Nor was this his only misfortune. Going to reconnoitre the victorious enemy, two days after the battle, he was made prisoner by a party of Croats, and Breslaw surrendered to the Austrians. (1)

In this desperate situation were the affairs of his Prussian majesty, notwithstanding his success at Rosbach. At that time anxious for the safety of Silesia, the great bone of contention, he arrived at Parchwitz on the Oder, with his small but victorious army, now consisting only of nineteen battalions and thirty-three squadrons. Here he was joined by the remains of the army lately commanded by the prince of Bevern; the whole forming a gallant body of thirty-six thousand men, determined to conquer or die with their leader.

The Austrians, thinking the campaign finished, were preparing to go into winter-quarters, (2) when they heard of the warlike king's approach. It rather surprised than alarmed them. Prince Charles and mareschal Daun immediately resolved to give him battle. Having left a strong garrison in Breslaw, they accordingly passed the river at Schweidnitz, at the head of eighty thousand good troops, and were advancing toward Glogaw, with the fullest assurance of victory, when they were met by the Prussian monarch at the village of Leuthen, near Lißa. There a general engagement took place.

The Austrian or Imperial army was very strongly posted. It was drawn up in a plain, behind several little hills, which were all covered with heavy cannon; and its left was farther secured by a mountain and a wood, also planted with artillery. The village of Nypern, on the right wing, and that of Leuthen on the left, were likewise fortified, and filled with infantry. But prince Charles and mareschal Daun made less use than might have been expected of so advantageous a position. Deceived by the rapid motions of the king of Prussia toward their right, against which he made violent demonstrations, they drew their chief strength thither; whilst he, concealed by certain heights, which they had neglected to occupy, brought his whole force, by a sublime stroke of generalship, to bear upon their left, against which he had meditated his real attack. (3) And mareschal Daun, who commanded in person on the right of the Austrians, instead of attacking the thin left wing of the Prussians, which he might certainly have broken, and by that means have divided the king's attention, as well as his force, ordered the Austrian right and centre to sustain the left wing, already in confusion, and retiring so fast as to throw the fresh troops into disorder; whilst the victorious enemy, advancing in order of battle, prevented them from forming. The left wing therefore excepted, the whole Austrian army was routed, one battalion after another.

Other circumstances contributed to the success of his Prussian majesty. The auxiliary troops, consisting of Bavarians and Wurttembergers, who had never seen an enemy, being injudiciously placed on the most exposed part of the Austrian left wing, were soon broken by the Prussian infantry. And the sagacious Frederick, whose superior genius alike enabled him to take advantage of the enemy's blunders, and to defeat their best conducted schemes, having foreseen that general Nadast, with the Austrian body of reserve, would probably advance and attack the cavalry of his right wing, had wisely placed four battalions behind them; so that when this commander attempted

(1) Lloyd, vol. i. p. 87.

(2) Lloyd, ubi sup.

(3) The description of this battle is drawn from a diligent comparison of the Prussian and Austrian accounts, published by authority; yet does the author of the historical article, in the *Annual Register* for 1758, said to be the late Dr. Campbell, and other English historians, in blind submission to his authority, represent the *real* attack to have been made on the Austrian right wing.

to take the Prussians in flank, and had thrown some regiments of horse into confusion, the fire of the four concealed battalions obliged him to retire in disorder.

The Austrians, however, made a vigorous stand at the village of Leuthen, which was fortified with redoubts and entrenchments, and defended by the flower of the Imperial army. But after a desperate combat, maintained for more than an hour, during which the fortune of the day seemed still doubtful, the Prussian infantry having been three times repulsed in spite of their most gallant efforts, the village was abandoned, and a complete victory left to the king, who pursued the enemy as far as Lissa.

The action lasted from one till four in the afternoon, when the Austrians were defeated in all quarters; and night only prevented the total ruin of the vanquished army. They left about six thousand men dead on the field, with almost an equal number wounded. And the Prussians took, within a week after the battle, twenty thousand prisoners, three thousand waggons, and two hundred pieces of cannon, with a great quantity of military trophies. Their own loss, in killed and wounded, amounted to at least five thousand.(1) Few battles have been more obstinately disputed, and none could be more honourable to the victors.

But the consequences of the battle of Lissa are the best proof of the king of Prussia's decisive victory, as well as of the honour with which it was gained. The terror inspired by his arms, every where communicated by the celerity of his motions, was for a time of as much use as his effective force. He immediately invested Breslaw, which surrendered in a few days, though garrisoned with seventeen thousand men, who were all made prisoners of war.(2) And prince Charles, having collected the remains of his broken forces, retired into Bohemia before the close of the year.

Nothing now remained to the Austrians in Silesia, but the town of Schweidnitz, which his Prussian majesty was too prudent to invest during the rigour of winter, when his troops required repose; especially as he thought it must necessarily fall in the spring. And he was not deceived in his conjecture.

The same good fortune had attended the king of Prussia's affairs in every quarter. The Russians, by making war like barbarians, had so completely exhausted the country they invaded, that they were obliged to return home, for want of provisions, on the approach of winter, leaving only a garrison in Memel. In consequence of this retreat, general Lewhald, who commanded the royal army in Russia, was left at liberty with thirty thousand men. These he conducted into Pomerania, and obliged the Swedes to abandon all their conquests, except the Penamunder and Anclamer entrenchments, and retire under the cannon of Stralsund, before the end of December. Meantime marshal Keith had entered Bohemia, with eight thousand men, in the absence of the prince of Lorraine: and having raised contributions in different districts, and given an alarm even to Prague itself, returned unmolested into Saxony, where he put his troops into winter-quarters.

Nor was this good fortune confined merely to the king of Prussia. It extended even to his subjected allies.

The French, intent only upon plunder, broke almost every article of the convention of Closter-seven. And, in order more freely to indulge their rapacity, and preclude even the possibility of revenge, the duke de Richelieu insisted, that the brave but unfortunate Hanoverians and Hessians, who had acted under the duke of Cumberland, should deliver up their arms; while the court of Versailles, under the pretence that this and other stipulations had been omitted through neglect, refused to ratify the ignominious convention, unless certain explanations were added, although military conventions are supposed to require no ratification, and are never violated but by the most faithless nations.

• Roused by these injuries and indignities, by tyranny and rapine abetted

(1) Lloyd, vol. i. p. 124.

(2) Ibid.

by national treachery, but chiefly by the terror of being deprived of their arms, the last disgrace of soldiers, the Hanoverian troops, though distributed into different cantonments, secretly resolved to rescue their country from oppression, and had begun to collect themselves, in consequence of that resolution, when the victory, obtained by the king of Prussia at Rosbach, more fully awakened their courage, and confirmed them in their generous purpose.

Pleased with the seal so conformable to his wishes, and thinking himself now fully released from the mortifying shackles of neutrality imposed upon him by the convention of Closter-seven, so shamefully violated and disavowed by the court of Versailles, his Britannic majesty invested prince Ferdinand of Brunswick with the chief command of his electoral forces, and ordered him to renew hostilities against his cruel and perfidious enemies. Assembled under this gallant leader, the Hanoverians bravely made head against their conquerors; and being reinforced in the beginning of the year by a body of Prussian horse, they pushed the French from post to post, and obliged them to evacuate successively Otterberg, Bremen, and Verden.

The town and castle of Hoya, on the Weser, where the enemy attempted to make a stand, were reduced by the hereditary prince of Brunswick; while his uncle, prince Ferdinand, recovered the city of Minden, on the same river, and made prisoners a garrison of four thousand men. An English squadron, under commodore Holmes, compelled them to abandon Embden, the capital of East Friesland. And the wretched remnant of a great and lately victorious army found the utmost difficulty in repassing the Rhine, without being entirely cut off by a body of men, whom it had, a few months before, vanquished, insulted, and trampled upon.

From this reproach, so justly merited by the French officers as well as soldiers, while in possession of Hanover, the duke de Randan, a nobleman of great honour and integrity, who commanded in the capital, was happily exempted. As the pride of conquest had never made him behave with insolence, resentment had as little power to make him act with rigour on the adverse turn of affairs. He not only endeavoured, at all times, to restrain the soldiers within the bounds of discipline, but exhibited a glorious proof of humanity, when ordered to evacuate the place. Instead of destroying the magazine of provisions according to the usual, and often wantonly cruel practice of war, he generously left it in the hands of the magistrates, to be distributed among the lower class of the inhabitants, who had long been exposed to the pressure of famine!

Never perhaps, in any one campaign, were the changes of fortune, the accidents of war, the power of generalship, or the force of discipline, so fully displayed, as in that of 1757. Influenced by those changes, the British ministry embraced a new system of policy. Mr. Secretary Pitt, who, in order to govern the councils of his sovereign, had found it expedient to form a coalition with the duke of Newcastle and other members of the old administration, also thought fit to contradict his former sentiments, and the arguments founded upon them, and become the advocate of a German war. But perhaps such a sacrifice of sentiments was necessary, in order to enable the great Commoner to serve his country, even in this preposterous manner. George II. though a magnanimous prince, and a lover of his British subjects, was impatient of contradiction in whatever concerned his German dominions.

In consequence of the new system of policy, adopted by the British ministry, and the ardour with which the parliament and the people entered into their views, a second treaty or convention was signed at London, between the king of Prussia and his Britannic majesty; by which the contracting parties engaged to conclude no treaty of peace, truce, or neutrality, with the hostile powers, but in concert and by mutual agreement and participation. And the king of Great Britain engaged to pay immediately to the Prussian monarch the sum of four millions of German crowns, or six hundred and seventy thousand pounds sterling, in order to enable him to maintain and augment his forces, to be employed in the common cause. Liberal

supplies were also granted for the support of the army under prince Ferdinand of Brunswick: and it was farther resolved to reinforce it with a body of British troops.

The councils of Lewis XV. experienced a change, no less remarkable than that which had taken place in those of George II. The French ministers had long been the sport of female caprice. It was their power of pleasing madame de Pompadour, a favourite mistress who entirely governed their king, that alone qualified them to serve their country. Some of the most honest and able men in the kingdom were turned out of their employments with marks of disgrace, while others retired with indignation from public service. But the misfortunes of the French arms, at length, obliged the court of Versailles to call men to the public service upon public principles.

The mareschal duke de Belleisle, whose exploits I have already had occasion to relate, and whose abilities were known to all Europe, was placed at the head of the military department, as minister for war. "I know," said he, in entering on his office, "the miserable state of our armies, and it fills me at once with grief and indignation; for the disgrace and infamy which it reflects upon our government are more to be lamented than the evil itself:—I know but too well to what length the want of discipline, pillaging, and licentious violence, have been carried by our officers and common men, after the example of their commanders. It mortifies me to think I am a Frenchman. But, thank God! my principles are known to be very different from those that have lately been adopted.

"Had I commanded the army, many enormities would have been repressed: a thousand things that have been done would have been omitted; whilst others, that have been neglected, would have been executed. I should have multiplied my communications; I should have had strong posts on the right, on the left, and in the centre: I should have had magazines every where. The quiet and satisfaction of the conquered, under a mild administration, would have been equal to that resentment they have discovered at being plundered and oppressed; and we should have been as much beloved and admired by them, as we are at present contemned and abhorred. The fatal consequences of a different line of conduct are too obvious to need being pointed out: they are severely felt. We must not, however, supinely sink under our misfortunes. A late reformation, though it seldom effectually remedies the disorder, is better than unavailing complaint, or the tolerance of abuse; let us, therefore, seriously set about it. There is yet room for hope: and, in our situation, the absence of future evil may be esteemed a desirable good." (1)

The duke de Belleisle accordingly made every possible exertion, to communicate strength and order to the French army upon the Rhine, now commanded by the count de Clermont, who had succeeded the ravenous and dissipated Richelieu. A body of troops was also assembled at Hanau, under the prince de Soubise, supposed to be intended to penetrate into Bohemia, or to reinforce the army of the empire; but in reality to invade the territories of Hesse-Cassel, and oblige the landgrave to renounce the alliance of his Britannic majesty. In the mean time prince Ferdinand having passed the Rhine, in the face of an enemy fifty thousand strong, attacked the count de Clermont at Crevelt, on the twenty-third day of June, and obliged him to retire under the cannon of Cologne, with the loss of seven thousand men, and many officers of distinction.

Among these was the count de Gisors, only son of the duke de Belleisle, who had been mortally wounded at the head of his regiment, while animating it by his example to make a vigorous effort. His fate was much lamented both by the victors and the vanquished. Having been educated with all the care which an enlightened father could bestow upon a son of fine talents, in order to enable him to maintain the reputation of his ancestors, he united the purest morals to the most elegant manners. He was not only a lover of learning, but master himself of many branches of it. He had seen every

(1) *Annual Register*, for 1758.

part of Europe, and read courts and nations with a discerning eye. Military experience was only wanting to complete his accomplishments, and render him a support as well as an ornament to his country. He resolved to acquire such experience. Though lately married to the heiress of an illustrious house, himself the last hope of a most noble family, he entered that course of glory and danger, which his own ardent spirit and the wishes of his countrymen pointed out to him, and fell in his first campaign. The affectionate father, and patriotic minister, deeply mourned his loss, and mingled the public with the private tear.

The taking of Dusseldorp, however, was the only visible effect of a victory, which did great honour to the military capacity of the Hanoverian general, and to the bravery of his troops. The French army, under the count de Clermont, who was immediately succeeded by M. de Contades, being on its own frontier, was quickly and strongly reinforced; so that prince Ferdinand saw reason to apprehend, that he might soon be obliged to repass the Rhine, by an enemy he had lately defeated. But he resolved to maintain his ground as long as possible, in hopes of being joined by the British troops, the first division of which was already landed at Embden; and, on their arrival, he did not doubt of being able to transfer the seat of war from the Rhine to the Maese, and of gaining such advantages over M. de Contades, as would make it necessary for the prince de Soubise to come to his assistance. Meantime he flattered himself, that the prince of Ysenberg, who commanded the Hessian troops, would be able to protect the territories of the landgrave, and find the French general sufficient employment in that quarter. But in this hope he was disappointed:—and certain unforeseen circumstances conspired to render his whole splendid scheme abortive.

The duke de Broglio, with a strong detachment from the army of the prince de Soubise, defeated the Hessian army, on the 23d day of July, near Sangerhausen. That victory gave the French the command of the Weser, and it was to be feared, if they availed themselves of the advantages they had acquired, that they might be able to cut off the British troops, now on their march to join the Hanoverian army. In such circumstances, prince Ferdinand had no alternative, but either to repass the Rhine or give battle to M. de Contades. The French general studiously avoided an engagement, and heavy rains had rendered the passage of the Rhine impracticable.

Meanwhile M. de Chevert, who had passed that river some time before, with twelve thousand men, in order to attempt the recovery of Dusseldorp, having attacked baron Imhoff, posted near the bridge of Rees with six battalions and four squadrons (to protect a magazine at Meer, and favour the march of the British troops), was repulsed with great slaughter. Imhoff joined the British forces; and M. de Contades, convinced of the superiority of the Hanoverians in valour and discipline, though much inferior in numbers, permitted prince Ferdinand to repass the Rhine almost without molestation. The Hessians, assured of support, wore a good countenance, notwithstanding the defeat of general Oberg, who had been sent to their assistance, and the British troops were zealous for action. But the season being too far in the decline to admit of any new plan of operations, prince Ferdinand put his army into winter quarters in the bishopricks of Munster, Paderborn, and Hildesheim, toward the end of October. (1)

During these transactions on the Rhine, the king of Prussia had experienced many changes of fortune. Having spent the winter in Silesia, he began the campaign with the siege of Schweidnitz, and obliged the Austrian garrison to surrender in twelve days. On the recovery of that important place, he divided his principal army, consisting of fifty thousand choice troops, into three bodies: the first commanded by mareschal Keith, the second by himself in person, and the third by prince Maurice of Anhalt Dessau. With this army, after threatening Bohemia, he suddenly entered Moravia; which, for various reasons, he intended to make the theatre of war, but for none more than its having been hitherto exempted from contri-

(1) *Lond. Gasetter*, passim.

bution. Meanwhile he dispatched his brother Henry, with a body of thirty thousand men, to oppose the army of the empire, which was assembled, under the prince of Deuxponts, near Bamberg in Franconia.

As his Prussian majesty, by his rapid and unexpected march into Moravia, threw his enemies behind him, it was thought he would proceed directly to Vienna. But that political and enterprising prince, though surely not destitute of ambition, or of the power of forming great designs, chose to pursue a more moderate line of conduct. He saw the danger of leaving an Austrian garrison in Olmutz, supported by an Austrian army in his rear; and therefore resolved to make himself master of that strong town, before he advanced farther. The trenches were accordingly opened before it, and with the most sanguine hopes of success. In the mean time mareschal Daun, having quitted his camp at Leutomysel, in Bohemia, entered Moravia by the way of Billa.

Too cautious, and perhaps too weak, to attempt the relief of Olmutz, by hazarding a battle, the Austrian general took post in the neighbouring mountains, between Gewitz and Littaw; where he could be plentifully supplied with provisions from Bohemia, and whence he could retard the operations of the besiegers, by keeping them in continual alarm, at the same time that he could throw succours into the place, and obstruct the Prussian convoys from Silesia. In the last, his chief object, he was particularly successful.

After Olmutz had been invested about four weeks, and when the siege was in great forwardness, notwithstanding the difficulties with which it was attended, mareschal Daun intercepted a convoy of four hundred waggons near the defiles of Domstadt, and obliged general Zeithen, who escorted it, to retire to Troppau. This loss was irreparable. The king of Prussia, therefore, saw the necessity of relinquishing his enterprise; especially as he had received intelligence, that the Russians, already on the frontiers of Silesia, and laying every thing waste, in their progress, with fire and sword, were preparing to enter that fine country, yet bleeding from the ravages of war.

But the gallant Frederick, who although he sometimes forgot himself in prosperity, by being too much elated, never sunk under the pressure of adversity, acquired as much honour in conducting his retreat, as Daun did in making it necessary. Instead of falling back upon Silesia, his most natural and obvious march, but which must have drawn the Austrians into his own dominions, he determined to take his route through the dominions of the enemy. And as mareschal Daun, more effectually to succour Olmutz, had been obliged to uncover the frontiers of Bohemia, his Prussian majesty found no difficulty in accomplishing his purpose. Having concealed, under an incessant fire, his intention of raising the siege, he lifted his camp at midnight; and proceeded with so little molestation, that he arrived at Koningsgratz, one of the most important posts in Bohemia, with all his heavy baggage, all his heavy artillery, his military stores entire, and even all his sick and wounded! (1)—here he allowed his army some repose, and laid the neighbouring country under contribution. But that repose was of short duration. Understanding that the Russians, instead of invading Silesia, had entered the New Marche of Brandenburg, and invested Custrin, a fortified town within fifty miles of Berlin, he instantly marched to its relief; and notwithstanding the vigilance of the Austrian generals, and the activity of their light troops, he formed a junction with lieutenant-general Dohna, at Frankfort on the Oder, with very little loss.

No sooner did the Russian generals, Brown and Fermor, receive intelligence of the king of Prussia's approach, than they abandoned the siege of Custrin, and took post near the villages of Zwicker and Zorndorff. Though greatly outnumbered by the cruel invaders, the king resolved to give them battle; conscious that his troops must be stimulated by every motive which can impel men to vigorous exertions. Revenge for barbarous wrongs, a desire of saving their country, on the brink of ruin, from future ravages, and of acquiring honour under the eye of a sovereign and a commander, who

(1) Prussian and Austrian Gazette compared.

had often led them to glory and to conquest, he presumed must animate their hearts. They did not disappoint his hopes.

Having passed the Mitzel, about nine o'clock in the morning, the Prussian monarch attempted to turn the enemy's left wing; but the Russian generals, penetrating his purpose, defeated it by very excellent dispositions. As the ground did not admit of an extended line, they threw their army into the form of a square, defended on every side by cannon and chevaux de frise. And in this position they waited the attack of the Prussians, who began the battle with a powerful fire of artillery, which lasted near two hours. Then the Prussian infantry advanced to the charge, and completed the havoc made by the artillery. Whole regiments of Russians were destroyed by bullets or bayonets, but not a man offered to quit his rank; and fresh regiments still pressing forward, the Prussian infantry, which had given and received so many terrible shocks, with immoveable firmness, yielded to the collected impulse.

In that moment of danger and dismay, when all seemed lost, the intrepid Frederick, by a rapid and masterly movement, brought the whole cavalry of his right wing to support his centre. Pressing upon the Russian foot, uncovered by their already broken horse, the Prussian cavalry pushed them back with great slaughter, and allowed the brave battalions leisure to collect themselves. Returning to the charge, inflamed with rage and resentment at their disgrace, the Prussian infantry decided the doubtful contest. The Russians were every where thrown into confusion. They no longer distinguished friends from foes: they fired upon each other in their ungovernable fury, and even plundered their own baggage. It was now no longer a battle, but a horrid carnage; yet the Russians, though thus distracted and broken, incredible as it may seem, never offered to quit the field. They kept their ground till seven o'clock in the evening, when they made a new struggle for victory, and darkness only put a stop to the effusion of blood. Ten thousand of their best troops were left dead on the spot, and about half that number was mortally wounded. The loss of the Prussians did not exceed fifteen hundred men.(1)

The Russians, in consequence of this severe chastisement, retreated before the victors as far as Landsberg on the frontiers of Poland; and the king of Prussia, happy in having freed his dominions from such a dreadful scourge, hastened to the relief of his brother Henry, now encompassed with enemies, and in the greatest danger of being utterly cut off. He had to oppose not only the army of the empire, much superior to his own, the grand Austrian army also entered Saxony, under mareschal Daun; and both these armies proposed to attack him at once. But fortunately his own strong position at Dippowalde, which he had chosen in order to cover Dresden, and command the course of the Elbe, and the timely arrival of the Prussian monarch, exalted him from all his difficulties, and disconcerted the design of his enemies. They could not even prevent the king from joining him. And on this junction, mareschal Daun retired from the neighbourhood of Dresden, and fell back as far as Zittaw; while the army of the empire took shelter in the strong post of Pirna, which the Saxons had occupied at the beginning of the war.

But the Austrian commander, though induced by his extreme caution to avoid an immediate engagement, did not for a moment lose sight of his antagonist. Advantageously posted at Stolpen, he preserved a communication with the army of the empire, and watched the motions of his Prussian majesty with as keen an attention as ever Fabius, to whom he has been compared, did those of the great Carthagean general.

The king of Prussia, after various movements, for protecting Brandenburg from the incursions of the Austrians, and cutting off their communication with Bohemia, took post in the neighbourhood of Hochkirchen, with his left at Bautzen; when he could command both Misnia and Lusatia, and at the same time preserve a communication with the army of prince Henry.

(1) *Letters from the king of Prussia, &c. in Lond. Gazette, Sept. 8, 1758.*

Mareschal Daun, who had observed these motions with concern, advanced to Kitlitz, and came to a resolution of attacking the Prussian camp by surprise; as the only means of preserving his footing in Saxony, or finding his way out of it with safety.

Having communicated this design to the prince of Deuxponts, who still commanded the army of the empire, the Austrian general put his army in motion about midnight, and arrived at the place of his destination, undiscovered, by five o'clock in the morning. The Prussian right wing was surprised and routed; and mareschal Keith and prince Francis of Brunswick were killed, in bravely attempting to turn the tide of battle. Their efforts, however, were not without effect. Prince Francis was early slain; but Keith, at the head of the Prussian infantry, obstinately maintained the combat against the whole weight of the Austrian army. Though wounded he refused to quit the field. He still continued to animate the companions of his perils; and he had repulsed the Austrians, by his persevering valour, and was pursuing them, when he received the deadly bullet in his breast. (1)

The king of Prussia, who never stood more in need of all his firmness, activity, and presence of mind, now assumed in person the command of his gallant infantry. But finding it impracticable to recover the village of Hochkirchen, which had been lost in the first surprise, he ordered his right wing to fall back as far as Weissenburg, the left still remaining at Bautzen. This position was nearly as good as the former. But his Prussian majesty, beside the loss of reputation inseparable from a defeat, had lost two able generals, seven thousand brave men, and the greater part of his camp-equipage. (2) Yet had the Austrians small cause of exultation. They had lost about the same number of men, without accomplishing their purpose. The vanquished enemy was still formidable.

Of this the victors had soon many distinguished proofs. So little was the king of Prussia discouraged by his defeat, that he offered battle to mareschal Daun immediately after it. And as the Austrian commander not only declined the challenge, but kept cautiously within his fortified camp, (in hopes of amusing his heroic antagonist, whom he durst not openly meet in the field, till some blow could be given in another quarter, or some new advantage stolen in an unguarded hour) the protector of his people, and the avenger of their wrongs, took a bolder method of shewing his superior generalship, and of recovering that glory which had been torn from his brow, not by the sword of valour, but by the wily hand of stratagem. Darting, like the lightning of heaven, to a distant scene of action, he struck his enemies with terror, and mankind with admiration.

The Austrian generals, Harsche and de Ville, having already formed the siege of Neiss and the blockade of Cosel, his Prussian majesty saw the necessity of marching to the relief of Silesia, be the fate of Saxony what it might. Committing this important conquest to the care of his brother Henry, he accordingly quitted his camp at Dobreschutz; and by the celerity of his motions soon arrived, without any obstruction from the enemy, in the plain of Gorlitz.

In consequence of this rapid march, all the advantages of mareschal Daun's studied position, and all the promised fruits of his boasted victory at Hochkirchen, were lost in a moment. An open passage into Silesia now lay before the Prussian monarch. And he pursued his route without interruption, or any considerable loss; though general Laudohn hung upon his rear

(1) Lloyd, vol. i. Mareschal Keith was brother to the attainted earl Marshal of Scotland; had been engaged with him in the rebellion of 1715, and was obliged on that land; had been engaged with him in the rebellion of 1715, and was obliged on that account to abandon his country. He raised himself to the rank of a lieutenant-general in the Russian service in 1734, and highly distinguished himself against the Turks in 1737, especially at the taking of Oczakow, where he was wounded. In 1741 and 1744 he commanded against the Swedes, and gained the battle of Williamstrand. In 1747 he quitted the Russian service, and entered that of Prussia. In 1749 he was made a knight of the Black Eagle and governor of Berlin, with a pension of twelve thousand dollars, beside his pay. In the present war he proved himself a great commander. He was a middle-sized man, with a very martial countenance, but of a humane and benevolent temper. Id. *ibid.*

(2) Prussian and Austrian *Gazettes* compared.

with twenty-four thousand men, and another army was sent to attack him, in front. In spite of the efforts of all these armies, the enterprising Frederick accomplished his purpose, and defeated the designs of his numerous enemies. The siege of Neiss was raised on his approach, as was the blockade of Cosel; and the armies, under the generals Harsche and de Villa, fell back into Bohemia.⁽¹⁾

Having thus driven the Austrians out of Silesia, without being under the necessity of hazarding a battle, the king of Prussia instantly returned by the same route, and with the same expedition, to the relief of Saxony, now in a manner covered with the forces of his enemies. The army of the empire had obliged prince Henry to abandon his post at Sedlitz, and had cut off his communication with Leipsic, at the same time that marshal Daun attempted to obstruct his communication with Dresden. He found means, however, to throw himself into the latter, and afterward to retire to the other side of the Elbe. Meanwhile the Austrians and Imperialists laid siege to those two important places, while a third army advanced toward Torgau, and invested that strong fortress. But Dresden, before which marshal Daun appeared, with an army of sixty thousand men, and which was defended only by the fifth part of that number, was the enemy's grand object. Count Schmettau, the Prussian governor, was therefore under the necessity of setting fire to the suburbs, in order to preserve the city for his master; and two hundred and sixty-six houses were consumed, but very few persons lost their lives.⁽²⁾

This conflagration has been represented by the emissaries of the court of Vienna, and by certain declamatory writers, as a terrible outrage on humanity. But as it appears that the inhabitants had timely notice of the governor's intention,⁽³⁾ he seems to have acted in perfect conformity with the laws of war, even as explained by the benevolent spirit of Montesquieu. For those laws require, That, in military operations, the least public injury, consistent with the acquisition or preservation of dominion, be done to the body of the people.⁽⁴⁾

By the destruction of the suburbs of Dresden, the cause of so much clamour and obloquy, the city was rendered more secure. It could not now be taken but by a regular siege; that must require time; and the king of Prussia was fast advancing to its relief. These considerations induced marshal Daun to relinquish his enterprises, and the Prussian monarch, a few days after, entered Dresden in triumph. The siege of Leipsic was raised; that of Glogaw had before been given up; and the Austrian and Imperial armies retired into Bohemia, where they went into winter-quarters, without attempting any thing farther. Nor was this all. The Russians who, in their retreat, had invested Colberg, in Prussian Pomerania, were obliged to abandon the undertaking with disgrace; and the Swedes, who had entered the same country, were not more fortunate in their operations than their barbarous allies.⁽⁵⁾ The king of Prussia, triumphant over all his enemies, appeared greater than ever. Equally distinguished by valour and conduct, the exploits of every other commander were lost in the splendour of his victories and retreats.

While those illustrious achievements were performing in Germany, the grand theatre of war, the British arms had recovered their lustre, both by land and sea. The vigorous and enterprising spirit of the prime minister seemed to communicate itself to all ranks and classes of men, but more especially to the officers of the army and navy. Patriotic zeal took place of sluggish indifference, prompt decision of wavering hesitation, and fearless exertion of timid caution. The name of action was new strung. Every bosom panted for fame, and for an opportunity of retrieving the national honour.

(1) Prussian and Austrian *Gazettes* compared.

(2) *Certificates of the Magistrates of Dresden*, No. II. III. Ap. *Ann. Reg.* 1758.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) *L'Esprit des Loix*, liv. x.

(5) *Foreign Gazette*, *passim*.

That bold spirit of enterprise, which caught fresh fire from the king of Prussia's victories; and the successes of the army under prince Ferdinand, was also inflamed by certain fortunate events at sea, in the beginning of the season. As admiral Osborn was cruising off the coast of Spain, between Cape de Gatt and Carthagena, he fell in with a French squadron, on the 28th of February, consisting of three sail of the line and a frigate, commanded by the marquis du Quesne. The frigate escaped by swiftness of sailing. But two of the ships of the line, the *Foudroyant* of eighty guns, and the *Orpheus* of sixty-four, were taken after an obstinate resistance; and the third, named the *Oriflamme*, was driven a-shore near the castle of Aiglos, where she found shelter under the Spanish neutrality.(1)

This was a sharp blow. The French not only lost two capital ships, but saw them added to the British navy. Nor was that their only misfortune by sea. Sir Edward Hawke, in the beginning of April, dispersed and drove on shore, near the isle of Aix, a French fleet, consisting of five ships of the line, six frigates, and forty transports, having on board three thousand troops, with a large quantity of provisions and stores, intended for the support of their settlements in North America.(2) Two other convoys were dispersed, and several transports taken; and, on the 29th of May, the *Raisonable*, a French ship of the line, commanded by the prince de Monbazon, having on board six hundred and thirty men, and mounting sixty-four guns, was taken by captain Dennis in the *Dorsetshire*, an English seventy-gun ship, after a smart engagement.

Roused to enthusiasm by these victories, and the rising passion for glory, the people of England, who had so lately trembled under the apprehensions of a French invasion, now talked of nothing but carrying hostilities into the heart of France. And the popular minister, instead of regulating that enthusiasm, by confining it to its proper element, or directing its energy against important objects, allowed it to take its own wild sweep, and spend the strongest impulse of its force in air.

A new expedition to the coast of France was planned, notwithstanding the miscarriage of the former, and the disgrace it had brought upon the British arms; such a descent being represented by the Great Commoner, as the most effectual means of serving his majesty's German allies, by drawing the attention of the enemy to their own internal defence, and consequently of weakening their efforts upon the Rhine. Two strong squadrons, destined for this service, were accordingly equipped; the greater, consisting of eleven ships of the line, commanded by the admirals Anson and Hawke, and the smaller of four sail of the line, seven frigates, six sloops, two fire-ships, two bomb-ketches, ten cutters, twenty tenders, ten store-ships, and one hundred transports, under the direction of commodore Howe. The forces embarked, for the same purpose, consisted of sixteen regiments of foot, nine troops of light horse, and six thousand marines, under the command of the duke of Marlborough, assisted by lord George Sackville.

That great armament sailed from the isle of Wight (where the troops had been for some time encamped) in the beginning of June, leaving every heart elated with the highest hopes of its success. Nor did these hopes seem ill founded. The admirals Anson and Hawke, with the fleet under their command, proceeded to the bay of Biscay, in order to spread more widely the alarm, and watch the motion of the French squadron in Brest harbour; while commodore Howe with the transports, and the squadron appointed for their protection, steered directly to St. Malo, a sea-port town on the coast of Brittany, against which the armament seemed to have been destined, if it had any particular object. As the place appeared too strong to admit of any attempt on the side next the sea, the troops were disembarked in Cancale Bay, about two leagues distant, with a view of attacking it on the land side. But it was found, when reconnoitred, to be equally inaccessible on that side, except by regular approaches, for which the invaders were not

(1) Letter from admiral Osborn, March 12, 1758.

(2) Letter from Sir Edward Hawke, April 11, 1758.

prepared. (1) They therefore contented themselves with destroying the shipping and warehouses at St. Servan, a kind of suburb of St. Malo, and returned to Spitzbaen without attempting any thing farther.

The success of this expedition, though considerable, by no means answered the ardour of public expectation. But that ardour was again excited, by the most vigorous preparations for a new armament, which sailed from St. Helen's on the first of August; the land-forces commanded by lieutenant-general Bligh (the duke of Marlborough, and lord George Sackville having been sent to command the British forces in Germany), and the fleet and transports under the conduct of commodore Howe. The troops were disembarked in the neighbourhood of Cherbourg, which being an open town on the land side, was entered without opposition. A neglected mole was demolished; a contribution of three thousand pounds was levied upon the inhabitants; and twenty-one pieces of cannon were carried off in triumph, and pompously exhibited to the view of the English populace, as the spoils of France. After they had been shown in Hyde Park to gaping multitudes, they were drawn through the principal streets of London with the greatest military parade, and formally lodged in the Tower.

But the British ministry had soon reason to repent of this empty ovation, which flattered so highly the prejudices of the vulgar, and gratified, for a moment, the national passion for glory and conquest. While the people of England were exulting over the taking of a place less considerable than many of their own fishing-towns, the victorious battalions were exposed to the most imminent peril.

Having re embarked the troops at Cherbourg without molestation, the commander-in-chief (for reasons best known to himself) made his second landing in the bay of St. Lunar, two leagues to the westward of St. Malo, against which he seemed determined to hazard an attempt; though the town was now in a better state of defence than when an attack had been judged impracticable by the duke of Marlborough, and the number of the assailants much fewer!—General Bligh, accordingly, soon discovered his mistake. The design upon St. Malo was laid aside; but it was resolved to penetrate into the country, and do something for the honour of the British arms, before the troops were put on board the transports.

In conformity with this resolution, the fleet, which could not ride with safety in the bay of St. Lunar, quitted that station, and anchored in the bay of St. Cas, about three leagues to the westward; while the land-forces proceeded, by Guildo, to the village of Matignon, where they dispersed a small body of French troops, and encamped within three miles of the transports, in order to prevent their retreat being cut off. Here the British commanders were informed, that the duke d'Aguillon, governor of Brittany, had advanced from Brest to Lambale, within six miles of their camp, at the head of twelve battalions and six squadrons of regular troops, and two regiments of militia. An immediate retreat was judged necessary; but the measures for carrying it into execution were slow and injudicious. Instead of encamping in the night without noise, by which they might probably have reached the shore before the French had the least intelligence of their army being in motion, the drums were beat at two o'clock in the morning, as if with intention to give notice to the enemy, who instantly repeated the same signal; and, although the march was begun soon after, so many were the obstructions, they did not reach the bay of St. Cas till nine o'clock. Six hours were spent in marching three miles; yet might the embarkation have been effected without loss, if it had been properly conducted. But in this, as in every thing else, the greatest blunders were committed.

The English commanders, filled with delusive confidence, seemed to have flattered themselves that no Frenchman durst look an Englishman in the face. Hence, from the moment they had intelligence of the approach of the enemy, they appear to have been under the influence of fear or infatua-

(1) *Lond. Gazette*, Jun 17, 1758. See also *Letter* from an officer on board the *Essex*, commodore Howe's ship.

tion; like all men who have over-rated their own courage, or undervalued that of an antagonist. All the troops, however, were embarked before the French began to press hard upon them, except the grenadiers and the first regiment of foot-guards, who had the honour of remaining longest on hostile ground. This gallant body, consisting of fifteen hundred men, attempted to form and face the greatly superior enemy. But their resolution failed them: they fell into confusion: they fled; and rushed into the sea, or were slaughtered on the beach. Of those who took refuge in the waves, a considerable number were saved by the boats of the fleet, and about four hundred of the fugitives were made prisoners. Among the killed and drowned were general Drury and sir John Armitage, with many other gentlemen of rank and fortune, who had acted as volunteers:—and with them perished near a thousand of the finest troops in Christendom.(1)

Such was the unfortunate issue of our ill-concerted expeditions to the coast of France, which involved the nation in an enormous expense, without being attended with any adequate advantage.(2) They contributed, however, for a time, to rouse the spirit of the people, and to encourage the passion for enterprise; but as neither their success nor their objects corresponded with the hopes which such vast preparations raised, they had finally a contrary effect. The people, though subject to delusion, are not utterly blind. They saw the disproportion between means and ends, between great armaments and petty aims. And the disaster at St. Cas, which was the more keenly felt as it was altogether unexpected, and immediately followed the rejoicings for the taking of Cherbourg, dissipated all our romantic ideas of acquiring conquest in France, or annihilating the French navy by destroying their principal sea-ports; while it exalted beyond measure the spirit of that volatile nation, which had been depressed and mortified by the insulting descents made upon their coasts with impunity. They now magnified into a mighty victory their accidental good fortune in cutting off the rear-guard of a misguided party of desultory invaders.

But whatever consolation France might derive from the check which had been given to the ravagers of her coasts, the solid advantages acquired by the English in other quarters of the globe, afforded them abundant cause of triumph, exclusive of such fugitive conquests. In North America, whence we had hitherto received only accounts of delay, disaster, and disgrace, our affairs had taken a new and highly favourable turn.

As lord Loudon had returned to England on account of some dissatisfaction in regard to the conduct of the war, the chief command in America devolved upon general Abercrombie; but the plan of operations being extensive, the forces were divided into three separate bodies, under as many different commanders. About twelve thousand men, under major-general Amherst, were destined for the siege of Louisburg; near sixteen thousand, under Abercrombie in person, were reserved for the reduction of Ticonderoga and Crown Point; and eight thousand, commanded by brigadier-general Forbes, were ordered to attack Fort du Quesne.

The reduction of Cape Breton being an object of prime concern, it was undertaken with all possible dispatch. The army under general Amherst, augmented with two thousand fresh troops from England, embarked at Halifax, on the 24th of May, and on the 2d of June, the fleet and transports, consisting of one hundred and fifty-seven sail, under the direction of admiral Boscawen, arrived before Louisburg. The garrison of the place, commanded by the chevalier de Drucourt, consisted of two thousand five hundred regular troops, and about six hundred militia. The harbour was secured by five ships of the line, one fifty-gun ship and five frigates, three of which were sunk across the mouth of the basin. It was therefore necessary to disembark the troops at some distance from the town. The place chosen for that

(1) *London Gazette*, Sept. 18, 1758.

(2) "Could we have burnt the enemy's docks, stores, &c. at Brest and Rochefort," says general Lloyd, "it would have been a service of great importance, and worth trying; but no other object was by any means equal to the risk or the expense."

Hist. of the War in Germany, vol. ii. p. 180.

purpose was the creek of Cermoran; and as soon as the landing, which was attended with some difficulty but little loss, was fully effected, and the artillery and stores brought on shore, the town was formally invested.(1)

The first thing attempted by the besiegers, was to secure a post called the *Light-house Battery*. That service was performed by General Wolfe, with all the vigour and celerity for which he was so much distinguished. On this elevated point were erected several batteries, which played upon the ships and the fortifications on the opposite side of the harbour. For six weeks, however, did the place hold out, and the French ships continued to fire upon the besiegers, and to obstruct their operation. At length, on the 21st of July, one of the great ships blew up, and the flames being communicated to two others, they also shared the same fate.

As the enemy, notwithstanding this misfortune still refused to surrender, the English admiral (who during the whole siege had done every thing possible to second the efforts of the land-forces) sent into the harbour a detachment of six hundred seamen in boats, headed by the captains Laforey and Balfour. They boarded the two remaining ships of the line, which still kept possession of the basin; destroyed one, which was aground, and towed off the other in triumph. The blow was decisive. The governor fearing a general assault, as several practicable breaches were made in the works, surrendered himself and his garrison prisoners of war: and the whole island submitted to his Britannic Majesty.(2) With Cape Breton fell also the island of St. John, and whatever inferior stations the French had established for carrying on the cod-fishery in the Gulf of St. Laurence.

The reduction of Louisburg was severely felt by France, especially as it had been attended with the loss of so considerable a naval force, and occasioned the greatest rejoicings in England. But all our enterprises in America were not equally fortunate.

General Abercrombie, in consequence of his design of driving the French from Ticonderoga and Crown Point, had embarked upon Lake George, on the fifth of July, with near sixteen thousand men, and a numerous train of artillery; and, after a prosperous navigation, landed his troops without opposition, and advanced in four columns toward the first object of his armament. As the country through which his march lay is rough and woody, and his guides were very unskilful, the troops were bewildered, and the columns broken. While in this disorder, they fell in with a French detachment, which had fled on their approach, being bewildered in like manner. A skirmish ensued, in which the enemy were quickly routed, with the loss of near three hundred men. But that advantage was unfortunately purchased with the death of the gallant lord Howe, a young nobleman of the most promising military talents, who had acquired the esteem and affection of the troops by his generosity, affability, and engaging manners, as well as by his distinguished valour.

This disaster excepted, the English army proceeded successfully till it reached Ticonderoga; which is situated on a point of land between Lake George and a narrow gut that communicates with Lake Champlain. On three sides surrounded with water, and on the fourth secured by a morass, that important post was strongly fortified, and defended by near five thousand men. These were stationed under the cannon of the place, behind an abattis, or breastwork, formed of the trunks of trees piled one upon another. And they were farther defended by whole trees, with their branches outward, some of which were cut and sharpened, so as to answer the purpose of chevaux-de-frize.

Notwithstanding this strong position, which had not been properly reconnoitred, it was rashly resolved to attack the enemy, without waiting for the arrival of the artillery. A disposition was accordingly made for the purpose, and the whole English army put in motion. The troops advanced to the assault with the greatest alacrity; but all their most vigorous efforts proved*

(1) *Lond. Gazette*, Aug. 18, 1758. *Knox's Campaigns in North America*, vol. i.

(2) *Id. ibid.*

ineffectual. In vain did they attempt to cut their way through every obstacle. They could make no impression upon the enemy's works. The general, therefore, found it necessary to order a retreat, as the only means of saving the remains of his army, after it had been exposed for four hours to the covered fire of the French musquetry. Near two thousand men, including a great number of officers, were killed or dangerously wounded.(1)

In order to repair the disgrace of this bloody repulse, general Abercrombie (who had immediately retired to his former camp on the southern side of Lake George) detached colonel Bradstreet with a body of three thousand men against Fort Frontenac. The colonel, who with great prudence and valour surmounted every difficulty, brought his little army to Oswego, where he embarked on Lake Ontario, and arrived at the object of his enterprise by the 25th of August.

Fort Frontenac stands at the communication of Lake Ontario with the river St. Laurence, the entrance into which it in some measure commands. For a post of such moment, however, it was poorly fortified, and feebly garrisoned. It surrendered at discretion, on the appearance of the English commander, who found there an immense quantity of provisions and merchandise, sixty pieces of cannon, and nine armed sloops.(2)

The success of colonel Bradstreet, in all probability, facilitated the expedition, under general Forbes, against Fort du Quesne. This officer began his march from Philadelphia, in the beginning of July, at the head of eight thousand men, through a vast tract of country very little known, and almost impenetrable, by reason of woods, mountains and morasses. He made his way, however, by the most incredible exertions of vigour and perseverance; procured provisions, secured camps, and surmounted every other difficulty in his tedious progress, though continually harassed by parties of hostile Indians.

Having advanced with the main body of his army as far as Ray's Town, distant about fourscore miles from Fort du Quesne, general Forbes detached major Grant, at the head of eight hundred men, to reconnoitre the place. Unfortunately the major's approach was discovered by the enemy, who sent a more numerous body of troops against him. A desperate combat ensued, which was gallantly maintained by the British detachment for more than three hours; but being at length overpowered by superior force, it was obliged to give way. About three hundred men were killed or made prisoners, and among the latter was major Grant, with nineteen other officers.

This severe check, so fatal to the reconnoitring party, did not prevent general Forbes from advancing with the main body of his army, though ignorant of the enemy's numbers. Regardless of danger, he only longed for an opportunity of retaliation. The French, however, dreading the prospect of a siege, deprived him of the pleasure of revenge, by abandoning the disputed post, on the twenty-fourth of November. They retired down the Ohio, to their settlements on the Mississippi.(3) The British standard was erected on Fort du Quesne, which had been the cause of so general and so destructive a war; and the name of Fort Pitt was given to it, in honour of the minister under whose auspices the expedition had been undertaken.

Nor were the conquests of Great Britain confined solely to North America. Two ships of the line, with some frigates and a body of marines, had been dispatched early in the season, in order to reduce the French settlements on the coast of Africa. They accordingly entered the river Senegal; and in spite of the obstructions of a dangerous bar, which the ships of the line could not pass, they obliged Fort Louis, which commands the navigation of the Senegal, to surrender, and, with it, all the French settlements on that river.(4)

But this squadron being found insufficient to reduce the island of Goree, which lies at the distance of thirty leagues, on the same coast, commodore

(1) Knox's Campaigns, vol. i. Lond. Gazette, Aug. 22, 1758.

(2) Lond. Gazette, Oct. 31, 1758.

(3) Lond. Gazette, Jan. 20, 1759.

(4) Lond. Gazette, June, 10, 1758.

Keppel, brother to the earl of Albemarle, was afterward sent upon that service, with four ships of the line, several frigates, and seven hundred regular troops, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Worge. The great ships laid their broadsides to the principal batteries, and maintained so strong a fire, that the place surrendered at discretion, before the troops were landed. (1) M. St. Jean, the French governor, behaved with true courage, but was ill supported by his garrison.

The British arms were less successful during this campaign in the East Indies. Though admiral Pococke, who had succeeded, in consequence of the death of admiral Watson, to the command of the English squadron on the coast of Coromandel, had worsted, in two obstinate engagements, the French squadron under M. d'Aché, he was not able to prevent the loss of Cudalore and Fort St. David. These two places were reduced by the count de Lally; who having been appointed governor-general of all the French possessions in India, had carried out with him a great force to Pondicherry. He was gallantly assisted in his military operations by the count d'Estaing, and flattered himself with nothing less than the conquest of all the English settlements on the coast of Coromandel.

Such, my dear Philip, was the state of the war in all parts of the world, at the close of the year 1758. Many checks had been given, many victories obtained, and many conquests made; but these were not all on one side. The success was divided. All parties had cause of hope, or room for consolation; and, in consequence of this situation of affairs, all parties prepared for opening the ensuing campaign with equal vigour, though the state of their finances was very different. The resources of England being still great, she generously continued her annual subsidy of four millions of dollars to the king of Prussia. Those of Austria were much exhausted, and France was on the eve of a national bankruptcy; yet were the efforts of both undiminished. The empress of Russia, having lost only men, readily supplied by her boundless dominions, adhered to her military system, which she considered as necessary to the training of her armies: and Sweden made no advances toward peace. The greatest exertions were displayed in every quarter of the globe.

Germany however continued, as hitherto, to be the grand theatre of military operations, though less of conquest or bold enterprise. These found elsewhere a wider range. Repeated trials of each other's strength had here made all parties more cautious; because all were become sensible, that the war could only be brought to a successful issue by patience and perseverance, not by any single blow. The greatest blows had been already struck, yet peace seemed as distant as ever; though, in striking some of those blows, ruin itself had been hazarded by the illustrious Frederick. Less dependence was henceforth placed in fortune, and more in force and skill. Experience had moderated the ardour of courage, and rectified the mistaken conceptions of military superiority. Firmness and recollection took place of presumption and rashness; and mutual esteem and apprehensions of danger, of self-confidence and mutual contempt.

The fire of the king of Prussia's genius alone seemed unabated. We have seen in what manner he obliged the Austrians and the Army of the Empire to evacuate Saxony, at the close of last campaign, while his generals forced the Russians and Swedes to retire toward their own frontiers. He began the present with equal vigour and success: and he had formed a great system of operations, in concert with prince Ferdinand of Brunswick. One of his generals, in the month of February, destroyed the Russian magazines in Poland; another recovered Glatz, Demin, and all the places the Swedes had conquered in Pomerania. He himself, by his threatening motions, drew the Austrian army to the frontiers of Silesia. His brother, prince Henry, who had wintered in Saxony, seized the opportunity to lay Bohemia under contribution; and afterward, entering Franconia, pushed the Army of the Empire as far back as Nuremburg.

To this degree were the arms of the king of Prussia successful. But certain unforeseen events, partly depending upon himself, partly upon others, disconcerted all his future plans, and gave a fatal reverse to his affairs. The Russians advanced toward Silesia, notwithstanding the destruction of their magazines. And prince Ferdinand, although early reinforced with a choice body of British troops, found himself unable to prevent the Army of the Empire from receiving succours from that of France; a circumstance on which the success of the campaign greatly depended, and on which his Prussian Majesty had presumed, though certainly without due consideration.

The French, by a flagrant violation of the liberties of the empire, accompanied with an act of perfidy, had made themselves masters of Frankfort upon the Maine, a neutral and free city, in the beginning of January. This was an important acquisition, as it secured to them the course of the Maine and the Upper Rhine, by which they could readily receive every kind of supply. It was therefore determined to dislodge them, if possible, as soon as the season would permit the allied army to take the field.

With this view, prince Ferdinand assembled his troops in the neighbourhood of Fulda, and began his march toward the enemy at the head of thirty thousand men; having left the rest of his forces to guard the electorate of Hanover, and protect the bishoprick of Munster. He found the French army, under the duke de Broglie, strongly posted near the village of Bergen, between Frankfort and Hanau, yet did he resolve to attack them. He accordingly drew up his forces in order of battle, and advanced to the charge, But after three desperate efforts to get possession of the village, he was obliged to retire with the loss of two thousand men.⁽¹⁾ He preserved, however, so good a countenance that the enemy did not attempt to pursue him.

The allies perhaps lost no honour by this action. But they failed in their object; and that failure, beside thwarting the designs of the king of Prussia, reduced themselves to great distress for want of provisions. Meanwhile the French enjoyed plenty of every thing. And their armies on the Upper and Lower Rhine having formed a junction near Marburg, proceeded northward, under the mareschal de Conatdes, who fixed his head-quarters at Corbach, whence he detached a body of light troops to take possession of Cassel.

Finding himself inferior to the united forces of the enemy, prince Ferdinand judged it prudent to retire as they advanced. He left strong garrisons, however, in Lipstadt, Retberg, Munster, and Minden, in order to retard the progress of the French generals. But this precaution proved ineffectual. Retberg was surprised by the duke de Broglie. He also took Minden by assault; and Munster, though defended by a garrison of four thousand men, was reduced, after a short siege.

It now appeared impossible to prevent the French from making themselves a second time masters of his Britannic Majesty's German dominions. Considering the conquest of Hanover as certain, the court of Versailles was only occupied in contriving expedients for securing it; and the regency of that electorate, willing to provide against the consequences of such a probable event, again sent their archives and most valuable effects to Stade. All things seemed hastening to the same situation, which brought on the humiliating convention of Closter-seven; especially as prince Ferdinand continued to retire, and studiously kept up his communication with the Weser.

But that accomplished general, though weakened by his losses, was not disconcerted. He saw his danger, and was prepared to meet it. Although naturally cautious, he resolved, under the pressure of necessity, to pursue a bold line of conduct, instead of taking refuge in despair; or seeking an apology for misfortune in the gloom of public despondency. The moment he found nothing but a battle could hinder the French from taking up their winter quarters in the electorate of Hanover, he determined to bring mat-

(1) French and English *Gazettes* compared.

vers to that issue. And the means by which he accomplished his design with an inferior army, without exposing himself to any disaster, discovered so profound a genius for war, as will ever make him be ranked among the greatest masters of the military art.

The main body of the French army, after the taking of Minden, had encamped in the neighbourhood of that city, to which its right wing extended. On the left was a steep hill, in the front a morass, and a rivulet covered the rear. As nothing could be more advantageous than this position, which rendered an attack impracticable, prince Ferdinand employed all his skill to draw the enemy from it. With that view he quitted his camp on the Weser, and marched to Hille; leaving, however, general Wangenheim, with a body of troops, entrenched at Thornhausen, on the banks of the disputed river: and detaching the hereditary prince of Brunswick, with six thousand men, to make a compass toward the enemy's left flank, and cut off their communication with Paderborn.

The French generals, who were not inattentive to these movements, fell into the snare that was laid for them. They concluded, that the opportunity which they had so long sought, of cutting off prince Ferdinand's communication with the Weser, was at last found, and with it the consummation of their wishes. They saw, as they imagined, the allied army divided and disjoined beyond the possibility of immediate union; and therefore flattered themselves with its final destruction, by the defeat of general Wangenheim, and the command of the Weser the necessary consequence of such defeat. Full of this idea, they left their advantageous post; and passing the morass in their front, advanced into the plain.

The duke de Broglie, who led the van of the French army, proceeded with great confidence, until he reached a neighbouring eminence; whence he beheld, instead of entrenchments defended by a small body, the whole army of the allies disposed in excellent order, and extending from the banks of the Weser almost to Minden. A discovery so unexpected embarrassed the French general. But he had no alternative left: it was too late to recede. He therefore ordered his cavalry to advance, and begin the engagement.

The British infantry, which, with two battalions of Hanoverian guards, composed the centre of the allied army, sustained the principal shock of the battle, and broke every body of horse and foot that advanced against them; whilst the Hessian cavalry, with some regiments of Prussian and Hanoverian dragoons, posted on the left, baffled all the attempts of the enemy, and pushed them to the necessity of seeking safety in flight. (1)

At this instant, prince Ferdinand sent orders to lord George Sackville, who commanded the British and Hanoverian horse, which composed the right wing of the allies, to advance to the charge. And if these orders had been cheerfully obeyed, the battle of Minden would probably have been as memorable and decisive as that of Blenheim. The French army would have been utterly destroyed, or totally routed and driven out of Germany. But whatever was the cause, whether the orders were not sufficiently precise, were misinterpreted, or imperfectly understood, the British cavalry did not arrive in time to have any share in the engagement; (2) so that the French, instead of being hotly pursued, were permitted to retire in good order, and to regain their former position, notwithstanding the loss of seven thousand men. They judged it necessary, however, to quit their camp, and pass the Weser the same night; and next day the garrison of Minden surrendered at discretion. The allies lost in the action near two thousand brave troops.

Prince Ferdinand passed an indirect censure upon the British commander for his conduct on this occasion, and a court martial confirmed that censure. But as the whole weight of ministerial influence is supposed to have been thrown into the scale of the German general, the impartial part of mankind

(1) London and Paris *Gazettes*, *passim*. The French account of this battle, and of the operations that preceded it, is by far the most perfect.

(2) Evidence produced on the trial of lord George Sackville.

are still divided in their opinion on the subject, and will, likely, long remain so. It may not, however, be improper to observe, for the information of posterity, that the two generals were by no means on good terms with each other, before the battle. Prince Ferdinand, who understood the *mystery*, as well as the *art* of war, and pursued it as a *lucrative trade*, felt himself uneasy under the eye of an observer so keen and penetrating, as lord George Sackville, and wished to remove him from the command. This wish perhaps occasioned that confusion, or contradiction of orders, of which the English general complained, and which he assigned as the cause of his inaction. But there is also reason to suppose, the chagrin of the British commander might make his perception, on that occasion, less clear than usual, and that he might even secretly indulge a desire to obscure the glory of a hated rival, without reflecting that, in so doing, he was sacrificing his duty to his sovereign, and eventually the interests of his country. (1)

LETTER XXXIV.

The View of the State of Europe, and the History of the General War, pursued, from the Defeat of the French at Minden, to the Death of George II.

THE victory gained by the allies at Minden, though less complete than it might have been rendered by the ready co-operation of the British general, threw the court of Versailles into the utmost confusion, and blasted all their hopes of conquest. It not only enabled prince Ferdinand effectually to defend the electorate of Hanover, but to recover Munster, and force the French to evacuate great part of Westphalia. And if he had not been obliged to weaken his army, in order to support the king of Prussia, whose affairs were much embarrassed, he would probably have driven the vain-glorious enemy to the other side of the Rhine, before the close of the campaign.

The embarrassment of his Prussian majesty was chiefly occasioned by the approach of the Russians, in spite of every effort to obstruct their progress. Displeased with the studied caution of count Dohna, the king conferred the command of the army destined to oppose them on general Wedel, who immediately gave them battle, conformable to his orders. He attacked them with great vigour, but without effect, at Kay, near Zulichau, in Silesia, on the twenty-third day of July. The Prussians were repulsed with much loss, after an obstinate engagement, and the Russians made themselves masters of Frankfort on the Oder.

No sooner was the king of Prussia informed of that misfortune, than he resolved to oppose the Russians in person; and began his march with ten thousand of his best troops, to join the shattered army under Wedel; leaving his brother Henry to observe the motions of the Austrians on the frontiers of Lusatia. Meanwhile mareschal Daun, apprized of the king's intention, detached general Laudohn, with twelve thousand horse, to give vigour and stability to the Russian army, which was deficient in cavalry.

The reinforcement arrived nearly at the same time that his Prussian majesty joined Wedel. And Laudohn and count Soltikow, the Russian general, took post at the village of Cunnersdorff, opposite Frankfort. The combined army consisted of about one hundred thousand combatants: their position was naturally strong; and they farther secured their camp by entrenchments, planted with a numerous train of artillery. The king of Prussia's forces, after all the reinforcements he could collect, fell below fifty thousand men; yet did his pressing circumstances, and his own sanguine spirit, inflamed by hostile passion, induce him to hazard an attack.

(1) See prince Ferdinand's *Letter* to the king of Great Britain, and lord George Sackville's *Proclamation* of his conduct.
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The previous dispositions for that purpose being made, the action began about eleven o'clock, and the Russian entrenchments were forced with great slaughter. Several redoubts, which covered the village of Cunnersdorf, were also mastered, and the Prussians advanced to the village itself. Here the battle was renewed, and raged with fresh fury for two hours. At length the post was carried; the enemy's artillery was taken; and every thing seemed to promise a complete victory. But the Russians, though broken, were not discouraged. They again formed under cover of the Austrian cavalry, and took possession of an eminence, called the *Jews' Burying Ground*, where they resolved to defend themselves to the last man.

Prudence, and past experience of the steady valour of the Russians, ought to have taught his Prussian majesty to rest satisfied with the advantage he had gained: but he could not bear to be a conqueror by halves. The ardour of his mind determined him to follow his blow, in hopes of crowning at once his glory and his vengeance, by the final destruction of a barbarous enemy, who had dared to enter within the line of his ambition; and whose cruel ravages had so often drawn him from the pursuit of victory, or obstructed the career of conquest. He accordingly led on, to a new attack, his brave battalions, yet faint from recent toil, beneath the heat of a burning sun, and sore with many a wound. He led them against the main body of the Russian army, the greater part of which had not hitherto been engaged, posted on higher ground, and strongly defended by artillery. They were unequal to the difficult service: they fell back; they were again brought to the charge, and a second time repulsed with great slaughter. Enraged at this disappointment, the king put himself at the head of his cavalry; but their vigour also was spent. In vain did he attempt to break the Russians (who are possessed of uncommon bodily strength, and an instinctive or mechanical courage, which makes them inaccessible to fear:) they baffled all his gallant efforts. Their fire was the mouth of a volcano, and their bayonets a hedge of spears. The Prussians, wasted with fatigue, and startled at the number of slain, blamed the perseverance of their prince; but still maintained the unequal combat.

In those awful moments, when the finest troops in the world were wavering, and the greatest of modern commanders could with difficulty encourage them to keep their ground, the Austrian cavalry, yet fresh, broke in upon them with the impetuosity of a torrent. The Russian horse followed the animating example, and the foot resumed their activity. The exhausted Prussians yielded to the irresistible shock: they were seized with a panic; they fled. The king rallied them: he brought them back to the charge; he set them an example of bravery in his own person. Three times did he renew the engagement in the front line. He had two horses shot under him, and many bullets had passed through his clothes. But all his intrepid exertions were ineffectual: the battle was irretrievably lost, and the approach of night only prevented the Prussian army from being utterly cut off. As the struggle terminated, the slaughter on both sides was awfully great. Near thirty thousand men lay dead on the field, or dying of their wounds: and sixteen thousand of these were Prussians. (1)

The issue of this battle astonished all Europe; and occasioned the most extravagant exultation among the hostile powers on one side, and the greatest depression of mind on the other. When the king of Prussia got possession of the village of Cunnersdorf, he wrote, in the triumph of his heart, a congratulatory billet to his queen, without waiting for the final event: "We have driven the Russians from their entrenchments. Expect within two hours, to hear of a glorious victory!"—And as this billet arrived at Berlin just as the post was going out, the premature intelligence reached the courts of London and Versailles before the news of the king's disaster, also first conveyed in another laconic dispatch to the queen: "Remove from

(1) *Compared Relations of the battle of Cunnersdorf, published by authority at Berlin and Vienna.*

“Berlin with the royal family. Let the archives be carried to Potsdam. “The town may make conditions with the enemy.”(1)

But if his Prussian majesty subjected himself to some degree of ridicule as a man, and blame as a commander, by his defeat at Cumnorsdorf, his subsequent conduct wiped all off. And the surprise of mankind, at his sudden and unexpected reverse of fortune, was soon lost in their admiration of the wonderful resources of his genius, and the unconquerable fortitude of his spirit. The day after the battle, he repassed the Oder, and encamped at Retwin; whence he moved to Furstenwalde, and posted himself so advantageously, that the Russians did not dare to make any attempt upon Berlin. He even watched their motions so assiduously, that the main body of their army, under the victorious Soltikow, instead of entering Brandenburg, marched into Lusatia. There he joined the grand Austrian army, under mareschal Daun; and the two generals held consultations concerning their future operations.

In the mean time the king of Prussia, having refreshed and recruited his broken and exhausted troops, and supplied the loss of his artillery (which had all fallen into the hands of the enemy) from the arsenal at Berlin, appeared again formidable. While his friends as well as his enemies were of opinion, that the Russian and Austrian armies united had only to determine what part of his dominions they chose first to subdue as a prelude to the conquest of the whole, he obliged both to act on the defensive. And he at the same time detached a body of six thousand men, under general Wunch, to the relief of Saxony; where the Army of the Empire had made great progress, during his absence. Hall, Wittemberg, Leipsic, Torgau, and even Dresden itself, had surrendered to the Imperialists. But the detachment under Wunch retook Leipsic on the 21st of September; and having joined general Finck who commanded in Saxony, the Prussian generals repulsed the Army of the Empire at Corbitz, though supported by a body of Austrians under general Haddick, and recovered every place in that electorate except Dresden.

Encouraged by these successes, and seeing that he could not second his operations of the king on the side of Silesia, prince Henry quitted his camp at Hornsdorff near Gorlitz, in Lusatia, and marched with incredible celerity into Saxony, where he joined the Prussian parties under Finck and Wunch. This rapid march obliged mareschal Daun also to quit his camp in Lusatia, and separate his army from that of count Soltikow, in order to protect Dresden. And the Prussian monarch, thus freed from the presence of his most dangerous enemy, having put himself between the Russians and Great Glogaw, obliged them to relinquish an enterprise which they had formed against that place, and return into Poland.

Fortune, in a word, seemed yet to be preparing triumphs for the intrepid Frederick, after all his disasters; and if he had placed less confidence in her flattering promises, which he had so frequently found to be delusive, he might have closed the campaign with equal glory and success. But his enterprising spirit induced him once more to trust the deceiver, and attempt a great line of action, while prudence, reason, experience, and even self-preservation, dictated a sure one.

No sooner did his Prussian majesty find himself disengaged, in consequence of the retreat of the Russians, than he marched into Saxony; and there joined his brother Henry near Torgau, on the 2d of November, in spite of all the efforts of the Austrian generals. On this junction, the Army of the Empire retired. Mareschal Daun, who had threatened prince Henry, fell back upon Dresden. And the king of Prussia saw himself, once more, at the head of a gallant army of sixty thousand men, in high spirits, and still ready to execute any bold enterprise, under the eye of their sovereign and commander, so lately reduced to the brink of despair. But as the season was already far in the decline, and remarkably severe, his most able generals were of opinion, that no important enterprise could be undertaken with

(1) *Foreign Gazetteer*, passim.

any probability of success, and that his wisest conduct would be to watch the motions of the Austrians, and cut off the provisions of mareschal Daun; who must, by these means, infallibly be obliged to abandon Dresden, and retire into Bohemia, leaving to the Prussians, as hitherto, the entire possession of Saxony.

The king's views, however, extended to greater and more decisive advantages. He knew that the passages into Bohemia were so difficult, that, by seizing certain posts, the subsistence of the Austrians might not only be cut off, but their retreat rendered impracticable. Having obliged mareschal Daun to retreat as far as Plawen, and advanced himself to Kesseldorf, he accordingly ordered general Finck, with nineteen battalions and thirty-five squadrons, to occupy the defiles of Maxen and Ottendorf, through which alone he thought it possible for the enemy to communicate with Bohemia. This service was successfully executed; and no doubt was entertained that mareschal Daun would be obliged to hazard a battle, or to surrender at discretion, as he seemed now to have no resource left but in victory.

Meanwhile that sagacious general, sensible of his danger, sent experienced officers to reconnoitre the position of the Prussian detachment; and finding the commander lulled into the most fatal security, he took possession of the neighbouring eminences, and surrounding the enemy on all sides, precluded the possibility of escape. The Prussians defended themselves gallantly for one day, and made several vigorous efforts to disentangle themselves from the net in which they were caught, but in vain: they were foiled in every attempt to force those defiles which they had been appointed to guard. Night put an end to the struggle, and to the effusion of blood. Next morning general Finck, seeing his situation desperate, as every avenue through which a retreat could be made was planted with bayonets, judged it more prudent to submit to necessity, than wantonly to throw away the lives of so many brave men, who might serve their king on some more promising occasion. He therefore endeavoured, though ineffectually, to obtain terms. They were sternly denied him. And he was ultimately forced to surrender at discretion, on the 26th of November; he himself with eight other generals, and near twenty thousand men, being made prisoners of war. (1)

This was a mortifying blow to the hopes of the Prussian monarch, and must have made him severely sensible of his too common error, in placing all his attention on the possible advantage, and overlooking the probable danger. Nor did that evil come alone. He sustained another heavy stroke in the capture and destruction of a rear guard, consisting of three thousand men, under general Diercke. Yet, after all these losses, he was still so formidable, that the cautious and moderate-minded Daun, instead of attacking him, took shelter in the strong camp of Pirna, and kept close within his entrenchments.

His Prussian majesty seemed also, at last, to have acquired a lesson of moderation. Though joined by twelve thousand men, under the hereditary prince of Brunswick, he put his army quietly into winter-quarters at Freyburg, without attempting any new enterprise; so that, the loss of men excepted, affairs in Germany were nearly in the same situation as at the opening of the campaign. The country had been desolated, and much blood spilt; but Dresden was the only place of any importance that had changed masters.

In spite of all the eloquence and popularity of Mr. Pitt, so many decisive campaigns began to cool the zeal of the English nation in the cause of their illustrious but burdensome ally, the king of Prussia, to whose wars they could see no end. And the success of the British arms in America and the West Indies opened the eyes of the people more fully to their true interests, and made them sensible of the folly of defending the electorate of Hanover at such a vast expense of blood and treasure.

Immediately after the taking of Louisburg, which had long been considered as the key of Canada, a plan was formed by the British ministry for

(1) Compared *Relations*, ubi sup.

the reduction of Quebec, and the entire conquest of New France, as soon as the season of action, in those northern latitudes, should return. In the mean time an expedition was undertaken against the island of Martinico, the chief seat of the French government in the West Indies; a place of great importance by its position, and also by its produce.

It was known that Martinico, and all the sugar-islands belonging to France in the American archipelago, were in great distress for want of provisions and other necessaries; which it was not in her power to provide them with, by reason of the inferiority of her navy to that of England, and consequently her inability to protect her trade with them. It was therefore supposed they could make but a feeble resistance, and would surrender on the first summons.

The armament destined for that service consisted of ten ships of the line under commodore More, and five thousand land-forces, commanded by general Hopson. The design upon Martinico, however, was abandoned as impracticable, after a slight attempt; though seemingly with little reason, as the French governor possessed neither courage nor conduct, and the distressed inhabitants appeared willing, it was said, to submit to a power that could more readily supply their wants, and afford them a better and more certain market for their produce. But be the prospect of resistance small or great, it is certain that the British troops were re-imbarked within twenty-four hours after their landing, and that the armament directed its course toward the island of Guadaloupe;(1) a less splendid object of conquest, though not a less valuable possession.

The British fleet appeared before the town of Basse Terre, the capital of the island, on the twenty-third of January; and next day it was taken, after a terrible cannonade, accompanied with incessant showers of bombs. Never did the commanders of the English navy exert themselves with more intrepidity and judgment than on this occasion. They left the land-forces nothing to do but take possession of the place, which was abandoned by the garrison.(2)

The reduction of the town of Basse Terre, however, was not immediately followed by the conquest of Guadaloupe. The slowness, timidity, and irresolution of the operations by land, afforded the fugitive garrison leisure for recollection; and to fortify themselves, by the help of the inhabitants, in a strong post which obstructed all communication with the more fertile parts of the island. Despairing therefore of being able to subject Guadaloupe on that side, the invaders proceeded to attack it on another, known by the name of Grande Terre. Fort Lewis, the chief defence of this division of the island (which is separated from the other by a shallow strait), was taken sword in hand, by the marines and Royal Highlanders, after a short but vigorous cannonade from the fleet.(3)

But the conquerors were guilty of the same error as formerly. They did not take advantage of the enemy's terror; and they suffered the same inconveniences from their neglect. The fugitives found refuge in the mountains, where they became formidable; and the event of the expedition was even doubtful, when general Barrington, having succeeded to the command of the land-forces, in consequence of the death of Hopson, changed the plan of operations. Instead of attempting to penetrate into the country, which abounded with strong posts and dangerous defiles, he re-imbarked the troops, and successively attacked the towns and villages upon the coast. By this mode of making war every considerable place was soon reduced; and the governor and inhabitants, tired of their uncomfortable situation in the mountains, and having no prospect of relief, surrendered the island to his Britannic Majesty's arms, and some other small islands in the neighbourhood, also submitted. After the inhabitants obtained the same terms with

* (1) Lond. *Gazette*, March 7, 1759. See also Capt. Gardner's *Account of the Expedition against Martinico and Guadaloupe*.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) Capt Gardner, *ubi sup.*

those of Guadaloupe; namely, the undisturbed possession of their private property, and the enjoyment of their civil and religious privileges.(1)

This moderation was equally generous and political, and may be supposed to have had a serious influence upon the minds of the French colonists, even in North America; where the campaign was not yet begun, and where the plan of operations was as extensive as their objects were great. It was concerted to attack the French at all their strong holds at once;—That general Wolfe, who had so eminently distinguished himself at the siege of Louisburg, should proceed up the river St. Laurence with a body of eight thousand men; and a stout fleet from England, and besiege the city of Quebec; that general Amherst, now commander-in-chief of the British forces in North America, should, with an army of twelve thousand men, reduce Ticonderoga and Crown Point; cross Lake Champlain; and, proceeding by the way of Richelieu River to the banks of the St. Laurence, join general Wolfe in his attempt upon the capital of Canada; and that brigadier-general Prideaux, with a third army, reinforced by a body of provincials and friendly Indians, under sir William Johnson, should invest the important fortress of Niagara, which in a manner commands the interior parts of the northern division of the New World. It was farther proposed, that the troops under brigadier Prideaux, after the reduction of Niagara, should embark on Lake Ontario; fall down the river St. Laurence; besiege and take Montreal; and then join or co-operate with the combined army, under Amherst and Wolfe.

A bolder system of war, it is owned, was never framed: but many doubts had been started in regard to its natural practicability, founded on the strength of the places to be attacked, the extent of the operations, and the disposition of the French forces. The marquis de Vaudreuil, governor of New France, lay in the neighbourhood of Montreal, with a body of five thousand veteran troops; while the marquis de Montcalm, his lieutenant-general, whose reputation was already high in the military world, took the field with an army of ten thousand Europeans and Canadians, for the defence of the capital; and M. de Levi, an active officer, was at the head of a flying detachment, which, as well as the army under Montcalm, was strengthened by a large body of trained Indians, intimately acquainted with all the woods and defiles. The garrison of Niagara consisted of at least six hundred men; Ticonderoga and Crown Point were in a respectable condition; and the city of Quebec, naturally strong from its situation, the bravery of its inhabitants, and the number of its garrison, had received every additional fortification that the art of war could give it. All these obstacles however were surmounted, though not immediately, by a happy mixture of conduct and valour; the wonderful effects of which ignorant and credulous men ascribe to supernatural influence, and dull and timid men to chance.

The army under Amherst, by the progress of which the operations of the other two were supposed to be in some measure governed, was early in motion. But the season was far advanced before the general could pass Lake George. He thence proceeded, with little opposition from the enemy, to Ticonderoga, so fatal to the British troops in the former campaign. The French seemed at first determined to defend the fort. But perceiving the English commander resolute, cautious, and well prepared for undertaking the siege, and having beside orders to retreat from place to place toward the centre of operations, rather than run the hazard of being made prisoners of war, they abandoned the works in the night, and retired to Crown Point.

At Crown Point Amherst advanced, after repairing the fortifications of Ticonderoga, which the enemy had damaged. But, before his arrival, the garrison had retired to Isle aux Noix, at the lower end of Lake Champlain. There the French had three thousand five hundred men, as was informed, under the command of M. de Burlemarque, with numerous train of artillery, and that the lake was occupied by four large armed vessels. With a sloop and a redoubt, which he had built with all possible dispatch, he destroyed two

(1) *Lond. Gazette*, June 14, 1759.

of the enemy's vessels. But the declining season obliged him to postpone farther operations, and return to Crown Point, where the troops were put into winter quarters about the end of October. (1)

General Amherst now saw himself in a very awkward situation for a commander-in-chief. Though his success was great, he had found it impossible to attain the prime object of his enterprise; a junction with general Wolfe, which was considered as essential to the fortunate issue of the campaign. And what was yet more disagreeable, he had not, during the whole summer, obtained the least intelligence of the condition of that commander, on the operations of whose slender and unsupported army so much depended; a few obscure and alarming hints excepted, of his having landed in the neighbourhood of Quebec, where he was in danger of being crushed by the whole force of Canada, under the marquis de Montcalm. Happily he was not so ignorant of the fate of the expedition against Niagara. Having received an account of the progress of it before he left Ticonderoga, he had detached brigadier-general Gage, to assume the command of the troops in the room of general Prideaux, who was unfortunately killed by the bursting of a cohorn, while directing the operations against the fort, to which he had been suffered to advance without the least molestation.

Meanwhile the command of that expedition devolved upon sir William Johnson; who prosecuted with equal judgment and vigour the plan of his predecessor. He pushed the attack of Niagara with such intrepidity, that the besiegers soon brought their approaches within an hundred yards of the covered way. Alarmed at the danger of losing this interior key of their empire in America, the French collected a large body of regular troops, drawn from the neighbouring garrisons, Detroit, Venango, and Presque Isle, in order to raise the siege. With these, and a party of savages, they accordingly resolved to attempt the relief of the place, and put themselves in motion for that purpose. Apprized of their intention, general Johnson ordered his light infantry, supported by some grenadiers and regular foot, to take post between the cataract of Niagara and the fortress. He posted the auxiliary Indians on his flanks; and while he thus prepared himself for an engagement, he took effectual measures for securing his lines and bridling the garrison.

The enemy appeared about nine o'clock in the morning, and the battle was begun with a horrid scream from the hostile Indians, according to their barbarous custom. It was this scream, called the *War-whoop*, the most frightful sound which imagination can conceive, that struck a panic into the army under Braddock, and had on other occasions carried terror to the hearts of European soldiers. But having now lost its effect upon the British troops, it was heard with a contemptuous indifference. And the French regulars were so warmly received by the English grenadiers and light infantry, while their savages were encountered by other savages, that they were totally routed in less than an hour, and the place surrendered the same day. (2)

The taking of Niagara effectually cut off the communication between Canada and Louisiana, and consequently was a great step toward the conquest of both. But the reduction of Quebec was still a more important object; and if general Amherst had been able to form a junction with Wolfe, it would have been attended with equal certainty, as a proportional force would have been employed to accomplish it.

As events happened, the issue of this grand enterprise seemed very doubtful. The land forces did not exceed seven thousand men. They were, however, in good health and spirits. Having been embarked at Louisburg, under convoy of the admirals Saunders and Haddock, they were safely landed, toward the middle of June, on the isle of Orleans, formed by two branches of the river St. Lawrence, a few leagues below the city of Quebec. There the soldiers and sailors found every refreshment; and there general Wolfe, who

(1) Letter from General Amherst to Mr. Secretary Pitt, in *Lond. Gazette*, Nov. 27, 1759. Knox's *Campaigns*, vol. i. ii.

(2) *Lond. Gazette*, Sept. 12. 1759. Knox, *ubi sup.*

was accompanied by the brigadier-general Montcalm, Townshend, and Murray, published a spirited but somewhat romantic manifesto, vindicating the conduct of the king his master, in making this hostile invasion, and offering protection to the inhabitants of Canada, with the entire possession of their property and the free exercise of their religion, provided they took no part in the dispute for dominion between the crowns of France and England. He represented to them the folly of resistance, as all hopes of relief were cut off, while the British fleet commanded not only the navigation of the river St. Laurence, but the empire of the sea; and he reminded them, that the cruelties exercised by the French against the English subjects in America would excite the most severe retaliation. But Englishmen, he said, were too magnanimous to follow the barbarous example: and he concluded with extolling the generosity of Great Britain, in thus stretching out to them a hand of humanity, when it was in her power to compel their obedience.(1)

As that manifesto produced no immediate effect, Wolfe was under the necessity of considering the Canadians as enemies, and saw himself exposed to the difficulties of a general commanding an army in a country where every thing is hostile to him. These difficulties, on examination, appeared so great, that, although naturally of a sanguine temper and an adventurous spirit, he began to despair of success before the commencement of operations. "I could not flatter myself," says he, in his celebrated letter to Mr. Pitt, "that I should be able to reduce the place. Nor is this to be wondered at. Beside the natural and artificial strength of the city of Quebec, which is chiefly built upon a steep rock on the northern bank of the river St. Laurence, and farther defended by the river St. Charles, which places it in a kind of peninsula, Montcalm, the French general, was advantageously posted in the neighbourhood, with a force superior to the English army. To undertake the siege of the town, in such circumstances, seemed contrary to all the established maxims of war.

Resolving, however, to make every possible exertion before he abandoned the enterprise committed to him by his sovereign, and the event of which was already determined in the fond imaginations of his admiring countrymen, Wolfe took possession of Point Levi, on the southern bank of the St. Laurence, and there erected batteries against the town: But these batteries, by reason of their distance, made small impression upon the works, though they destroyed many houses, and greatly incommoded the inhabitants. The fleet could be of little use, as the elevation of the principal fortifications placed them beyond its reach and even gave them a degree of command over it. The English general, therefore, became sensible of the impossibility of reducing the place, unless he could erect his batteries on the northern side of the river. But as this seemed a matter of infinite difficulty, his grand dilemma was, how to effect it?—Nor could all his penetration resolve the question.

The northern shore of the river St. Laurence, for a considerable way above Quebec, is so bold and rocky, as to make it impracticable to land in the face of an enemy. Below the town the French army was strongly encamped, between the river Montmorency and St. Charles. If the first river should be passed, and the French driven from their entrenchments, the second would present a new, and almost insurmountable barrier against the invaders. With all these obstacles Wolfe was well acquainted, and he also knew, to use his own heroic language, "that a victorious army has no difficulties." He therefore resolved to pass the river Montmorency, and bring Montcalm to an engagement.

In consequence of this resolution, part of the British army was posted at the mouth of that river, and the main body was ordered to move forward, when certain unpropitious circumstances made it necessary to disengage the troops, and relinquish the design. General Wolfe's original plan was to attack first a detached redoubt close to the water's edge, and apparently situated beyond reach of the fire from the enemy's entrenchments. Should

(1) Printed Manifesto.

they attempt to support that fortification, he doubted not of being able to bring on a general action; and if they remained tame spectators of its fall, he could afterward ~~to~~ examine their situation, and regulate accordingly his future operations. But observing the enemy in some confusion, he rashly changed his purpose; and listening only to the ardour of his courage, determined immediately to attack the French camp.

With that view, orders were sent to the generals Townshend and Murray, to keep their divisions in readiness for fording the river. Meantime, thirteen companies of English grenadiers, and part of the second battalion of Royal Americans, which had been first landed, and directed to form upon the beach, until they could be properly sustained, rushed impetuously toward the enemy's entrenchments; as if, in their ungovernable fury, they could have borne down every thing before them. But they were met by so strong and steady a fire from the French musquetry, that they were instantly thrown into disorder, and obliged to seek shelter in or behind the detached redoubt, which the enemy had abandoned on their approach.⁽¹⁾ There they continued for some time, before they could repossess the river, exposed to a dreadful thunder-storm, and a more terrible storm of bullets, which proved fatal to many gallant officers, who fearlessly exposed their persons, in attempting to form the troops. And instead of lamenting this early failure, though occasioned by inexcusable precipitancy, and attended with the loss of near five hundred brave men, we ought rather to consider it as a fortunate event; for if the whole British army had been led on to the attack, there is reason to believe, from the strength of the French entrenchments, that the consequences would have been more fatal.⁽²⁾

Made sensible by this mortifying check, and the information connected with it, of the impracticability of approaching Quebec, on the side of Montmorency, while the marquis de Montcalm chose to maintain his station, Wolfe detached general Murray, with twelve hundred men in transports, to co-operate with admiral Holmes above the town, in endeavouring to destroy the French shipping, and otherwise to distress, and distract the enemy, by descents upon the banks of the river. In pursuance of these obstructions, Murray made two vigorous attempts to land on the northern shore, but without success: in the third, he was more fortunate. By a sudden descent at Chambaud, he burnt a valuable magazine, filled with clothing, arms, ammunition, and provisions. That was a service of considerable importance, though by no means adequate to his wishes. The French ships were secured in such a manner as not to be approached either by the fleet or army. He therefore returned to the British camp at the request of the commander-in-chief, in some measure disappointed, but with the consolatory intelligence, (received from his prisoners,) "That Niagara was taken; that Ticonderoga and Crown Point were abandoned; and that general Amherst was employed in making preparations for attacking the enemy at Isle Aux Noix."

This intelligence, however, though agreeable in itself, afforded no prospect of any immediate assistance. The season wasted apace; and the fervid spirit of general Wolfe, which could not brook the most distant prospect of censure or disgrace, began to prey upon his naturally delicate constitution. Conscious that the conduct of no leader can ever be honoured with true applause, unless guided with success, he dreaded alike to become the object of the pity or the scorn of his capricious countrymen. His own high notions of military glory, the public hope, the good fortune of other commanders, all turned inward upon him, and converted disappointment, and the fear of miscarriage, into a disease that threatened the dissolution of this tender frame. Though determined, as he declared in his disquiet, never to return to England without accomplishing his enterprise, he sent to the ministry a postscript, and a corresponding account of his situation, in order to prepare the minds of the people for the worst.⁽³⁾

(1) Letter from General Wolfe to Mr. Secretary Pitt, in *London Gazette*, Oct. 6, 1755.

(2) This is in some measure admitted by Wolfe himself. *Id. ibid.*

(3) "The affairs of Great Britain, I know," says he, "require the most vigorous

Having thus unburdened his mind, and found, no doubt, the consequent relief, he called a council of his principal officers, in which it was resolved, That the future operations should be above the common order to draw the French general, if possible, from his impregnable position, and bring on an engagement. The camp at Montmorency was accordingly abandoned; and the whole British army being embarked on board the fleet, part of it was landed at Point Levi, and part carried higher up the river. The good effects of this new scheme were soon visible.

The marquis de Montcalm, apprehensive that the invaders might make a distant descent, and come on the back of the city of Quebec, detached M. de Manguenville, with fifteen hundred men, in order to watch their motions; and by that means weakened his own army. Meantime a daring plan was formed by the three English brigadier-generals, and presented to the commander-in-chief; namely, a proposal for landing the troops in the night under the heights of Abraham, a little above the town, in hopes of conquering the rugged ascent before morning.

The very boldness of this plan, which was conceived while Wolfe was confined in sickness, recommended it to his generous and intrepid spirit. The stream was rapid, the shore shelving, the intended landing-place so narrow, as to be easily missed in the dark, and the steep so difficult as hardly to be ascended in the day-time, even without opposition. The French general could not think that a descent would be attempted in defiance of so many obstacles. It was effected, however, with equal judgment and vigour. Wolfe himself was one of the first who leaped ashore. Colonel Howe, with the Highlanders and light infantry, led the way up the dangerous precipice. All the troops vied with each other in emulating the gallant example; and the whole British army had reached the summit, and was ranged under its proper officers, by break of day.

Montcalm, as Wolfe had foreseen, when informed that the invaders had gained the heights of Abraham, which in a manner command Quebec, could not at first credit the alarming intelligence. The ascent of an army by such a precipice exceeded all his ideas of military enterprise. He believed it to be only a feint, magnified by report, in order to induce him to abandon his strong post. But when convinced of its reality, he no longer hesitated what course to pursue; when he found that a battle could not prudently be avoided, he bravely resolved to hazard one, and immediately put his troops in motion for that purpose.

No sooner did general Wolfe perceive the enemy crossing the river St. Charles, than he began to form his own line, which consisted of six battalions and the the Louisbourg grenadiers. The right wing was commanded by general Monkton, and the left by general Murray. Colonel Howe, with the light infantry, secured the rear; and as the marquis de Montcalm advanced in such a manner as to shew his intention was to out-flank the left of the English army, general Townshend was sent thither with the regiment of Amherst, which he formed *en potence*, so as to present a double front to the enemy. The body of reserve consisted of one regiment, drawn up in eight divisions, with large intervals.

The disposition of the French army was no less masterly. The right wing was composed of half the colony troops, two battalions of European soldiers, and a body of Indians. The centre consisted of a column formed of two other battalions of regulars; and one battalion of regulars, with the remainder of the colony troops, secured the left wing. The woods and corn-fields in the enemy's front were filled with fifteen hundred of their best marksmen, who kept up a continual falling fire, which proved fatal to many brave British officers.

That fire was the more severely felt, as the British troops were obliged to keep up theirs. This they did with great patience and fortitude, until the French main body advanced within forty yards of their line. Then they

"measures; but then the courage of a handful of brave men should be exerted only where there is some probability of success." Letter to Mr. Pitt, ubi sup.

poured in, at a general discharge, a thick shower of bullets, which took full effect, and made terrible havoc among the enemy's ranks. Nor did any relaxation of vigour take place. The British fire was supported with the same power it had been begun; and the enemy every where yielded to it. But in the moment when the fortune of the field began to declare itself, general Wolfe, who was pressing on at the head of the grenadiers, received a fatal bullet in his breast, and fell in the arms of victory.

Instead of being disconcerted by the loss of their commander, every separate regiment of the British army seemed to exert itself for the honour of its own particular character, as well as the glory of the whole. While the grenadiers took vengeance with their bayonets, general Murray briskly advanced with the troops under his direction, and broke the centre of the French army. Then it was that the Highlanders drawing their broad swords completed the confusion of the enemy; and falling upon them with resistless fury, drove the fugitives with great slaughter toward the city of Quebec, or under certain fortifications which the Canadians had raised on the banks of the river St. Charles.

The other divisions of the British army did not behave with less gallantry. Colonel Howe, with part of the light infantry, having taken post behind a small copse, sallied out frequently upon the flanks of the enemy, during their spirited attack on the other part of his division, and often drove them into heaps, while brigadier general Townshend advanced against their front; so that the French general's design of turning the left flank of the English army was totally defeated. But the gallant officer, who had so remarkably contributed to this service, was suddenly called to a more important station, in consequence of a new disaster. General Monkton, who had succeeded general Wolfe, according to the order of military precedence, being dangerously wounded, the chief command devolved upon Townshend, as next in seniority. On receiving the melancholy news, he hastened to the centre; and finding the troops somewhat disordered in the ardour of pursuit, he formed them again with all possible celerity. This act of generalship, however, was scarce completed, when M^r. de Bougainville, with a body of two thousand fresh troops, appeared in the rear of the victorious army. He had begun his march from Cape Rouge, a considerable way up the river, as soon as he received intelligence that the British forces had gained the heights of Abraham. But fortunately the main body of the French army was, by this time, so much broken and dispersed, that Bougainville did not think it advisable to hazard a new attack. (1)

The victory was indeed decisive. The brave marquis de Montcalm, and his second in command, were both mortally wounded. About a thousand of the enemy were made prisoners, and near an equal number fell in the battle or pursuit. The remainder of their army, unable to keep the field, retired first to Point au Tremble, and afterwards to Trois Rivieres and Montreal.

The loss of the English, with respect to numbers, was very inconsiderable: both the killed and wounded did not exceed five hundred men. But the death of general Wolfe was a national misfortune, and accompanied with circumstances sufficiently interesting to merit a particular detail. He first received a shot in the wrist; but wrapt a handkerchief round his arm, and encouraged his men to advance, without discovering the least discomposure. He next received a shot in the groin, which he also concealed. Even after the mortal bullet had pierced his breast, he suffered himself unwillingly to be carried behind the ranks. Under all the agonies of approaching dissolution, his anxiety for the fortune of the field continued; and when told that the French army was totally routed, and fled on all sides, "Then," said he, "I am happy." and instantly expired, in a kind of patriotic transport, which seemed to diffuse over his darkening countenance an air of exultation and triumph.

• Wolfe, at the age of thirty-five, to all the fervour of spirit, the liberality

(1) Letter from brigadier-general Townshend to Mr. Secretary Pitt, in London Gazette, Oct. 17, 1759. Knox's Campaigns vol. ii

of sentiment, the humanity, generosity, and enlarged views of the hero, united no inconsiderable share of the presence of mind and military skill that constitute the great commander. He needed only years and opportunity of action, to place him on a level with the most celebrated generals of any age or nation; to moderate his ardour, expand his faculties, and give to his intuitive perception and scientific knowledge, the correctness of judgment perfected by experience.

Montcalm the French general, was not inferior to his antagonist in military talents. Though less fortunate in the last scene of his life, he had often been victorious; and he made the most judicious dispositions that human prudence could suggest, both before the battle of Quebec, and during the engagement. Nor were his dying words less remarkable than those of Wolfe. "I am glad of it!" said he, when informed that his wound was mortal; and on being told he could survive only a few hours, he gallantly replied, "So much the better!—I shall not then live to see the surrender of "Quebec." (1)

That event, as the illustrious Montcalm foresaw, was not distant. Five days after the victory gained in its neighbourhood, the city of Quebec surrendered to the English fleet and army, which were preparing for a grand attack. By the articles of capitulation, the inhabitants were to be protected in the free exercise of their religion, and in the full enjoyment of their civil rights, until a general peace should decide their future condition. (2) Thus was the capital of New France reduced under the dominion of Great Britain, after an arduous campaign of about three months; and, all circumstances considered, perhaps there never was a naval and military enterprise conducted with more steady perseverance, or distinguished by more vigour and ability.

While the British generals were thus making rapid strides toward the final conquest of the French empire in America, M. de Lally, the French governor-general in the East Indies, threatened with utter subjection the English settlements in the Carnatic. Having reduced Fort St. David and Cudalore, as already related, his next attempt was against Madras, the principal English settlement on the coast of Coromandel. This place was regularly invested by two thousand European troops, and a large body of sepoys, after its brave but slender garrison had made every possible effort to keep the enemy at a distance. And by the resolution of governor Pigot, and the persevering courage of colonel Draper, colonel Lawrence, and other gallant officers, it was enabled to hold out till the arrival of succours. On the appearance of captain Kempenfelt in the *Queenborough* man-of-war, and the company's ship *Revenge*, with a reinforcement of six hundred men from England, the French general found himself under the necessity of raising the siege; greatly mortified and enraged at a disappointment, which blasted all his sanguine hopes of expelling the English from the peninsula of Indostan.

The British forces in the Carnatic, though still inferior to those of the enemy in numbers now took the field in different divisions, and reduced successively the French settlements of Masulipatam and Conjeeveram. Major Brereton, however, unhappily failed in a rash but vigorous attack upon Wandiwash. He was repulsed with the loss of two hundred men. But Wandiwash was afterward reduced, and also Carnagolly, by colonel Coote, who had superseded Brereton in the command of the British forces. This able officer bravely maintained his conquest, and defeated a strong army under general Lally, who made a bold attempt to regain possession of the disputed settlement.

The battle of Wandiwash was accompanied with several circumstances sufficiently interesting to merit a description. General Lally being early deserted by his whole body of cavalry, in consequence of a brisk cannonade, put himself at the head of his line of infantry, and impetuously rushed into

(1) Knox's *Campaigns*, vol. ii.

(2) London *Gazette*, ubi sup.

action. Colonel Coote coolly received the enemy at the head of his own regiment, which he had formed in a line, opposed obliquely to theirs. Nor did he alter his disposition, although they did. After two discharges, the regiment of Lorraine vigorously pressed on, in the form of a column, through a heavy fire, and threatened to bear down all resistance. In an instant the two regiments were engaged at the push of the bayonet. The front of the French column at first broke the English line, and a momentary confusion ensued. But no sooner did man encounter man in single opposition, than the superiority of British prowess was conspicuous. The field was suddenly strewn with killed and wounded Frenchmen. The regiment of Lorraine was broken, routed, and hotly pursued.

This conflict was followed by another, no less bloody, which finally decided the fortune of the day. As soon as colonel Coote could restrain the ardour of his own victorious battalion, he rode along the line, and ordered major Brereton to advance with Draper's regiment (the colonel having returned to England for the recovery of his health) and take possession of a fortified post, which the enemy seemed to have abandoned. In making this effort, the major was mortally wounded, but not before he saw that the post was gained. "Follow your blow!" said he greatly, to some of the soldiers, who offered to assist him; "and leave me to my fate!"

That service was gallantly performed by major Monson, who now succeeded to the command of Draper's regiment. In vain did M. de Bussy attempt to recover the dear-earned post, at the head of the regiment of Lally; in vain, to maintain the combat on the plain. His horse being shot under him, he was made prisoner, in leading on to the push of the bayonet the few troops that preserved any countenance. Major Monson received his sword. The regiment of Lally was utterly broken; and the French general, having lost six hundred men, was happy to save the wreck of his army, by abandoning his camp to the victors.⁽¹⁾ The routed infantry formed behind the cavalry, which had recovered from their panic, and the flight was conducted with some degree of order.

Nor were these the only achievements of the British forces in the East Indies, in the course of this memorable year. During the progress of colonel Coote on the coast of Coromandel, admiral Pococke, with an inferior force, defeated the French fleet, under M. d'Aché, in a third and desperate engagement, though without capturing any ships. Surat, a place of great consequence on the coast of Malabar, was taken by a detachment from the English settlement of Bombay. The French factory there was destroyed; and, on the opposite side of the peninsula, the Dutch were chastised for attempting to acquire an ascendancy in Bengal.

These avaricious republicans, whose grasping spirit no principles can moderate, no treaties restrain, become jealous of the growth of the English power in the East Indies, and, enraged at the loss of certain branches of trade, which they had been accustomed to monopolize, formed a conspiracy for the extirpation of their rivals, as atrocious as that of Amboyna. In consequence of this conspiracy (in which the French and the nabob of Bengal are supposed to have been engaged,) the government of Batavia, under pretence of reinforcing their settlement at Chinsura, sent an armament of seven ships, and thirteen hundred land forces, up the river Hughley. The troops were landed near Tannah Fort, and a detachment from Chinsura advanced to meet them. Meantime colonel Forde, who had been appointed to watch their motions, at the head of the troops of the English East India company, gave battle first to the detachment and afterward to the main body; defeated both; killed four hundred and forty men, and made all the fugitives prisoners. About the same time, three English East India ships (armed and manned for desperate service) gave battle to the Dutch squadron, and obliged the whole to strike, after an obstinate engagement.⁽²⁾

(1) Orme, *Hist. Indost.* book xii.

(2) Compared Relations of the hostile attempt of the Dutch in Bengal, transmitted to the East India House.

Seeing their armament thus humbled, the factory at Chinsura agreed to such conditions as the government of Calcutta thought proper to impose, disclaiming all knowledge of hostile intentions. Similar protestations were made by the States-general in Europe; and the British ministry, though by no means convinced of their good faith, seemed to admit their apology. The chastisement inflicted, though necessary for self-defence, was thought sufficiently severe to operate as a correction.

Every where victorious by land, and crowned with conquest at both extremities of the earth, the success of the British arms in Europe was no less splendid by sea. Elated with their advantage at St. Cas, the French talked loudly of retaliating the insults on their coasts, by invading, at the same time, Great Britain and Ireland in three different places. Their ministry, embarrassed by the failure of public credit, were happy to indulge the national vanity. Large bodies of troops were accordingly assembled on the coasts of the Channel; men of war and transports were collected, and flat-bottomed boats prepared at the principal sea-ports. A small armament, said to be destined for the invasion of Scotland, was to sail from Dunkirk, under the conduct of M. Thurot, who had greatly distinguished himself as the commander of a privateer; that, supposed to be designed against Ireland, was to sail from Vannes, in Lower Brittany; the land forces to be commanded by the duke d'Aguillon, and the fleet, which was preparing at Brest, by M. de Conflans; while the troops intended for the invasion of England, if any such intention ever existed, were to sail from Havre-de-Grace, and other ports on the coast of Normandy, in flat-bottomed boats, and land in the night, under able commanders on the opposite shore.

In order to defeat the purpose of these boasted armaments, an English squadron, under commodore Boys, was stationed off Dunkirk; the port of Havre-de-Grace was guarded, and the town successfully bombarded, by rear-admiral Rodney; sir Edward Hawke, with a formidable force, blocked up the harbour of Brest, where the French fleet, under Conflans, lay in readiness to conduct, as was supposed, the transports and flat-bottomed boats belonging to the grand armament; and a small squadron, detached from that under Hawke, hovered on the coast of Brittany. These precautions were continued during the whole summer. All the ports of France in the Channel were under an actual blockade; and the projected invasions, in consequence of this restraint, seemed to be laid aside by the French ministry, till the month of August, when, the battle of Minden having baffled all their designs upon Hanover, they turned their attention seriously toward their naval armaments.

In the mean time admiral Boscawen, who commanded the British fleet in the Mediterranean, was employed in blocking up, in the harbour of Toulon, a French squadron under M. de la Clue, designed to assist, as was believed, in the descents upon the coasts of Great Britain and Ireland. But Boscawen finding it necessary to return to Gibraltar to careen, M. de la Clue took that opportunity to attempt to pass the Straits, and had nearly accomplished his purpose, when he was discovered by the English admiral; pursued, and overtaken, on August 18, off Cape Lagos, on the coast of Portugal. The squadrons were nearly equal in force; the French consisted of twelve, and the English of fourteen ships of the line. The French, however, made but a feeble resistance. The admiral's ship, named the *Ocean*, of eighty guns, and the *Redoutable*, of seventy-four guns, were destroyed; and the *Téméraire* of twenty-four, and the *Modeste* of sixty-four guns, were taken. (1)

This disaster did not discourage the French ministry from their projected invasions. The greatest preparations were made at Brest and Rochefort; and the long-neglected Pretender, again flattered and carried, is said to have remained in the neighbourhood of Vannes, in disguise, in order once more to hazard his person, and countenance a revolt in the dominions of his ancestors, to serve the ambitious purposes of France. Happily the execution of that scheme, which might have produced much confusion, was pre-

(1) Boscawen's *Letter*, in *London Gazette*, Sept. 7. 1759.

vented, by the vigilance of sir Edward Hawke, till the season of action was past. But the French, in their ardour, seemed to disregard the course of the seasons and the rage of the elements. The English fleet being driven off the coast of France by a violent storm, Confians put to sea with twenty-one sail of the line and four frigates, and threw the inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland into the utmost terror and consternation. But their alarm was only for a moment.

Sir Edward Hawke, who had taken shelter in Torbay, also put to sea with twenty-two ships of the line, and came up with the enemy between Belleisle and Cape Quiberon. The French admiral being on his own coast, with which he was perfectly well acquainted, and not choosing openly to hazard a battle, or expose himself to the disgrace of a retreat, attempted to take advantage of a lee-shore, sown thick with rocks and shoals. Among these he hoped to remain secure, or to profit by the temerity of his antagonist. He accordingly collected his fleet under the land. Hawke saw the danger, and determined to brave it; though, in so doing, he perhaps obeyed the dictates of his own impetuous courage rather than those of a prudent foresight. While his fleet remained intire, he was at all times equal to the important charge with which he was entrusted by his sovereign, the protection of the British kingdoms; but, should it be destroyed by fortuitous means, the consequences might prove very distressing to his country. Happily, on this occasion, the English admiral, whose honest mind was not the least enlightened, and whose lion-heart had never listened to the cautious suggestions of fear, being little acquainted with consequential reasoning, paid less regard to the possible disaster, than to the probability of acquiring a complete victory, and essentially serving his country, by the destruction of the French fleet. Regardless of every peril, he bore down with full sail upon the enemy, about two o'clock in the afternoon, and ordered the pilot to lay his own ship, the Royal George, along-side of that of the French admiral, named the Royal Sun.

The pilot represented the danger of the coast. "By this remonstrance," said Hawke, "you have done your duty: now execute my orders, and I will endeavour to do mine." He reluctantly obeyed. Confians did not decline the combat; but a French captain, with the gallantry peculiar to his nation, threw himself between the two admirals. One broadside from the Royal George, and a high sea, sent his noble ship, called the *Thesée*, with him and all his crew, to the bottom. The *Superbe* shared the same fate. The formidable struck her colours. The Royal Sun drove a-shore, and was burnt by her own people, as was the *Hero* by the British seamen. The *Juste* sunk at the mouth of the Loire. Unfortunately, however, a tempestuous night, which saved the French fleet from utter ruin, proved fatal to two English ships of the line. They ran upon a sand-bank, and were irretrievably lost. But all the men, and part of the stores, were saved. (1)

This justly celebrated victory, which broke the boasted effort of the naval power of France, freed the inhabitants of South Britain from all the apprehensions of an invasion. But the people of North Britain were still kept under alarm. The famous adventurer Thurot had got out of Dunkirk a little before Confians left Brest. His squadron consisted of one ship of forty-four guns, named the *Belleisle*, in honour of the French minister; three frigates of thirty-guns each, and one of twenty-four; the whole carrying about twelve hundred land-forces.

With this force Thurot sailed into the North Sea, and shewed a disposition to land on the coast of Scotland, in the neighbourhood of Aberdeen: but being pursued by commodore Boys, he was obliged to take shelter in Gottenburg in Sweden, and afterward in Bergen in Norway. During these voyages, in an inclement season, his men became sickly, his ships were greatly shattered, and he lost company with one of them. He determined, however, to attempt something worthy of his former exploits, before he returned to

(1) Sir Edward Hawke's *Letter*, in *London Gazette*, Nov. 1759, and information afterward received relative to the action.

France. Nor was he void of hopes of yet co-operating with Confians, with whose defeat he was unacquainted. He accordingly sailed for the coast of Ireland, and made himself master of Carrickfergus. Having there victualled his ships, pillaged the town, and got certain intelligence of the ruin of the French fleet, he again put to sea, and steered his course homeward. But he was swiftly pursued by captain Elliot, in the *Æolus* frigate of thirty-six guns, accompanied by the *Pallas*, and *Brilliant*, of thirty-two guns each, and overtaken near the Isle of Man. The force on both sides was nearly equal: the commanders were rivals in valour and naval skill; the crews were tried; and the engagement that took place was obstinate and bloody. The death of the gallant Thurot determined the contest. The *Belleisle* struck her colours, and the whole French squadron instantly followed her example. (1)

These naval victories, with the conquests acquired by the British arms in North America, and in the East and West Indies, in a word, wherever shipping could give a superiority, sufficiently pointed out to the intelligent part of the nation the true line of future hostilities, and the madness of persisting in the prosecution of a ruinous German war. Yet was it resolved, by the popular administration, not only to prosecute that war, but to make it the supreme object during the ensuing campaign. Three millions sterling were accordingly granted, by parliament, in subsidies, to German princes, beside the enormous supplies demanded for maintaining twenty-five thousand British troops in Westphalia. And all these troops and subsidies, it must be owned, were necessary for the defence of the electorate of Hanover, and in order to enable the king of Prussia to support his declining fortune against the Austrians, Russians, Swedes, and the Army of the Empire. But why the people of Great Britain should burden themselves, for such purposes, with between five and six millions of debt annually, was a question that no good citizen could answer with temper, and which a quiet subject would not choose to investigate. It will, therefore, be enough to say, That such was the wish of the monarch, and the will of the minister, who governed the people, and the parliament with absolute sway; and who had the address to convince both, That it would be ungenerous in Great Britain, and unworthy of her glory, to desert an illustrious ally in distress, after having encouraged him to engage in so arduous a struggle; or to permit the electoral dominions of her sovereign, how small soever their value, to fall into the hands of an enemy whom she had vanquished in every other part of the world.

The people of France were no less generous to their king. As the ordinary resources of the state had failed, the principal nobility and gentry, in imitation of his example, threw their plate into the public treasury, in order to enable him to support with vigour the war in Germany; conscious that the strength of the kingdom could there, on its own frontier, be exerted to the greatest advantage, and that of Great Britain with the least effect. The French army in Westphalia was accordingly augmented to one hundred thousand men, under the duke de Broglie, now honoured with a mareschal's staff, and entrusted with the chief command: while an inferior army, consisting of near thirty thousand good troops, was formed upon the Rhine, under the count de St. Germain.

The allied army, under prince Ferdinand, was less numerous than that under Broglie, but the troops were in better condition. The allies, however, very prudently acted chiefly on the defensive. Yet if Broglie and St. Germain had not quarrelled, and come to an open rupture, in consequence of which the latter left the service, prince Ferdinand would have found himself under the necessity of hazzarding a general action, or of suffering himself to be surrounded. Before this quarrel, which happened about the middle of the campaign, and disconcerted all their plan of operations, the progress of the French arms had been very rapid. Broglie, paying no regard to the places of strength possessed by the allies in his front, pushed into the landgravate of Hesse with the grand army, leaving detachments to reduce the castles of

Murzburg and Dillenberg; while St. Germain penetrated through the duchy of Westphalia, and the two armies formed a junction near a place called Corbach, on the tenth of July.

Ighorant of this junction, and desirous to prevent it, prince Ferdinand, who had fallen back with the allied army from Fitzlar, and was retreating toward the river Dymel, sent the hereditary prince, with a strong detachment, before him to Saxhenhausen, where he meant to encamp. Continuing to advance, that gallant youth found a body of French troops formed near Corbach; and concluding them to be St. Germain's van-guard, as they did not seem to exceed ten battalions, and fifteen squadrons, he attacked them with great fury. But the French stood their ground with firmness; and being continually reinforced with fresh troops from the main army, the hereditary prince was obliged to retire in some disorder, and with considerable loss. (1) A few days after, however, he severely retaliated upon the enemy, by surprising a French detachment, under M. Glaubitz, at Emsdorff. Beside killing a great number of all ranks, and taking their artillery and baggage, he made the commander-in-chief, with one hundred and seventy-seven officers, and two thousand two hundred and eighty-two private men, prisoners of war. (2)

During these transactions, the duke de Broglio remained encamped on the heights of Corbach. And the chevalier de Muy, who had succeeded the count de St. Germain, as second in command, having passed the Dymel at Stadlberg, with thirty-five thousand men (being the reserve of the French army), and extended this body along the banks of that river, in order to cut off the communication of the allies with Westphalia, prince Ferdinand also passed the Dymel to give him battle. He accordingly ordered the hereditary prince and general Sporcken, who had reconnoitred the position of the enemy, advantageously posted near Warburgh, to turn their left wing, while he himself advanced against their centre, on the 31st day of July, with the main body of the allied army. Thus attacked in flank and rear, and in danger of being surrounded, the French, after a smart engagement, retired with precipitation toward Stadlberg, leaving on the field about fifteen hundred men dead or dangerously wounded. About an equal number were made prisoners in the pursuit, by the British cavalry. The loss of the allies was very considerable. (3)

By this advantage, which insured him the command of the Weser and the Dymel, prince Ferdinand was enabled to maintain his communication with Westphalia, and to prevent the French from penetrating deeply into the electorate of Hanover. But in order to obtain these important ends, he was under the necessity, notwithstanding his success, of sacrificing the whole landgraviate of Hesse. The enemy even reduced Gottingen and Munden, in the dominions of his Britannic majesty, while the people of England were celebrating with bonfires and illuminations the victory obtained by their arms, which was immediately followed by all the apparent consequences of a defeat.

Prince Ferdinand, however, regardless of appearances, continued to occupy Warburg, for more than a month after the battle; and the duc de Broglio, over-awed by so commanding a position, attempted nothing further of any consequence during the campaign. In the mean time the hereditary prince undertook a rambling expedition to the Lower Rhine, and laid siege to Wesel. But he was defeated near the convent of Campen, on the 16th of October, by a body of French troops, under M. de Castries, and obliged to return with the loss of near two thousand brave men; including killed, wounded, prisoners, and those who died of fatigue. (4) Soon after this severe check, both armies went into winter-quarters; the French being left in possession of Hesse, and of the whole country eastward of the Weser, to the frontiers of the electorate of Hanover. The British troops were cantoned in the

(1) *London Gazette*, July 23, 1760.

(2) *Ibid.* July 23.

(3) *Ibid.* Aug. 9.

(4) *Ibid.* Oct. 23, et seq.

bieheprick of Paterborn, where they suffered great hardships from scarcity of forage and provisions. Few campaigns, between armies so numerous and well appointed, have been more barren of memorable events.

The king of Prussia, as usual, was more active than the general of the allies; and the desperate state of his affairs required the most vigorous exertions. He began the campaign, however, on a defensive plan. Having passed the winter in Saxony, he took possession of a very strong camp, between the Elbe and the Muldau, in the month of April. This camp he fortified in every place that was accessible, and mounted the works with two hundred and fifty pieces of cannon. By these means he was enabled to maintain his ground against the grand Austrian army, under mareschal Daun, whose whole attention he engaged, and at the same time to send a strong reinforcement to his brother Henry, without exposing himself to any danger.

Prince Henry had assembled an army near Frankfort on the Oder, where he took various positions, in order to oppose the Russians, and to protect Silesia and the New Marche of Brandenburg, which were threatened by different bodies of the enemy. Fouquet, another Prussian general, had established his quarters in the neighbourhood of Glatz. And whilst he covered Silesia on that side, he kept up a communication with prince Henry, and was so posted as to send to or receive succours from him, as either party should happen to be pressed.

Military science could not perhaps have devised a more complete defensive system. But the wisest precautions may be eluded by cunning, or disconcerted by enterprise. General Laudohn, the most enterprising of all the Austrian commanders, having quitted his camp in Bohemia (where he had passed the winter) with a strong but light and disencumbered army, threatened alternately Silesia and the New Marche of Brandenburg; Breslaw, Berlin, and Schweidnitz. At length he seemed to fix upon the latter; and general Fouquet, deceived by the artful feint, marched to Schweidnitz with the main body of his troops, and left Glatz uncovered.

No sooner did Laudohn perceive, that this stratagem had succeeded, than he made use of another, and with equal success. He took possession of Landshut, which he discovered a design of securing, and left there a small body of troops. Fouquet, alarmed at so unexpected a movement, quitted Schweidnitz with precipitation, and drove the Austrians from Landshut with great ease. Meanwhile Laudohn had made himself master of several important passes, by which he was, in some measure, enabled to surround the little army under Fouquet. The Prussian general did every thing possible, in such circumstances, to defend himself against a superior enemy. But all his efforts were ineffectual. The Austrians attacked his entrenchments with irresistible fury! and he himself having received two mortal wounds, and four thousand of his troops being slain, the remains of his army, amounting to seven thousand men, threw down their arms on the field, and surrendered prisoners of war. The reduction of Glatz, on which Laudohn fell like a thunder-bolt, was the immediate consequence of this decisive victory. (1)

The king of Prussia's defensive plan seemed now to be entirely ruined. One of his three armies was destroyed, and the victorious Laudohn was ready to lay siege to Breslaw, where he expected to be joined by the Russians, and enabled to complete the conquest of Silesia, the great object of the war. His Prussian majesty saw the danger, and while the fortitude of his spirit determined him to meet it without shrinking, his daring genius led him to hope, that the most important advantages might be drawn from the very bosom of misfortune. He accordingly quitted his strong camp on the frontiers of Saxony, and directed his march toward Silesia. Mareschal Daun pursued the same route, and by forced marches got the start of his heroic antagonist, who was more dilatory than usual.

The Austrian general had reached Gorlitz, and was pushing on to Lauban, when the gallant Frederick received the agreeable intelligence of his rapid progress, and, by one of the boldest acts of generalship recorded in the annals

(1) *Prussian and Austrian Relations compared.*

of war, wheeled into the opposite direction; repassed the Spree near Bautzen, and threw himself unexpectedly before Dresden. His appearance struck the garrison like the springing of a mine. But Macguire, the governor, being an officer of courage and experience, not only refused to surrender the place, but resolved to defend it to the last extremity; and as it had been strengthened by several additional fortifications, since it had fallen into the hands of the Austrians, it baffled all the desperate assaults of the Prussians, and gloriously held out against every mode of attack, until mareschal Daun returned from Silesia, and obliged the king to relinquish an enterprise, which deserved to have been crowned with the most brilliant success.⁽¹⁾

Chagrined at his disappointment, the Prussian monarch offered battle to Daun; but the cautious commander prudently declined the challenge, and took every measure to render an attack impracticable. In the mean time general Laudohn, having completed his preparations, laid siege to Breslaw, and attempted to intimidate the governor and the inhabitants into an immediate capitulation, by a pompous display of his strength. He set forth, That his forces consisted of fifty battalions and eighty squadrons; that the Russian army, amounting to seventy-five thousand men, was within three days march; that it was in vain for the governor to expect succour from the king of Prussia, then on the other side of the Elbe, and still more vain to look for relief from prince Henry, who must sink beneath the sword of the Russians, if he attempted to obstruct their progress. And he declared that the garrison must expect no terms, nor the inhabitants any favour, if they attempted to hold out.

Finding all his threats ineffectual, as the governor's reply was firm and manly, Laudohn endeavoured to put them in execution. He tried to carry the town by assault, while he thundered upon it, from an immense artillery, a shower of bombs and red-hot bullets. But the assault failed; and the awful bombardment affected only the wretched inhabitants, on whom it fell like the vengeance of Heaven. At length an army was seen, and tremulous hope and convulsive fear shook, by turns, the hearts of the distracted citizens:—but it was not an army of Russians. A deliverer appeared in the person of prince Henry, whose peculiar fortune it was, with a happy conformity to his beneficent disposition, more frequently to save than to destroy. He had marched one hundred and twenty miles in five days, with all his artillery and baggage. The Austrians abandoned the siege on his approach.⁽²⁾

But the rapid march of prince Henry, and the relief of Breslaw, seemed only to retard for a moment the final ruin of the king of Prussia's affairs. Laudohn, lately victorious, and still formidable, though obliged to retire before the royal brother, kept Schweidnitz and Neiss under blockade, and anxiously waited the arrival of the Russians; when he hoped not only to receive the submission of those two places, but to return to the siege of the capital, and complete at one blow the conquest of Silesia.

The main body of the Russian army, under count Czernichew, had actually reached the frontiers of that province, and wanted only a few days' unobstructed march to form the much feared and desired junction. Another body of Russians had entered Pomerania, where the Prussian forces did not exceed five thousand horse and foot, and threatened to invest Colberg; while the Swedes resumed their operations in the same country, with an army of twenty thousand men.

A plan of mere defence, in such circumstances, must have proved altogether ineffectual. Silesia was in danger of being instantly subdued, by the junction of the Austrians and Russians. The king of Prussia therefore marched thither without delay; and left mareschal Daun who had the start

(1) It will detract little from the merit of this enterprise, to suppose, as has been insinuated, That the king of Prussia had an intention to march into Silesia, till he found that Daun had got the start of him. But, if such had been really his purpose, there is no reason to suppose he would have permitted Daun to gain upon him a march of two days; as, on every other occasion, he exceeded the Austrians in the celerity of his motions. And his return was infinitely more rapid than his advance.

(2) *Lond. Gazette*, Sept. 9, 1760.

of him at setting out, considerably behind. He passed five rivers, the Elbe, the Spree, the Neiss, the Quiss, and the Bober, with a numerous army; clogged with its heavy artillery, and above two thousand waggons; and while one body of forces hung on his flank, another in his rear, and a third presented itself in front, he traversed a tract of country near two hundred miles in extent, under all those perils and difficulties, with a celerity that would have rendered memorable the march of a detachment of light troops. But he was not able, with all his activity, to bring Laudohn to action, before that general was joined by the Austrian armies under Daun and Lascy. And by the forces of these three generals, which occupied an immense extent of ground, he was in danger of being surrounded in his camp at Lignitz. In vain did he attempt, by various movements, to divide the enemy's strength, to turn their flanks, or attack them under any other disadvantage: the nature of the ground, and the skill of the Austrian generals rendered abortive all the suggestions of ingenuity.

While thus circumstanced, his Prussian majesty received intelligence that the Russian army, under count Czernichew, was ready to pass the Oder at Auras. As the least of two dangers, he resolved to attack the Austrians before the arrival of a new enemy. Meanwhile mareschal Daun, having reconnoitred the king's situation at Lignitz, had formed a design of attacking him by surprise, in the night, with the united strength of the three Austrian armies. And he had communicated his design to the two other generals.

Of this design, it is probable, the Prussian monarch was not ignorant; as on the same night that it was to have taken effect, he quitted his camp, with the utmost privacy, and occupied an advantageous post on the heights of Psaffendorff, by which general Laudohn was to advance. Daun, with no less precaution, made his approaches toward the Prussian camp; but, to his astonishment, on his arrival, he found no enemy there. When day broke, however, he could perceive at a distance the rising of a thick smoke, which left him little room to doubt in what business the king was engaged, or for what purpose he had quitted his station.

As Laudohn was eagerly pressing on to Lignitz, and feeding his heart with splendid hopes of the glory which he should acquire, by his distinguished share in the action that was to determine the fate of the illustrious Frederick, he was furiously attacked about three o'clock in the morning, by the Prussian army, drawn up in order of battle; and obliged to retire, after an obstinate dispute, with the loss of eight thousand men. Nor could mareschal Daun possibly come to his assistance. His Prussian majesty, who exposed his own person in a remarkable manner in order to animate his troops, was unguarded in nothing else. He had secured his rear so effectually with a strong body of reserve, and by a numerous artillery, judiciously planted on the heights of Psaffendorff, as to render an attack altogether impracticable. Daun therefore found himself under the necessity of remaining inactive, and of waiting, in anxious suspense, the issue of the momentous combat. It was finally decided by six o'clock, when the Austrians gave way on all sides, and were pursued as far as the Katsbach, a river that falls into the Oder a little below Lignitz. The king did not choose to push his advantage further, lest he should afford the wily and watchful Daun an opportunity of disjoining his army.(1)

By this victory, the Prussian monarch not only rescued himself from the most imminent danger, but prevented the long-dreaded junction of the Russian and Austrian armies in Silesia: for count Czernichew was so much intimidated at the defeat of the Austrians, that he immediately repassed the Oder. Having joined his brother Henry at Neumarke, and opened a communication with Breslaw, the king therefore marched against mareschal Daun, who had formed the blockade of Schweidnitz; routed a body of the enemy under general Beck, and obliged the grand Austrian army, under Daun, to forego its purpose, and take refuge in the mountains of Landshut.

What time his Prussian majesty was making these heroic efforts in Si-

(1) Prussian and Austrian *Accounts*, in London and foreign *Gazettes*, compared.

less, the reputation of his arms was admirably supported in Saxony by general Hulsen, to whom he had committed the command of his troops in that country, and who gained several advantages over the army of the Empire. But the state of his affairs in other quarters was very different. The Russians, after they repassed the Oder, pushed a strong detachment into Brandenburg; and count Czernichew, the Russian commander, being there joined by a large body of Austrians under general Laszy, the united army made itself master of Berlin.⁽¹⁾ Nor was this mortifying blow the only stroke of ill fortune that fell upon the gallant Frederick.

The Russians and Austrians, having levied a contribution upon the inhabitants of Berlin, destroyed the magazines, arsenals, and founderies, and pillaged the royal palaces, retired by different routs, on hearing that the king was advancing to the relief of his capital. The city suffered considerably, especially in its ornaments; the adjacent country was ravaged, and his Prussian majesty sustained a prodigious loss in valuable furniture and military stores. But these were not the worst consequences that attended the invasion of Brandenburg, and the taking the seat of government, of arts, and of elegance.

When Berlin was first threatened, general Hulsen left Saxony, and attempted to oppose the enemy. He found himself unequal to the generous purpose, yet continued to hover in the neighbourhood, in order to seize any advantage that might offer. In the mean time the prince of Deuxponts, meeting with no interruption, made rapid progress in Saxony. Leipsic, Torgau, and Wittenberg successively surrendered to the Imperialists. And while the illustrious Frederick was thus losing his footing in Saxony, which had been hitherto the great support of his armies, a detachment from the French army in Westphalia laid Halberstadt under contribution. One part of Pomerania was ravaged by the Swedes, and another by the Russians, who had invested Colberg both by land and sea. The situation of the king of Prussia again seemed desperate. All his motions, in his march toward Brandenburg, were watched by Daun, whose army had been reinforced; and Laudohn, in his absence, had laid siege to the strong and important fortress of Cosel in Silesia, and threatened the whole province with subjection.

It now became necessary for the warlike monarch, who was still at the head of a strong army, to call up once more the vigour of his genius, and attempt by some bold exertion to extricate himself from all his difficulties. He had determined to make such an exertion. And no sooner did he learn, that the enemy had abandoned Berlin, and evacuated Brandenburg, than he passed the Elbe, and rushed into Saxony. Mareschal Daun followed him, with an army of eighty thousand men, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Torgau; his right wing extending to the Elbe, by which it was covered, and his centre and left being secured by ponds, hills, and woods. A stronger position than that seized upon by the Austrian general, could not possibly have been chosen by a small army, as a security against one of the greatest force. Yet did his Prussian majesty, encompassed by dangers, resolve to attack, with only fifty thousand men, that able and experienced commander in his seemingly impregnable camp, as he could not hope to draw him from it, and winter was fast approaching.

In consequence of this resolution, the most daring that could be dictated by despair, the king divided his army into three bodies, and made all his dispositions with as much coolness and caution, as if it had been the result of the most guarded prudence. General Hulsen, with one body, was directed to take post in a wood on the left of the Austrian army, and had orders not to move until he found the other divisions of the Prussian army were engaged. General Zeithen was instructed to charge on the enemy's right: and the grand attack in front was to be conducted by his Prussian majesty in person. These dispositions being made, the king informed his officers, That he was determined to conquer or die. They unanimously answered, they would die or conquer with him.

(1) *Lond. Gazette*, Oct. 28, 1760.

Pleased with the ardour of his troops, and convinced that they would not disappoint his hopes, the intrepid monarch, having made his approaches in the morning, began an attack upon the enemy's camp about two in the afternoon. He was received with the fire of two hundred pieces of cannon, disposed along the front of the Austrian line. The Prussian infantry, which were first presented, persevered in their efforts with uncommon resolution. But they were at length broken, and repulsed with great slaughter, after they had been three times led on to the charge, and as often obliged to give ground. The king ordered his cavalry to advance. They broke the Austrian infantry, by their impetuous shock, but were soon forced to retire by the pressure of fresh battalions, which poured in on every side. And victory seemed ready to declare for the Austrians, when general Zeithen, with the Prussian left wing, fell upon the enemy's rear; and mareschal Daun, having received a dangerous wound in the thigh, was carried off the field.

Encouraged by the confusion occasioned by these fortunate circumstances, the Prussian infantry returned once more to the charge. The cavalry, following their example, threw several bodies of Austrians into irreparable disorder; and if the darkness of night had not prevented the possibility of pursuit, and enabled the routed army to escape over the Elbe, the victory would have been complete, and the carnage immense. As matters terminated, the loss of lives, in the battle of Torgau, was very considerable. About ten thousand men were killed or wounded on each side. And the Prussians took near eight thousand prisoners, among whom were four generals, and two hundred inferior officers. (1)

Of all the king of Prussia's victories, this was perhaps the most glorious, as it certainly was the most important. His troops, though very different from those invincible battalions, now no more, which he had formerly led into Bohemia, and which conquered at Lowositz, Prague, Lissa, and Rosbach, animated by his presence and example, behaved with a firmness worthy of the most hardy veterans. In no battle did he ever expose his own person so much; yet, as if invulnerable, a bullet only grazed gently upon his breast. His courage and conduct were alike conspicuous. The Austrians pretended to dispute with him the honour of the action: but its consequences sufficiently proved where the advantage lay.

His Prussian majesty immediately entered Torgau; he recovered all Saxony except Dresden (in the neighbourhood of which Daun disposed his army) before the close of the campaign; and he put his troops into winter-quarters in that electorate, instead of being obliged to canton them in his own wasted dominions. He attained the object for which he fought, and at the same time added new lustre to his arms. The shock of victory seemed to be felt in every hostile quarter. Laudohn abruptly raised the blockade of Casel, and evacuated Silesia. The Russians abandoned the siege of Colberg in Eastern Pomerania, and retired into Poland; while the Swedes, defeated by the Prussians in Western Pomerania, were forced to take refuge under the cannon of Stralsund. (2)

During these important transactions on the continent of Europe, events of still greater moment took place in other quarters of the globe. While the allies of Great Britain, though supported by her money and troops, with difficulty maintained their ground in Germany, which alone seemed to engage her attention, her own arms, under the direction of British officers, were crowned with signal success in North America and the East Indies.

The taking of Quebec, it had been generally supposed, would be followed by the final submission of Canada, without any farther struggle. But this was soon discovered to be a dangerous mistake. Although the possession of that city was necessary to the conquest of the province, much yet remained to be done before it could be subjected to Great Britain.

The main body of the French army, which had retired, after the battle of Quebec, to Montreal, and still consisted of ten battalions of regulars, was

(1) Prussian and Austrian *Gazettes* compared.

(2) *Id. ibid.*

there reinforced with six thousand Canadian militia, and a party of Indians. With these forces, M. de Levi, who had succeeded the marquis de Montcalm in the chief command, proposed to attempt the recovery of the capital early in the spring. In that resolution he was encouraged by an oversight of the English admirals, who had not made sufficient provision against his attaining a superiority on the river St. Laurence. No vessels of any force had been left at Quebec, on a supposition that they could not be useful in winter.

The French general had even thoughts of attempting the recovery of the place, during the rigour of that season; although a British garrison of five thousand men had been left in it under the command of general Murray. But on reconnoitring, he found the out-posts so well secured, and the governor so vigilant and active, that he delayed the enterprise until the month of April. Then his artillery, provisions, ammunition, and heavy baggages fell down the St. Laurence from Montreal, under the convoy of six stout frigates. This squadron secured to him the undisputed command of the river; a circumstance of the utmost importance to the execution of his whole design. And after a march of ten days, he arrived with his army at Point au Tremble, within a few miles of Quebec.

Meanwhile general Murray had omitted no step that could be taken by an able and experienced officer for maintaining the important conquest committed to his care. But the garrison had suffered so much from excessive cold in the winter, and by the want of vegetables and fresh provisions, that he had not above three thousand men fit for service, when he received intelligence of the approach of the French army. With this small but gallant body, accustomed to conquer, he intrepidly resolved to meet the enemy in the field, in order to avoid the tedious hardships and the dangers of a siege, in an extensive town, with a sickly garrison, and all the inhabitants secretly hostile to him. He accordingly marched out on the 28th of April to the heights of Abraham, and attacked M. de Levi with great impetuosity, near Sillery. But being out-flanked, and ready to be surrounded by superior numbers, he was obliged to retire, after an obstinate dispute, with the loss of one thousand men. (1)

The French lost above two thousand men in this action, without deriving any positive advantage from it; for general Murray, instead of being dispirited by his defeat, seemed only to be roused to more strenuous efforts. The same bold spirit, which had led him to encounter the enemy in the field with a handful of brave men, in hopes of obliging them to relinquish their enterprise, now animated him in the defence of Quebec with a feeble garrison, since defence was become necessary. Nor did the French general lose a moment in improving his victory. He opened trenches before the town on the very evening of the battle; but it was the eleventh of May before he could bring any batteries to bear on the fortifications. By that time general Murray had completed some out-works, and planted a numerous artillery on the ramparts; so that the French batteries were in a manner silenced, by the superior fire of the garrison. And the place was soon relieved, by the fortunate arrival of the English fleet, under lord Colvil and commodore Swanton. (2)

M. de Levi immediately raised the siege, and retired with the utmost precipitation toward Montreal; where the marquis de Vaudreuil, governor-general of Canada, had fixed his head-quarters, and was resolved to make a last stand. For this purpose he called in all his detachments, and collected around him the whole force of the colony.

In the mean time general Amherst was diligently employed in taking measures for the utter subversion of the French power in that part of the New World. He conveyed instructions to general Murray, directing him to advance, by water, to Montreal, with all the troops that could be spared from the garrison of Quebec. And colonel Haviland, by like orders, sailed with a detachment from Crown Point, and took possession of Isle Aux Noix,

(1) Letter from general Murray, in the *Lond. Gazette*, June 27, 1760. *Knox's Campaigns*, vol. ii.

(2) *Id. ibid.*

which he found abandoned by the enemy, and thence proceeded directly for Montreal; while the commander-in-chief, with his own division, consisting of about ten thousand regulars and Provincials, left the frontiers of New York, and advanced to Oswego. There he was joined by a thousand Indians of the Six Nations, under Sir William Johnson.

Amherst embarked on Lake Ontario with his whole army; and after taking the fort of Isle Royale, which in a manner commands the source of the river St. Laurence, he arrived by a tedious and dangerous voyage at Montreal, on the same day that general Murray landed near that place from Quebec. The two generals met with no opposition in disembarking their troops: and by a happy concurrence of circumstances, colonel Haviland, with the detachment under his command, arrived next day.

The junction of these three bodies, composed of the flower of the British forces in North America, and the masterly dispositions made by the commanders, convinced Vaudreuil that all resistance would be ineffectual. He therefore demanded a capitulation, which was granted the eighth of September, and on terms more favourable than he had reason to expect in such circumstances. Montreal, Detroit, Michilimachinac, and every other place possessed by the French within the government of Canada, was surrendered to his Britannic majesty. But it was stipulated that the troops should be transported to Old France; and the Canadians were secured in their property, and in the free exercise of their religion.⁽¹⁾

This was an important conquest, and seemed to complete the great object of the war, the humiliation of the French in North America. But while the arms of Great Britain were carrying terror before them in Canada, the French emissaries, from the province of Louisiana, had exercised their arts of insinuation so successfully among the neighbouring Indians, that the Cherokees, a powerful tribe, had commenced hostilities, toward the close of last campaign, against the more southern English colonies; plundering, massacring, and scalping the inhabitants of the back settlements. Mr. Littleton, governor of South Carolina, repressed their ravages, and obliged them to sue for peace. They engaged to renounce the French interest, but renewed the war. Colonel Montgomery, with a regiment of Highlanders, a party of grenadiers, and a body of provincial troops, made war upon them after their own manner, and severely chastised them for their breach of faith. But the consummation of vengeance was reserved for colonel Grant who desolated the whole country of the Cherokees, destroyed fifteen of their towns, and laid them under the necessity of making the most humble submissions. They accordingly supplicated, and obtained the renewal of their treaties with England, at Charles Town, in 1761, with all the marks of a penitent spirit and pacific disposition; while the other savage tribes, overawed by the fear of a similar visitation, seemed alike quietly disposed. The town of New Orleans, and a few plantations higher on the Mississippi, alone remained to France of all her settlements in North America:—and these were too distant and feeble to molest the English colonies.

Nor was the success of the British arms less decisive in the East Indies. Encouraged by the taking of Wandewash, and his victory over Lally, colonel Coote resolved to invest Pondicherry, the only settlement of any consequence remaining to the French on the coast of Coromandel. But as the place was too strong, and the garrison too numerous to permit him to indulge a hope of carrying it by assault, or even by regular approaches, with any force that he could assemble, he blocked it up closely by land and sea, and reduced both the garrison and the inhabitants to the greatest distress for want of provisions.

In the midst of this distress, and when the blockade, which was formed in the beginning of June, had been continued for many months, the French were suddenly flattered with a prospect of relief. The English fleet, under admiral Stevens, was driven off the coast by a violent storm, and four ships of

(1) *Letters from general Amherst and general Murray, in Lond Gazette, Oct. 1760. Knox's Campaigns, ubi sup.*

the line were lost. But such was the vigour of the officers and seamen, that before any supplies could be thrown into Pondicherry, it was again blocked up by a stout squadron. The blockade, by land, had already been changed into a regular siege, which was now carried on with redoubled vigour. A breach was made in the ramparts, and the inhabitants offered to capitulate; but as the governor paid no attention to their interests, the proposal was disregarded. (1)

Lally, who was at all times a man of violent and turbulent passions, appears to have been disordered in his understanding after his unsuccessful attempt on Madras. Greatly dissatisfied with the state of the French affairs in India, and with the conduct of the troops under his command, he thus expressed himself in the agitations of his disappointment: — "Hell has spewed me into this country of wickedness; and I wait, like Jonah, for the whale to receive me in its belly." By his haughty and contemptuous behaviour, and the tyrannical exercise of his authority, under pretence of reforming abuses, he had early rendered himself equally odious to the governor and council of Pondicherry, and to the officers of the army, and therefore found his situation extremely disagreeable during the siege. "I would rather go to command the Caffres," said he, "than remain in this Sodom, which must sooner or latter be destroyed by the English fire, in default of that from Heaven!" He made, however, a gallant defence.

The place being rendered utterly untenable, was surrendered to colonel Coote, on the 15th of January, 1761. The garrison were made prisoners of war, and a vast quantity of military stores, with a rich booty, fell into the hands of the victors. (2)

In consequence of the taking of Pondicherry, and the reduction of the small settlement of Mahie, on the coast of Malabar, (by which it was immediately followed) the French power in the East was utterly subverted; and the English became in a manner masters of the whole commerce of the vast peninsula of India, from the point of the Carnatic to the mouths of the Indus and Ganges, beside the almost exclusive trade of the rich and extensive provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixá, which in some measure owned their dominion.

This wonderful acquisition of trade and territory, added to the conquest of Canada and the possession of Senegal, opened to the subjects of Great Britain immense prospects of commercial advantage, as well as of future empire; of uniting the wealth of the southern to that of the northern regions of the earth; the spices and fine fabrics of Asia, with the gums and gold-dust of Africa, to the tar, turpentine, rice, indigo, tobacco, and beaver of North America. Yet were the people of England dissatisfied. They complained of the shameful inactivity of the navy, that nothing had lately been done by sea. And they affirmed, that the final conquest of Canada was the natural consequence of the success of last campaign; that a powerful armament, which had been detained at Portsmouth during the whole summer, with a view of making a diversion in favour of the Hanoverian army, was sufficiently strong to have reduced, in the present distressed circumstances of the inhabitants, not only Martinico, but all the remaining French islands of the West Indies; of more real value to a naval and commercial people than one half of the German empire. The dispute concerning the German war was renewed, and the folly of pursuing it exposed, with all the force of reasoning, and all the keenness of satire.

In the midst of these disputes, to which he was far from being inattentive, George II. died, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, and the thirty-fourth of his reign. He was suddenly taken ill on the twenty-fifth of October, and expired almost instantly. His character is by no means complicated. Violent in his temper, but humane and candid in his disposition, he conciliated the affection, if he failed to command the respect, of those who were most about his person. If his understanding was not very capacious, his judg-

(1) Letter from colonel Coote, in *Land. Gazette*, July 20, 1761.

(2) *Ibid.*
Vol. II.

ment was sound ; and if he had little of the munificence of a great monarch, he possessed in perfection the œconomy of a prudent prince. Nor did that œconomy, though perhaps too minute for his exalted station, remarkably impair the splendour of his royal dignity, until age rendered state inconvenient to him. His fond attachment to German politics made the early part of his reign unpopular. But the bold spirit with which he resented the insults offered to his crown ; the readiness with which he changed his ministers, in compliance with the wishes of his people ; and the brilliant conquests with which the latter years of his reign were adorned, have endeared his memory to the English nation.

The king of Great Britain was succeeded, in his regal and electoral dominions, by his grandson, George III. a young prince of an amiable disposition, and of the most unblemished manners. His first speech to his parliament excited the highest hopes of a patriotic reign. "Born and educated "in this country, I glory," said he, "in the name of a BRITON!"—But before we enter upon the history of the reign of George III. it will be necessary to make a pause, and contemplate the state of Europe at the death of George II.

LETTER XXXV.

State of Europe, and the Progress of the War, in all Quarters of the Globe, carried forward from the Accession of George III. to the Peace of Paris, in 1763.

GEORGE III. who succeeded to the crown of Great Britain in the twenty-third year of his age, was universally allowed to be the arbiter of peace and war, as he was beyond dispute the most powerful monarch in Europe. Supplies, indeed, large beyond all political calculation of what they could possibly raise, had already been granted by his subjects ; yet were they still able and willing to raise more, in order to complete the humiliation of his and their enemies. It was however hoped by the body of the people, that a change of politics would take place ; that the young king, from his known and declared attachment to his native country, would no longer suffer the public treasure to be squandered in pensions to foreign princes, under the name of subsidies, to enable them to fight their own battles, nor the blood of the British soldiery spilt to water the forests and fertilize the plains of Germany. But how much soever the youthful sovereign might disapprove of the continental system, he could not immediately adopt new measures, without inflicting a direct censure upon the conduct of his venerable predecessor. Nor could he abruptly desert his German confederates, after the important steps that had been taken in conjunction with them, without impairing the lustre of the British crown, and bringing into question the faith of the nation. He therefore declared in council, that as he ascended the throne in the midst of an *expensive* but *just* and *necessary* war, he would endeavour to *prosecute* that war in the manner most likely to bring about an honourable and lasting peace, in *concert* with his *allies*.

This declaration quieted the throbbing hearts of those allies ; and the liberal supplies granted by the British parliament, for supporting the war during the ensuing campaign (which amounted nearly to the immense sum of twenty millions sterling,) astonished all Europe, and made the courts of Vienna and Versailles sensible of the necessity of proposing terms of peace. The dominions of the House of Austria were much wasted ; the king of Prussia was in a better situation than at the opening of the former campaign ; the army under prince Ferdinand amounted to eighty thousand men, every way well appointed ; the Russians and Swedes seemed tired of a war in which they had acquired neither honour nor advantage ; the elector of Saxony was still in as distressed circumstances as ever, and his Polish sub-

jects obstinately refused to interpose in his behalf. France declared her inability to discharge her pecuniary engagements to her allies. Her finances were low; her navy was ruined; her affairs in America and the East Indies were irretrievable; and her West India islands, she was sensible, must surrender to the first English armament that should appear upon their coasts. A congress was accordingly summoned to meet at Augsburg, in the beginning of April, for settling the disputes among the German powers; while the ministers of France and England were appointed to negotiate at London and Paris, in order to adjust the differences between the two crowns.

The congress at Augsburg never took place. But the negotiation between France and England was formally opened, by Mons. Bussy at London, and Mr. Stanley at Paris, and was continued during the whole spring and summer, though seemingly with little sincerity on either side. Things were not yet ripe for a general pacification, and a particular treaty could not be concluded between the two crowns, without sacrifices of interest and fidelity, which neither was willing to make. Both were sensible of this; yet both professed a strong desire of putting a stop to the effusion of blood, and both had strong reasons for such professions.

The British minister found such professions necessary, in order to reconcile the minds of the people to the further prosecution of the German war, against which they began to revolt. And as he knew he durst not propose to give up the conquests acquired by the British arms, in Africa, America, the East or West Indies, to procure favourable terms for the German allies of his master, he on that side planted the bar of honour, which was to obstruct the progress of the negotiation, and finally to break it off; unless their affairs should take a more advantageous turn, and enable him to reconcile the interest of the king of Prussia with the engagements of his Britannic majesty. The French ministers, in like manner, accommodated themselves to their circumstances. While they made the most humiliating concessions, in order to awaken in the neutral powers a jealousy of the encroaching spirit of Great Britain, they insisted on certain stipulations, which they had reason to believe would not be admitted, and artfully attempted to involve the interests of France with those of Spain. But the cause of the failure of this famous negotiation will be best understood by particulars.

The councils of Madrid were now under French influence. The pacific Ferdinand VI. having breathed his last on the 10th of August, 1759, was succeeded in the throne of Spain, by his brother, Don Carlos, king of Naples and Sicily. On this event, by an article in the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, Don Philip should have ascended the throne of the Two Sicilies, and Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, have reverted to the house of Austria, saving certain provisions made by the same treaty, in favour of the king of Sardinia. But as Don Carlos, now Charles III. of Spain, had never acceded to that treaty, he left the crown of the Two Sicilies, by will, to his third son, Don Ferdinand, the second being judged unfit for government, and the eldest designed for the Spanish succession. Don Philip acquiesced in this disposition; and the court of Vienna, through the mediation of France permitted him to remain in possession of the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, without putting in any claim to those territories. The king of Sardinia was quieted with money.

These good offices, added to the ties of blood, could not fail to have some effect upon the mind of his Catholic majesty; and although he had hitherto observed a pretty exact neutrality, and been liberal in his professions of friendship to Great Britain, France did not despair of being able to draw him into her views. She was sensible he could not behold with indifference the humiliation of the elder branch of the house of Bourbon, or the rapid progress of the British arms in America. The last more especially excited his jealousy.

The Spanish empire in America, if that of France should be annihilated, Charles III. foresaw must in a manner lie at the mercy of England, as no power would remain, in case of a contest between the two crowns, able to hold the balance in the New World. This reasonable jealousy, raised in the

course of the negotiation, by the intrigues of the court of Versailles, and blown into a flame by the arrogance of the British minister, induced the Spanish monarch to seek refuge in that grand FAMILY COMPACT, so long and so ardently desired by France; an ambitious league, which has already been attended with the most alarming consequences, and which may one day prove fatal to the liberties of Europe, unless another is formed to counteract its force.

But it will be proper, before I investigate the principles of the Family Compact, to trace the leading steps of the negotiation between France and England, which immediately produced it. The first proposal of the court of Versailles was, "That the two crowns shall remain in possession of what they have conquered one from the other:" and as France had assuredly been the greatest loser, such a proposition from that haughty power, appeared to the more dispassionate part of the British ministry, an instance of singular moderation, if not humility. A better foundation of treaty could not possibly be offered. But the great commoner, who directed all things, did not treat this proposition with that attention which its apparent fairness deserved.

It had already been intimated by the duke de Choiseul, the French minister, "That the situation in which they shall stand at certain periods, shall be the position to serve as a basis for the treaty that is to be concluded between the two powers." And he proceeded to settle the periods; namely, the first of May in Europe, the first of July in Africa and the West Indies, and the first of September in the East Indies; observing, at the same time, That as those periods might seem too near or too distant for the interests of Great Britain, the court of Versailles was extremely willing to enter into an explanation on that subject. Mr. Pitt, however, haughtily declared, That his Britannic majesty would admit of no other epoch but that of "the signing of the peace."

To this blunt and singular declaration the court of Versailles replied, with that coolness and temper which ought to govern all such transactions, "That if not *those*, already named, at least *some fixed periods*, during the war ought to be agreed upon; as the *uti possidetis*, or mutual retaining of possessions, could not reasonably have reference *only* to the time of signing the peace." For if the contrary principle should be admitted, it would become difficult to know, or even to guess at the value of the possessions that might be given away, as it could not possibly be ascertained what might in the interval, be lost or gained. And if these difficulties occurred, it was added, in the simplicity of a possessory article, they must be increased ten-fold upon every other, and would come to such a height, as to preclude all possibility of negotiation, on things of so intricate a nature as changes and equivalents.⁽¹⁾

This dispute occasioned delay, and afforded the French ministry, if they had been so disposed, a decent pretext for breaking off the negotiation. In the mean time hostilities were every where carried on as if no such negotiation had subsisted. But the campaign was distinguished by few memorable events.

The war which had been carried on so long and so fruitlessly in Westphalia, at an immense expense, was as indecisive as ever. For although prince Ferdinand, by taking the field in the month of February, gained several advantages over the French, who were little fitted for a winter campaign, the duke de Broglie obliged him to abandon all the places he had taken or invested before the first of April; to raise the blockade of Ziegenhain and the siege of Cassel; to expose anew the landgrate of Hesse, and retire beyond the Dymel.

Broglie having afterward passed the Dymel, and formed a junction with the French army under Soubise, who commanded on the Lower Rhine, attacked the allies at the village of Kirch Denkern, on the 16th of July, but

(1) Account of the Negotiation published by the Court of France, and tacitly admitted by that of England.

was repulsed with the loss of five thousand men, killed or made prisoners.⁽¹⁾ In consequence of this advantage, prince Ferdinand, having extended his army toward Hammelin, was enabled to secure the course of the Weser, and to protect the electorate of Hanover, notwithstanding the superior force of the enemy. But he had the mortification to see them ravage Westphalia and East-Friesland.

The king of Prussia, seemingly fatigued with ineffectual efforts, and mortified by indecisive victories, acted solely on the defensive; himself taking post in Silesia, and his brother Henry in Saxony. Yet this defensive campaign was not more exempt from misfortune than those in which he most freely indulged the ardour of his genius. The Austrians took Schweidnitz by surprise, and the Russians made themselves masters of Colberg. By the loss of these two important places, the illustrious Frederick found himself in a worse situation than at the close of any former season of action. The Russians wintered in Pomerania, and the Austrians in Silesia.

These events were little suitable to the haughty tone of the English minister, in his negotiation with France. But several actions happened at sea between single ships and small squadrons, greatly to the honour of the British flag. And a naval armament, which had excited the highest hopes while its destination remained unknown, was prepared early in the season, and crowned with signal success.

The object of this armament, consisting of ten ships of the line, under commodore Keppel, and near ten thousand land-forces, commanded by major-general Hodgson, was Belleisle, on the coast of France. Before that island, which lies within four leagues of the point of Tiberoon, between Port Lewis and the mouth of the Loire, and is about twelve leagues in circumference, the British fleet appeared on the seventh of April. A descent was immediately attempted at three different places, but without effect. The invaders were repulsed, in spite of their most vigorous efforts, with the loss of five hundred men. They were not however discouraged, but resolutely persevered in their purpose. At length the troops, surmounting every obstacle, made good their landing; drove the enemy from their lines before Palais the capital of the island; entered the town sword in hand, and obliged the garrison to take refuge in the citadel. That fortress, built by the famous Vauban, and defended by three thousand men, under the chevalier de St. Croix, an able and experienced officer, made a gallant defence. But after it had been invested about six weeks, and a practicable breach made in the works, St. Croix, seeing no prospect of relief, judged it prudent to capitulate, in order to avoid the danger of an assault: and the whole island submitted to his Britannic majesty.⁽²⁾

The taking of Belleisle, which was celebrated with bon-fires, illuminations, and every expression of triumph and tumultuous joy, contributed greatly to elate the pride of the English populace, was no small mortification to France. But the expedition having failed in its ultimate aim, which was to oblige the French to weaken their army in Westphalia, in order to defend their own coasts, and by that means to enable prince Ferdinand to strike some decisive blow; and the island itself, which is, literally speaking, a barren rock, being found to have no harbour for ships of force, the chief circumstance that could make it valuable to Great Britain, the possession of it was thought by the more intelligent part of the nation, dearly purchased with the lives of two thousand brave men, beside an immense expenditure of naval and military stores. The ministry, however, represented it as a place of great importance, from its position, while they highly and justly extolled the valour of the troops employed in reducing it. Yet, as this conquest had not been attended with the expected consequences, and as no other enterprize was planned from which any important advantage could be expected during the summer, Mr. Pitt condescended to name certain epochs, to which

(1) *London Gazette*, July 23, 1761.

(2) *London Gazette*, April 30, and June 14, 1761

the reciprocal holding of possessions, should refer, and the negotiation with France was resumed.

The epochs named by the British minister were, the first of August for Europe, the first of September for Africa and America, the first of November for the East Indies. To these epochs France agreed, though reluctantly, on account of the nearness, as she had now hopes of acquiring some important advantage in Westphalia before the close of the campaign. She also agreed, That every thing settled between the two crowns, relative to their particular disputes, should be finally conclusive and obligatory, independent of the proceedings of the congress to be held at Augsburg, for settling the disputes of Germany. And she farther agreed, That the definitive treaty of peace between the two kingdoms, or preliminary articles to that purpose, should be signed and ratified before the first of the next August.

France even gave up the point of honour, and made frankly an offer of what places she was willing to cede and exchange; namely, in her final answer, (after certain difficulties had been removed, and certain claims relinquished) to guarantee Canada to England, in the utmost extent required, including as dependencies the islands of Cape Breton and St. John; to demolish Dunkirk, provided the right of fishing and drying fish on the banks of Newfoundland shall be confirmed to her; to restore Minorca for Guadaloupe and Marigalante: to evacuate Hesse, Hanau, and Göttingen, provided one settlement in Africa should be guaranteed to her for the convenience of the Negro trade; to remit the settlement of affairs in the East Indies to the companies of the two nations, and to leave England in possession of Belleisle, until some equivalent shall be offered and accepted. But she persisted in demanding the restitution of the trading vessels taken before the declaration of war, and obstinately refused to give up Wesel and Gueldres which she had conquered from the king of Prussia.

England, with no less obstinacy, refused to restore the disputed captures, yet insisted on the restitution of those two places. Nor would the British minister, astonishing as it may seem, agree to a neutrality in regard to Germany. He rejected the proposal with disdain as an insult upon the national honour; though it would certainly have been more easy for Great Britain, and no less honourable to mediate, or even purchase a peace for the king of Prussia, in the congress at Augsburg, than to enable him to continue the struggle for Silesia, and defend his widely separated dominions against France, Sweden, Austria, Russia, and the Army of the Empire. On this romantic idea, however, and the other two contentious points, the negotiation between France and England was finally broken off, when it seemed ready to terminate in a solid peace, and after it had been protracted considerably beyond the term fixed for signing the treaty.

A rupture with Spain it was readily foreseen, would be the immediate consequence of the failure of this treaty, as the failure itself had been partly occasioned by the suspicions of a secret understanding between the French and Spanish ministers. The poisonous insinuations of the court of Versailles had now produced their full effect upon the mind of Charles III. This sufficiently appeared in the course of the foregoing negotiation. The French minister, along with his memorial of propositions (dated the 15th of July,) had presented to the court of London, a private memorial, signifying the desire of his most Christian majesty, That, in order to establish the peace upon solid foundations, not to be shaken by the contested interests of a third power, the king of Spain might be invited to guarantee the treaty between the two crowns, and he proposed, with the consent and communication of his Catholic majesty, That the three points in dispute between England and Spain, and which might produce a new war in Europe and America, should be finally settled in this negotiation; namely, the restitution of some ships taken in the course of the present war under Spanish colours; the liberty claimed by the Spanish nation to fish on the banks of Newfoundland; and the demolition of certain settlements made, contrary to treaty, by the English log-wood-cutters in the bay of Honduras.

The British minister read this memorial with surprise and indignation,

and declared on returning it, with that dignity and even haughtiness peculiar to his character. That his Britannic majesty would not suffer the disputes with Spain to be blended, in any manner whatever, in the negotiation of peace between the two crowns; and that it would be considered as an affront, and a thing incompatible with the sincerity of the negotiation on the part of France, to make any further mention of such a circumstance. He at the same time called upon the Spanish minister, to disavow the proposition which had been said to be made with the knowledge of his court; and expressed his astonishment at seeing a proposal for accommodating disputes between friends coming through the medium of an enemy! to find points of so much consequence offered for deliberation by a French envoy, when his Catholic majesty had an ambassador residing in London, from whom no intimation of such business had been received!

The court of Versailles condescended to make an apology for having proposed a discussion of the points in dispute with Spain; but the Spanish ambassador openly avowed and justified the step taken by the French envoy, as entirely conformable to the sentiments of his master. He declared, That the kings of France and Spain were united not only by the ties of blood, but those of mutual interest. He applauded the humanity and magnanimity of his most Christian majesty, in seeking to render the peace as permanent as the vicissitudes of human affairs would permit; and he haughtily added, That, if governed by any other principles, his Catholic majesty, consulting only his greatness, would have spoken "from himself and as became his dignity."⁽¹⁾

The meaning of this declaration could not possibly be misunderstood. It evidently appeared, from the most liberal interpretation of the words, that Spain, as a kind of party, was made acquainted with every step taken in the negotiation between France and England; that her judgment was appealed to in the proposition, and her authority called in aid to force the acceptance of the terms offered by France; in a word, that there was a perfect union of affections, interests, and councils between the courts of Versailles and Madrid.

A firm conviction of this, is said to have been the cause of that arrogance, bordering upon insult, with which Mr. Pitt thenceforth treated the proposals of France, and which completed the views of the court of Versailles. The Family Compact was signed on the 15th of August. From that moment, the French minister changed his tone; and the negotiation with England was broken off, as already related, less from any disagreement between the two courts on important points, than their seeming obstinacy in maintaining pretended points of honour.

In the mean time, orders had been sent to the earl of Bristol, the British ambassador at the court of Madrid, to remonstrate, with energy and firmness on the daring interposition of Spain in the negotiation between France and England, and to demand a declaration of her final intentions; to adhere to the negative put upon the Spanish pretensions; to fish upon the banks of Newfoundland; to rest the article of disputed captures on the justice of the English tribunals; to continue the former professions of the court of London, indicating a desire of an amicable adjustment of the logwood dispute, and the willingness of his Britannic majesty to cause the settlements on the coast of Honduras to be evacuated, as soon as his Catholic majesty should suggest another method by which the British subjects could enjoy that traffic, to which they had a right by treaty, and which the court of Madrid had farther confirmed to them by repeated promises.

Mr. Wall, the Spanish minister, applauded the magnanimity of the king of Great Britain, in not suffering France to be appealed to, as a tribunal, in his disputes with Spain. In the proposition made, with the consent of his court, he declared that things had not been considered in that light; and he asked, Whether it could be imagined in England, that the Catholic king was seeking to provoke Great Britain to war in her most flourishing and exalted

(1) *Papers relative to the Negotiation with France, and the Dispute with Spain, published by Authority.*

condition, and after such a series of prosperous events as never perhaps occurred in the annals of any other kingdom? But he refused to give up any of the three points in dispute, and owned that the most perfect harmony subsisted between the courts of France and Spain; that in consequence of that harmony, the most Christian king had offered to assist his Catholic majesty, in case the dispute between Great Britain and Spain should terminate in a rupture, and that this offer was considered in a friendly light.

A declaration less explicit would have been sufficient to convince a minister of Pitt's discernment, that the intentions of Spain were by no means equivocal. He accordingly declared in council, That we ought to consider the evasions of that court as a refusal of satisfaction, and that refusal as a declaration of war; that we ought from prudence as well as spirit to secure to ourselves the first blow; that, if any war could provide its own resources, it must be a war with Spain; that her supplies lay at a distance, and might be easily intercepted and cut off, as we were already masters of the sea; that her flota, or American plate-fleet, on which she had great dependence, was not yet arrived, and that the taking of it would at once strengthen our hands and disable hers. Such a bold but necessary step, he added, would be a lesson to his Catholic majesty, and to all Europe, how dangerous it was to presume to dictate in the affairs of Great Britain.

The transcendent dignity of this sentiment, so far exceeding the comprehension of ordinary minds, appeared in the form of shocking violence, or wild extravagance, to the majority of the council. They admitted, That we ought not to be frightened from asserting our reasonable demands, by the menaces of any power; but they affirmed, at the same time, that this desire of adding war to war, and enemy to enemy, whilst the springs of government were already overstrained, was ill suited to our national strength; that to shun war upon a just occasion was cowardice, but to provoke or court it madness; that if Spain, misled by the councils of France, should enter in a more decisive manner into the views of that hostile court, it would then be early enough to declare war, when all the neighbouring and impartial powers were convinced, that we acted with as much temper as resolution, and when every thinking man in the kingdom was satisfied, that he was not hurried into the hazards and expenses of war from an idea of romantic heroism, but from unavoidable necessity, and would cheerfully contribute to the support of an administration which, though firm and resolute, was afraid alike to waste the national treasure wantonly or employ it unjustly.

These arguments, though plausible, had no weight with Mr. Pitt. He considered them as the timid councils of short-sighted caution, or the captious objections of narrow minded and selfish politicians, envious of his greatness, and indifferent to their country's welfare. Giving full scope to his pride and patriotism, he therefore warmly exclaimed, "This is the time for humbling the whole house of Bourbon! and if the glorious opportunity is let slip, we shall in vain look for another. Their united power, if suffered to gather strength, will baffle our most vigorous efforts, and possibly plunge us in the gulf of ruin. We must not allow them a moment to breathe: self-preservation bids us crush them, before they can combine or recollect themselves."

Mr. Pitt in the same council rashly declared, if he could not carry so salutary a measure, this was the last time he should sit at that board. "I was called to the administration of public affairs," added he haughtily, "by the voice of the people: to them I have always considered myself as accountable for my conduct; and therefore, cannot remain in a situation which makes me responsible for measures I am no longer allowed to guide." The sagacious earl Grenville, president of the council, coolly replied, "The gentleman, I find, is determined to leave us, and I cannot say I am sorry for it, as he would otherwise have compelled us to leave him; for if he is determined to assume solely the right of advising his majesty, and directing the operations of war, to what purpose are we here assembled?" On a division, the minister himself, and his brother-in-law lord Temple, were the

only members of the council who voted for an immediate declaration of war against Spain.

Pitt, conformable to his declared resolution, carried the seals of his office to the king; although not without hopes, as is believed, that he would be desired to retain them. But royal favour had, by this time, begun to flow into new channels.

The earl of Bute claimed a large share of that favour. He had been much about the person of George III. before his accession to the throne; and beside the pleasure of having partly formed the mind of the heir apparent to the British crown, he had the particular satisfaction in so doing of discharging a debt of gratitude to the memory of his majesty's father, Frederick prince of Wales, whose friendship and confidence he enjoyed in a very high degree, along with Mr. Pitt and other reputed patriots. Soon after the death of George II. this nobleman was appointed secretary for the northern department: and he now expected, in consequence of the divisions in the privy council, and the affection of his royal master, to seize the reins of government. The duke of Newcastle, and other ministers of the late king, who had found themselves over-shadowed by the superior abilities of the great commoner, also wished his removal; and as he, the favourite of the people, had found it necessary to form a coalition with them, and to flatter the political prejudices of his aged sovereign, in order more effectually to serve his country, and gratify his own boundless ambition, they, in hopes of recovering their consequence, yielded in like manner a temporary support to the earl of Bute, supposed to be the bosom favourite of the youthful monarch.

The king, therefore, received the seals from Mr. Pitt with ease and dignity. He expressed his regret for the loss of so able a servant, at a time when abilities for public business were so much required; but he did not solicit him to resume his office. Little prepared for a behaviour so firm, yet full of condescension, the haughty secretary is said to have burst into tears.⁽¹⁾ This was the time for conciliation between the powerful sovereign and his *greatest* subject, if the highest ability to serve the state, although inferior to many in rank and fortune, can entitle a subject to that distinction. But a subject, though a good one, may be too great. The king chose to abide by the opinion of the majority of his council. He accepted Mr. Pitt's resignation; settled upon him a pension of three thousand pounds a-year, for three lives, and conferred the title of baroness on his lady; he himself declining the honour of nobility, but willing that it should descend to his offspring.

No change in the British ministry ever occasioned so much alarm as the resignation of Mr. Pitt. It seemed equal to a revolution in the government. As the nation, under his administration, had been raised from despondency and disgrace, to the highest degree of glory, triumph, and exultation, the most serious apprehensions were entertained, by the body of the people, that it might again sink into the same state of depression, and be overwhelmed by its numerous enemies, since his all-inspiring genius no longer directed its councils; or that an inglorious peace would be patched up, in order to avert the dangers of a new war.

But this alarm was soon quieted by the vigorous measures of the new ministry, and the address with which their emissaries drew off the veil from the imperfections of the late secretary, whose reputation as a patriot as well as a statesman they endeavoured to destroy. They keenly exposed his inconsistency, and called in question his political sagacity, in so warmly entering into the German contest, against which he had formerly so vehemently and so justly declaimed. They blamed his shameful prodigality, in expending so much of the national treasure in fruitless expeditions to the coast of France, instead of directing them against the remaining French islands in the West Indies; and his inexcusable negligence, in not ordering general Amherst to enter Louisiana, which might easily have been conquered, during the last campaign, without sending any additional force to America. And

(1) Account of Mr. Pitt's Resignation, &c. as published by the two parties.
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they maintained, with some appearance of reason, that his resignation discovered more pride than patriotism. But when they attempted to ascribe all the success of his measures to mere chance, and to turn into ridicule his most laudable enterprises, the sentiments of the people revolted against the insult offered to their understanding. And all sincere lovers of their country, whatever might be their opinion of his principles, lamented the loss of so able and popular a minister at so dangerous a crisis; while his friends entered zealously into a vindication of his whole conduct, and severely reprobated the insidious arts of his unworthy colleagues, who had obliged him to quit the helm of state, by thwarting him in his favourite measure, and irritating a temper naturally too hot, and a spirit which they knew could not brook control.

In changing opinion upon further experience and good grounds, they ingeniously observed, there was no inconsistency; that all men are liable to error and mistake; and that whatever might have been Mr. Pitt's original opinion of the policy of engaging in the German war, the proposal of neutrality in regard to that war, made by France, in the late negotiation, was an irrefragable proof that she did not think herself a gainer by the continental contest, and consequently justified his pursuing it; that the expeditions to the coast of France, though attended with few immediate and positive advantages, had distracted the councils and the measures of the enemy, at the same time that they roused the spirit of the English nation, and had eventually made us victorious in every quarter of the globe; that this spirit, having borne down all resistance in America and the East Indies, was now to have been directed against the remaining French islands in the West Indies, a formidable armament being actually ready to sail for those latitudes; and, if Mr. Pitt had been allowed to commence hostilities immediately against Spain, there was the utmost reason to believe, that we should soon have been in possession not only of Martinico, Hispaniola, and Cuba, but of the mines of Mexico and Peru. In reply, the friends of administration affirmed, That instead of achieving new conquests, he was no longer able to act; that having exhausted the resources of the kingdom, and drawn upon it new enemies, he had deserted his station at the helm and left the vessel of state to sink or swim amid the storm he had raised. (1)

These disputes, and their anxiously expected issue, engaged the attention of all Europe. The German allies of Great Britain flattered themselves that the seals would be restored to Mr. Pitt, and expressed their apprehensions of the injury which the common cause might suffer by his resignation; while the Bourbon courts indulged a hope, that his exclusion from the administration would be perpetual, and represented the failure of the late promising negotiation, between France and England, as solely the effect of his arrogance.

The French ministry went yet farther. They industriously circulated the news of a secret treaty between France and Spain, into which they had been driven by the domineering temper of the English secretary. By this alarming intelligence, they presumed that they should be able to frighten the new ministers of George III. into a treaty of peace on their own terms, or at least to deter them from declaring war against Spain, until her preparations were completed, when such a measure would be equally agreeable to the courts of Versailles and Madrid. But they were unacquainted with the character of the men whom they meant to intimidate; so that their vain-glorious boasting produced an effect directly opposite to that for which it was intended.

The earl of Egremont, who had succeeded Mr. Pitt as secretary for the southern department, sensible of the necessity of behaving with spirit in the dispute with Spain, or of utterly forfeiting the confidence of the people, had already, with the consent of his colleagues, instructed the British ambassador at Madrid to act with firmness, and now ordered him to require an account of the purport of this vaunted treaty. But all the answer which

(1) Publications of the Times.

the earl of Bristol could obtain, was, "That his Catholic majesty had judged "it expedient to renew his *Family Compact* with the most Christian king." And as the nature of the present, or the existence of any preceding compact, was then unknown to the English ministry, and to all foreign nations, our ambassador was directed to demand a satisfactory explanation on the subject, and to signify, that a refusal would be considered as a declaration of war on the part of Spain. The pride of the Spanish nation was roused, and the earl of Bristol was told, "That the spirit of haughtiness which dictated, "this demand, had made the declaration of war in attacking the king's dignity!" And he was given to understand, that he might return to England when, and in what manner he thought proper.

In consequence of this answer, the earl of Bristol immediately quitted Madrid, and the conde de Fuentes left London. Before his departure, however, the Spanish ambassador delivered to the earl of Egremont a paper in the form of a manifesto, apparently calculated to distract the British councils, by fostering the spirit of faction, already too prevalent in the nation. In that paper, after insisting much on the insolence of the late English minister, and the little management with which the court of Madrid had been treated since his resignation, he affirmed, That if the purport of the secret treaty had been desired in a manner less offensive to the dignity of the Catholic king, it might as easily have been obtained as it could have been justified, as it contained merely a reciprocal guarantee of the dominions of the several branches of the house of Bourbon, with this particular restriction, (seemingly thrown in to blind the British ministry,) that it should extend only to the dominions which shall remain to France after the present war.(1)

But the fundamental articles of the treaty will furnish the best answer to that manifesto, and best explain the nature of the *FAMILY COMPACT*. By these it was stipulated, That the subjects of the several branches of the house of Bourbon shall be admitted to a mutual naturalization, and to a participation of the same privileges and immunities over all their European dominions, as those enjoyed by natural-born subjects in the countries of their particular sovereigns. The direct trade to America forms the only material exception to this singular community of interests. Nor is the political union made less intimate than the civil.

The kings of France and Spain agree to look upon every power as their common enemy, which becomes the enemy of either; that war declared against the one shall be regarded as personal by the other; and that, when they happen to be both engaged in a war against the same enemy or enemies, they will wage it jointly with their whole forces, and observe the most perfect concert in their military operations. And they formally stipulate, That they will not make, or even listen to any proposal of peace from their common enemies, but by mutual consent; being resolved, in time of peace as well as of war, "each mutually to consider the interests of the allied crown as "its own; to compensate their respective losses and advantages; and to act "as if the two monarchies formed only one and the same power." The king of Spain contracts for the king of the Two Sicilies the obligations imposed by this treaty; and the three monarchs engage "to support, no all occasions, the dignity and rights of their royal house, and those of the princes "descended from it."(2)

To the boundless extent of these political stipulations, there is but one restriction; namely, that Spain shall not be bound to succour France, when she is involved in a war in consequence of her engagements by the treaty of Westphalia, or other alliances with the princes and states of Germany and the North, "unless some *maritime power* takes part in those wars, or France "be attacked by land in her own country."(3) This exception of the *Maritime Powers* forms a key to the whole confederacy; as it shews, in the most satisfactory manner, against what power that confederacy is chiefly directed. It points out clearly, though obliquely, to the other powers of

(1) Printed Manifesto.

(2) Abstract of the *Family Compact* published by the court of France.

(3) Ibid.

Europe, that their connection with Great Britain is the principal circumstance which is to provoke the enmity of Spain; and to Great Britain, that her humiliation is the grand object of the Family Compact.

This compact, which seems at length to have produced that intimate union between the French and Spanish monarchies, so much dreaded at the beginning of the present century, on the extinction of the Spanish branch of the house of Austria, (and which, as we have seen, it was the object of the Partition Treaties and the war of the Grand Alliance to prevent,) this compact would of itself have been sufficient, as soon as its true purport was known, to justify Great Britain in declaring war against Spain; a power so intimately connected with her principal enemy, that it was become impossible to distinguish the one from the other. And, after the steps that had already been taken, such a measure was now rendered unavoidable. Mutual declarations of war were accordingly issued by the courts of London and Madrid, in the beginning of the year; and the greatest preparations were made by both, for commencing hostilities with vigour and effect.

Never had Great Britain seen herself in so perilous a situation as the present. She was engaged, as a principal, in a war with the whole house of Bourbon; and, as an ally, she had the declining cause of the king of Prussia to support against the house of Austria, the empress of Russia, the king of Sweden, and the Germanic body. Nor was this all. As the strength of her victorious navy gave her a manifest superiority over the fleets of France and Spain, an expedient was fallen upon to engage her in a new land war; and, by that means, finally to exhaust her resources, and divert her attention from distant conquests or naval enterprises. This expedient was an attack upon the neutral kingdom of Portugal; a great political stroke, which naturally leads us to take a view of the state of that kingdom.

As Portugal, in some measure, owes to England the perfect recovery of her independency, and the family of Braganza their full establishment on the throne of that kingdom, the closest friendship has ever since subsisted between the two crowns. In consequence of this mutual friendship, founded on mutual interest, England gave a preference in her ports to the wines of Portugal above those of other countries: and obtained, in return for such indulgence, many exclusive privileges in her trade with that kingdom, of which she was considered to be the guardian. Envious of those commercial advantages, and sensible that England would not tamely relinquish them, whatever might be the disposition of his most Faithful majesty, France suggested to Spain the invasion of Portugal, as the most effectual means of distressing their common enemy, if not of extending the dominions of the house of Bourbon.

The conquest of Portugal, indeed, seemed no distant or doubtful event. Sunk in ignorance and indolence, reposing in the protection of England, and fed and adorned with the rich productions of Brazil (where gold and diamonds are found in great abundance, and where the most luxuriant crops of rice and sugar may be raised almost without culture,) the Portuguese had laid aside all attention to their internal defence. A long peace had utterly extinguished the martial spirit among them; and notwithstanding the increase of their resources, they had suffered their army insensibly to moulder away. That part of it which remained, was without discipline and without officers, and the fortresses on the frontiers were in no state of defence.

Nor were these the only circumstances favourable to the views of the house of Bourbon. Before Portugal had recovered from the shock of the earthquake that laid Lisbon in ruins, it experienced a civil convulsion of the most dangerous kind. This was a conspiracy against the life of Joseph, the reigning sovereign, and the fifth king of the house of Braganza. Less superstitious than most of his predecessors, he had banished the Jesuits from his court, because their brethren in Paraguay, where they acted as sovereigns, had opposed the cession of certain territories, which he had exchanged with the king of Spain. He had also spirit and resolution to repress the encroachments of the Portuguese nobles, and to disconcert the ambitious views of the duke d'Aviz, supposed to have a design upon the crown.

This nobleman, enraged at his disappointment in a favourite matrimonial alliance, by which he hoped to extend his political influence, entered into intrigues with the heads of the dissatisfied Jesuits; namely, Malagrida, Alexander, and Mathos, formerly confessors to the royal family. They encouraged him in his purpose of destroying the king, and engaged in his conspiracy the Tavora family, the most ancient and powerful in the kingdom, also disgusted with the court. The conspiracy failed, contrary to all human probability; and when it was so near taking effect, that the king was dangerously wounded, by a shot through the back of his carriage in the neighbourhood of Lisbon, on the night of the third of September, 1758. He saved his life by returning to his country house, instead of proceeding to the capital, in his way to which he would have been attacked by new assassins. (1) The principal conspirators were seized, and executed in the beginning of the year 1759, and the Jesuits of all descriptions were banished the kingdom. But the discontents among the nobility remained. The clergy were not in a better humour. The pope had resented the expulsion of the Jesuits; and the body of the people, enslaved by the most blind superstition, made light of allegiance to a sovereign at enmity with the Holy See.

Such was the state of the kingdom of Portugal, when the Spanish forces marched toward its defenceless frontiers, and the ministers of France and Spain presented to the court of Lisbon a joint memorial, (the first fruits of the Family Compact) in order to persuade his most Faithful majesty to enter into the alliance of the two crowns, and to co-operate in their scheme for the humiliation of Great Britain. In that memorial, they insisted largely on the tyranny exercised by England over all other powers (but especially in maritime affairs,) and which the kings of Spain and Portugal were equally commanded by the ties of blood and their common interest to oppose. And they concluded with declaring, That as soon as his most Faithful majesty had taken his resolution, which they doubted not would prove favourable, their troops were ready to enter Portugal, and garrison the fortresses of that kingdom, in order to avert the danger to which it might otherwise be exposed from the naval force of Great Britain. To this extraordinary memorial, the two ministers added, That they were ordered by their courts to demand a categorical answer in four days, and that any farther deliberation would be considered as a negative.

The king of Portugal's situation was now truly critical, and deserving of compassion. If, contrary to the established connexions of his crown, its supposed interests, and in violation of the faith of treaties, he should engage in this proffered alliance, he must expect to see his most valuable settlements, Brazil and Goa, fall a prey to his ancient and injured ally, and Lisbon and Oporto, his chief cities, laid in ashes by the thunder of the English army. Nor was this the worst. Having admitted garrisons into his principal places of strength, the implied condition of his accession to the Bourbon confederacy, he must necessarily lay his account with being reduced to the abject state of a vassal of Spain. If, on the other hand, he should adhere to his engagements, and resolve to maintain his independency, an army of sixty thousand Spaniards was ready to enter his kingdom, and reduce it to the condition of a conquered province.

The firmness of the king of Portugal, on this trying occasion, is highly worthy of admiration. In answer to the insulting proposition of the house of Bourbon, he observed, with judgment and temper, That his alliance with England was ancient, and consequently could give no reasonable offence at the present crisis: that it was purely defensive, and therefore innocent in all respects; that the late sufferings of Portugal disabled her, were she even willing, from taking part in an offensive war; into the calamities of which neither the love he bore to his subjects as a father, nor the duty by which he was bound to them as a king, would suffer him to plunge them. The Bourbon courts denied that this alliance was purely defensive, or entirely innocent: and for this astonishing reason, That the defensive alliance is converted into

(1) *Account of this Conspiracy*, published by the court of Lisbon. *

an offensive one, "from the *situation* of the Portuguese dominions, and the *nature* of the English power!"—The English fleets, said they, cannot keep the sea in all seasons, nor cruize on the coasts best calculated for cutting off the French and Spanish navigation, without the harbours and the friendly assistance of Portugal. "Nor," added they, "could those haughty islanders insult all the maritime powers of Europe, if the riches of Portugal did not pass into their hands." And after endeavouring to awaken the jealousy of his most Faithful majesty, by representing his kingdom as under the yoke of England, they insultingly told him, That he ought to be thankful for "the necessity which they had laid upon him to make use of his reason, in order to take the road of his glory, and embrace the common interest!"(1)

Although the king of Portugal was sensible, that the necessity here alluded to was the immediate march of the Spanish army to take possession of his dominions, he was not intimidated from his honourable resolution. The treaties of league and commerce, subsisting between Great Britain and Portugal, were such, he maintained, as the laws of God, the laws of nature, and the laws of nations, have always deemed innocent. And he entreated their most Christian and Catholic majesties to open their eyes to the crying injustice of turning upon Portugal the hostilities kindled against Great Britain; and to consider that they were giving an example which would lead to the utter destruction of mankind; that there was an end of public safety, if neutral powers were to be attacked, because they have entered into defensive alliances with the powers at war; that if their troops should invade his dominions, he would therefore, in vindication of his neutrality, endeavour to repel them with all his forces and those of his allies. And he concluded with declaring, That he would rather see the last tile of his palace fall, and his faithful subjects spill the last drop of their blood, than sacrifice the honour or the independency of his crown, and afford the ambitious princes, in his submission, a pretext for invading the sacred rights of neutrality.(2)

In consequence of this magnanimous declaration, the ministers of France and Spain immediately left Lisbon. And their departure was soon followed by a joint denunciation of war against Portugal, in the name of their most Christian and Catholic majesties. His Britannic majesty could not view with indifference the danger of his faithful ally, who depended upon him for support, nor prudently avoid acting with vigour in his defence. He accordingly sent over to Portugal arms, ammunition, provisions, and near ten thousand land forces.

By the help of these additional troops, the enterprising valour of the British officers, and the skilful conduct of the count de la Lippe, (a German general that had acted with ability under prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, and now commanded the Portuguese army) the Spaniards, who had passed the mountains in three divisions, taken several places, and confidently hoped soon to become masters of the whole kingdom, found themselves under the necessity of abandoning their conquests, and evacuating Portugal before the close of the campaign.(3) In this service, brigadier-general Burgoyne, who commanded the British troops, bore a distinguished part.

Nor did the attention of Great Britain to the safety of Portugal diminish her exertions or her success in Westphalia. There the French had resolved to make the most powerful efforts; while the Spaniards, in order to divide our strength, should enter the dominions of his most Faithful Majesty. Their plan of operations was nearly the same as formerly, but they had changed their generals. Broglie was disgraced, through the intrigues of the prince de Soubise, who now commanded the army on the Weser, in conjunction with mareschal d'Etrees; and that on the Lower Rhine was committed to the direction of the prince of Condé.

The disposition of the allies was not more varied. The hereditary prince was posted in the bishoprick of Munster, with a strong detachment, to ob-

(1) Printed *Papers*, published by *Authority*.

(2) *Ibid*.

(3) *Lond. Gazette*, *passim*.

serve the motions of the prince of Condé; and prince Ferdinand lay behind the Dymel, with the main body, in order to oppose the progress of the grand French army; to prevent it from entering the electorate of Hanover, and if possible to recover the landgravate of Hesse.

The first service prince Ferdinand performed effectually. He obliged the enemy to abandon Gottingen, the only place which they possessed in the dominions of his Britannic majesty, and which they had fortified at great expense. He gained several advantages over them, particularly in the actions at Graebenstein, Homberg, and Melsungen; where the British troops under the marquis of Granby acquired signal honour.⁽¹⁾ He reduced Cassel, in presence of the three French generals, notwithstanding a defeat which the hereditary prince had suffered from the prince of Condé at Jöhansberg; and he was preparing to besiege Ziegenhayn, the last place that remained to the enemy in the landgravate of Hesse, when he received intelligence of the cessation of hostilities.

While prince Ferdinand was thus exerting himself in Westphalia, with a degree of spirit which made his enemies insinuate, that he had hitherto protracted the war, in order to enjoy its emoluments, the fortune of the king of Prussia wore a variety of appearances, in consequence of certain great and singular revolutions in the affairs of the North.

At the close of last campaign, we have seen the Austrians in possession of Schweidnitz, the key of Silesia, and the Russians masters of Colberg, and wintering in Pomerania; so that the dominions of his Prussian majesty, whose forces were much cut down, lay entirely at the mercy of his enemies, who were now in a situation to begin their operations more early than formerly, as well as to sustain them with more vigour and concert. A complete victory, an event by no means probable, did not seem sufficient to save him from utter ruin; when the tremendous storm, ready to burst upon his head, was happily dissipated, by one of those sudden and extraordinary changes in human affairs, which instantly decide the fate of nations; outstrip all human foresight, and confound the reasonings of the wisest politicians.

Elizabeth, empress of Russia, second daughter of Peter the Great, having died in the beginning of the year, was succeeded in the august throne by her nephew, the duke of Holstein, under the name of Peter III. As they who were most intimately acquainted with the sentiments of the new Czar could only conjecture, whether he would pursue or abandon the political system of his predecessor, the eyes of all Europe were anxiously turned toward the court of Petersburg, in order to observe the direction of his early councils. He began his reign with regulating, on the most generous principles, his interior government. He freed the nobility and gentry from all slavish vassalage, and put them on a footing with those of the same rank in other European countries. He abolished the private chancery, a kind of state-inquisition: he recalled many unhappy exiles from Siberia; and extending his benign polity to his subjects of all conditions, he lessened the taxes upon certain necessities of life, to the great relief of the poor.⁽²⁾

The same mild spirit, which dictated the civil regulations of this prince, seemed to extend itself to his foreign politics. He ordered a memorial to be delivered, in the month of February, to the ministers of his allies, in which he declared, That, in order to procure the re-establishment of peace, he was ready to sacrifice all the conquests made by the arms of Russia during the war, in hopes, "That the allied courts will, on their parts, also prefer the restoration of peace and tranquillity, to the advantages which they might expect from the continuance of hostilities—but which they cannot obtain, unless by a continuation of the effusion of human blood!"⁽³⁾

This declaration, however, was not made merely from motives of humanity. Beside an extravagant admiration of the character of the king of Prussia, Peter was ambitious of recovering from Denmark the duchy of

(1) *Lond. Gazette*, June 28, et seq.

(2) *Regulations* published by the court of Petersburg.

(3) *Printed Memorial*.

Sleswick, to which he had pretensions as duke of Holstein. He therefore ordered a cessation of arms, on receiving an unsatisfactory answer to his memorial from the courts of Vienna and Versailles; and he entered, soon after, into an alliance with the illustrious Frederick, without stipulating any thing in favour of his former confederates. He even joined part of his forces to those of his new ally, in order to drive the Austrians out of Silesia, while he commanded another army to march toward Holstein. Sweden followed the example of Russia in concluding a peace with the court of Berlin.

The king of Prussia did not fail to profit by this great revolution in his favour. That load of power which had so long oppressed him, and against which he had borne up with such unexampled fortitude, being now much lightened, he was again enabled to indulge the ardour of his genius, and to act with vigour against his remaining enemies. His first object was the recovery of Schweidnitz, the next the expulsion of the Austrians out of Silesia. And in the attainment of these important ends, he was greatly assisted by the valour and military skill of his brother, who gained a signal victory over the Austrians and Imperialists near Freyberg in Saxony.

In consequence of this victory, prince Henry remained so fully master of Saxony, that the Austrians found it necessary to withdraw a body of troops from their armies in Silesia, in order to prevent his making irruptions into the heart of Bohemia. Mareschal Daun, however, with a large army, still occupied certain eminences in the neighbourhood of Schweidnitz, by which he was enabled to protect that city. The king of Prussia resolved to force him to abandon those posts. And he succeeded; though not by a direct attack, which he found to be impracticable, but by a series of masterly movements, which made the cautious Daun apprehensive for the safety of his principal magazine, and even that his communication with Bohemia might be cut off. He accordingly fell back to the frontiers of Silesia, and left Schweidnitz uncovered.⁽¹⁾

His Prussian majesty immediately prepared to invest that place with a numerous army. In the mean time, different bodies of his troops, some on the side of Saxony, others on that of Silesia, penetrated deep into Bohemia; laid many parts of the country under contribution, and spread universal alarm. A body of Russian irregulars also made an irruption into Bohemia, and retaliated on the Austrians those cruel ravages, which, at the instigation of the court of Vienna, the same barbarous enemy had formerly committed on the Prussian dominions.

But the gallant Frederick, while conducting with equal spirit and ability, that bold line of operations which unexpected circumstances had enabled him to form, was threatened with a sudden reverse of fortune, in consequence of a new revolution in Russia. Peter III. in his rage for innovation, made more new regulations in a few weeks, than a prudent prince would have hazarded in a long reign. His first measures, as we have seen were truly laudable, and seemed well calculated to procure him the affections of his people; but, being of a rash and irregular turn of mind, he in many instances shocked their prejudices, even while he consulted their interests. He disgusted both the army and the church, the two chief pillars of absolute sway; the former, by the manifest preference which he gave to his Holstein guards, and to all officers of that country; the latter, by his contempt of the Greek communion, having been bred a Lutheran, and by certain innovations in regard to images; but more especially by an attempt to moderate the revenues of the clergy, and an order that they should no longer be "distinguished by beard."

These were high causes of discontent, and threatened the throne with all the violence of civil war. But Peter's misfortunes immediately arose from a matrimonial feud—from the bosom of his own family. He had long lighted his consort, Catharine, of the house of Anhalt Zerbst, (a woman of a masculine disposition and sound understanding, by whose counsels he might have profited) and now openly lived with the countess of Woronzoff, niece

(1) Prussian and Austrian *Accounts* compared.

to the chancellor of that name. To this lady he seemed devoted with so strong a passion, that it was generally believed he had some thoughts of shutting the empress up in a convent, and of raising the countess to the partnership of his throne. The dissatisfied part of the nobility, clergy, and chief officers of the army, taking advantage of that domestic dissension, assembled in the absence of the czar, deposed him formally, and invested Catharine with the imperial ensigns.

The new empress marched at the head of the malecontents in quest of her husband. Peter was solacing himself with his mistress at one of his houses of pleasure, and expressed the utmost surprise at being told the sceptre was departed from him. When convinced of the fatal truth, he attempted to escape to Holstein, but was seized and thrown into prison, where he expired a few days after, of what was called an *hemorrhoidal colic*, to which he was said to have been subject. (1) His death, by reason of the steps that had preceded it, occasioned no speculation. It was, indeed, an event universally expected. Princes dethroned by their subjects are seldom allowed to languish long in the gloom of a dungeon. The jealousy of the successor, or the fears of some principal conspirator, commonly make few their moments of trouble.

Catharine II. since so much celebrated for her liberal polity, began her reign with flattering prejudices. Though a foreigner herself, she wisely dismissed all foreigners from her service and confidence. She sent away the Holstein guards, and chose Russians in their stead: she restored to the clergy their revenues; and, what was of no less importance, the privilege of wearing beards.—She conferred all the great offices of state on native Russians, and threw herself wholly on the affections of that people to whom she owed her elevation.

The wisdom of this policy was not disputed. But it was feared, by one part of Europe, and hoped by another, that Catharine would introduce a total change of system also in regard to foreign affairs; for the peace and alliance with the king of Prussia were very unpopular measures in Russia. Every thing, in a word, seemed to threaten the illustrious Frederick with a renewal of his former difficulties and distresses.

Fortunately, however, for that heroic prince, the new empress, independent of personal regard, did not think her situation sufficiently secure to engage in foreign hostilities. She therefore declared to the Prussian minister at the court of Petersburg, "That she was resolved to observe inviolably, in all points, the perpetual peace concluded under the preceding reign; but that she had thought proper, nevertheless, to order back to Russia, by the nearest roads, all her troops in Silesia, Prussia, and Pomerania. And although this change, from a strict alliance to a mere neutrality made no small difference in the state of the king of Prussia's affairs, yet must it be regarded, all things considered, as an escape scarcely less wonderful than the former; especially as all the important places which the Russians had with so much bloodshed acquired, were faithfully restored to that monarch.

His Prussian majesty, instead of being discouraged by the order sent for the return of the Russians, accordingly acted only with more vigour. He attacked marshal Daun the day after it arrived, but before the news had reached the Austrian camp, and drove him, by terror, no less than force of arms, from the heights of Buckersdorff, with considerable loss. He next invested Schweidnitz in person; and obliged that much contested town, though defended by a garrison of nine thousand men, to surrender, after a siege of two months, in spite of the utmost efforts of Laudohn and Daun to obstruct his operations. (2)

No sooner did the warlike king find himself master of Schweidnitz, and eventually of all Silesia, than he began to turn his eye towards Saxony. He reinforced his brother's army in that electorate, and made preparations, which seemed to indicate a design of laying siege to Dresden.

These preparations, and the decisive victory gained by prince Henry over

(1) *Manifesto* of the empress Catharine II. on her exaltation to the throne of Russia, as independent sovereign, &c.

(2) *Berlin Gazette*, Oct. 13, 1762.

the Imperialists and Austrians near Freyberg, induced the court of Vienna to conclude a cessation of hostilities with his Prussian majesty, for Saxony and Silesia. In consequence of this impolitic and partial truce, which provided neither for the safety of the dominions of the house of Austria, nor of those members of the empire that were attached to its interests, one body of the Prussian army broke into Bohemia; advanced nearly to the gates of Prague, and destroyed a valuable magazine; while another fell upon the same country in a different quarter, and laid the greater part of the town of Egra in ashes, by a shower of bombs and red-hot bullets.(1) Some parties penetrated into the heart of Franconia, and even as far as Suabia; ravaging the country; exacting heavy contributions, and spreading ruin and dismay on every side.

In those predatory expeditions the Prussians are supposed to have levied a sum equivalent to a million sterling, two hundred thousand pounds of which were paid by the industrious and free city of Nuremberg. Many of the princes and states found themselves obliged to sign a neutrality, in order to save their territories from farther ravages; and most others were so disabled by the late defeat in Saxony, or exhausted by the subsequent incursions, that no prospect remained of their being able to furnish, for next campaign, any army under the Imperial name and authority.(2) The war, therefore, was seemingly left to be finished as it had been begun, by the single arms of Prussia and Austria.

During these transactions in Germany, so favourable to the allies of his Britannic majesty, the British arms were not inactive. The spirit with which Mr. Pitt had carried on the French war, and the obligation which the new ministers found themselves under of declaring war against Spain, made them sensible of the necessity of shewing the people, and convincing their enemies, that neither the vigour of the nation, nor the wisdom of its councils, depended upon a single man. They accordingly made greater, and more successful efforts than any under his administration, though the supplies fell short of those of last year by one million. Without weakening the army in Westphalia, we have already seen them undertake the defence of Portugal, and defend it effectually. In like manner, without evacuating Belleisle, or abandoning our conquests on the continent of America, they drew troops from both; and in pursuance of that line of policy which they had always recommended, sent out two powerful armaments, for the reduction of the French and Spanish islands in the West Indies.

The first armament, which had been prepared under the administration of Mr. Pitt, was destined against Martinico; the largest and best fortified of the French Windward Islands, and the residence of the governor-general. This armament was composed of nine thousand land forces, headed by general Monckton, and eighteen ships of the line, beside frigates, fire-ships, and bomb ketches, under the direction of rear-admiral Rodney. The fleet came within sight of Martinico on the 7th of January. The troops were disembarked, without the loss of a man, in the neighbourhood of Fort Royal, the strongest place in the island; and by gaining, with incredible fortitude, possession of certain eminences, named Tortenson and Garnier, by which it is commanded, (and which were then but indifferently fortified, but gallantly defended) the invaders soon made the governor sensible of the necessity of surrendering the citadel, in order to save the town from being laid in ashes.(3)

On the reduction of Fort Royal, which capitulated on the 4th of February, M. de la Touche, the governor-general, retired to St. Pierre, a large and populous town on the same side of the island. He there seemed determined to make a last stand; but, through the earnest solicitations of the inhabitants, anxious for the preservation of their property, and envious of the prosperity of the planters of Guadeloupe, under the English government, he was prevailed upon to offer, and obtained terms of capitulation for the

(1) Austrian and Prussian Accounts compared.

(2) *Id. ibid.*

(3) *Lond. Gazette*, March 21, 1762.

whole island, before the place was invested.(1) With Martinico fell Granada, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and every other place belonging to France, or occupied by Frenchmen, though reputed neutral, in the extensive chain of the Caribbee Islands.

Before the success of this expedition was known in England, the second and grand armament was ready to sail. Its object was the famous city of Havannah, the principal sea-port in the island of Cuba, the key of the gulf of Mexico, and the centre of the Spanish trade and navigation in the New World. The conception of the enterprise was great, as it struck immediately at the very basis of the enemy's power: and the armament was equal to its object. It consisted of nineteen ships of the line, eighteen frigates, and about one hundred and fifty transports, with ten thousand land forces on board.

These troops were to be joined by four thousand men from North America. The command of the fleet was entrusted to admiral Pococke, whom we have seen distinguish himself in the East Indies. The land forces were under the direction of the earl of Albemarle. And the whole armament, which assembled off the north-west point of Hispaniola, and was conducted, for the sake of expedition, (with uncommon seamanship,) through the old channel of Bahama, arrived in sight of those dreadful fortifications that were to be stormed, on the 6th of June.(2)

The city of Havannah stands near the bottom of a small bay, that forms one of the safest harbours in the world, and which is so capacious, that a thousand ships of the largest size may there commodiously ride at anchor. The entrance into this harbour is by a narrow channel, strongly fortified on each side. The mouth of that channel, when visited by the English fleet under admiral Pococke, was secured by two strong forts; on the east side, by one named the Moro, and on the west, by another called the Puntal. The Moro had towards the sea two bastions, and on the land side other two, with a wide and deep ditch cut out of the rock. The Puntal, also surrounded by a ditch, cut in the same manner, was provided with casemates, and every way well calculated for co-operating with the Moro in defence of the harbour. It had likewise some batteries that opened upon the country, and flanked part of the town wall. That wall, which was not in the best repair, twenty-one bastions not in a much better state, a dry ditch of no considerable width, and a covered way almost in ruins, formed the only defence of the city itself. It has therefore been thought, by some military men, that the operations ought to have been begun with the attack of the town by land; especially as it was utterly impracticable to attack it by sea, the entrance of the harbour being not only defended by the forts, but by fourteen Spanish ships of the line; three of which were afterward sunk in the channel, and a boom laid across it.

But lord Albemarle thought otherwise, either from his ignorance of the state of the fortifications, or from seeing objects in a different light. The troops were therefore no sooner landed, and a body of the enemy that attempted to oppose their progress dispersed, than he began to form the siege of the Moro, which he considered, and perhaps justly, as the grand object of the armament, as the reduction of it must infallibly be followed by the surrender of the city; whereas if he had attacked the town first, his army might have been so much weakened as to be unable to surmount the vigorous resistance of the fort, defended not only by the garrison, but by the flower of the inhabitants, zealous to save their own and the public treasure. A post was accordingly seized upon the higher ground, and batteries were erected, though with infinite difficulty.

The hardships which the British troops sustained in this service are altogether incredible. The earth was so thin on the face of the hill, that they could with difficulty cover their approaches; and it being necessary that the cannon and carriages should be dragged by the soldiers and sailors, up a bold declivity, from a rough and rocky shore, many of the men, in that painful

(1) *Lond. Gazette*, April 2, 1762.

(2) *Letter from admiral Pococke*, in *London Gazette*, Sept. 8, 1762.

labour, while parched with thirst beneath a burning sun, dropped down dead. At length every obstacle was surmounted. The batteries, disposed along a ridge, on a level with the Moro, were opened with effect. The garrison had been repulsed, with great slaughter, in an attempt to destroy them; and the besiegers flattered themselves with a speedy period to their toils, when their principal battery took fire, and the labour of six hundred men for sixteen days was consumed in a few hours.

This accident was peculiarly discouraging; especially as it happened at a crisis when the hardships of the siege, and the diseases of the climate, had rendered two-thirds of the English army unfit for service. The seamen were not in a much better condition. Yet both soldiers and sailors, animated by that active and persevering courage, which so remarkably distinguishes the natives of Great Britain, applied themselves with vigour to the reparation of damages. Unfortunately, another battery took fire. The besiegers, however, impelled by every motive of glory, interest, and ambition, continued their efforts, with as much ardour as if the siege had been but just begun. At length, after conquering numberless difficulties, they got possession of the covered way. They made a lodgment before the right bastion; and a mine being sprung, which threw down part of the works into the ditch, a breach was left open. Though small, the soldiers were ordered to storm it.

The attempt seemed desperate, as the Spanish garrison was still strong; and the brave defence it had made, allowed the besiegers no room to doubt of the vigilance, valour, and resolution of the commanders. But danger itself was only a stimulus to men who had so near a prospect of terminating their dreadful toils. They accordingly prepared themselves for the assault with the utmost alacrity; and mounting the breach under the command of lieutenant Forbes, supported by lieutenant-colonel Stuart, entered the fort with so much order and intrepidity, as entirely disconcerted the garrison. Four hundred of the Spaniards were cut in pieces, or perished in attempting to make their escape by water to the city: the rest threw down their arms, and received quarter. The marquis de Gonzalez, the second in command, was killed in bravely endeavouring to stop the flight of his countrymen; and Don Lewis de Valesco, the governor, having collected a small body of resolute soldiers, in an entrenchment around the flag-staff, gloriously fell in defending the ensign of Spain, which no intreaties could induce him to strike.

No sooner did the Spaniards in the town and Puntal castle see the besiegers in the possession of the Moro, than they directed all their fire against that place. Meanwhile the British troops, encouraged by their success, were vigorously employed in remounting the guns of the fort, and in erecting batteries upon an eminence that commanded the city. These batteries being happily completed, and sixty pieces of cannon ready to play upon the Havannah, lord Albemarle, willing to prevent an unnecessary carnage, sent his aid-de-camp with a flag of truce, to summon the governor to surrender, and make him sensible of the unavoidable destruction that was ready to fall upon the place. The haughty Spaniard replied, that he was under no uneasy apprehensions, and would hold out to the last extremity.

Next morning, however, the batteries were opened with such effect both against the town and fort, that flags of truce appeared in every quarter of the city about noon, and a deputy was sent to the camp of the besiegers, in order to settle the terms of capitulation. A cessation of hostilities immediately took place; and, as soon as terms were adjusted, the city of Havannah, and a district of one hundred and eighty miles to the westward, included in its government; the Puntal castle, and the ships in the harbour, were surrendered to his Britannic majesty.⁽¹⁾ Without violating the articles of capitulation, which secured to the inhabitants their private property, the conquerors found a booty computed at near three millions sterling, in silver and valuable merchandise belonging to the Catholic king; beside an immense quantity of arms, artillery, and military stores.

(1) *Letters from the earl of Albemarle and sir George Pococke, to Lond. Gazette*, Sept. 30, 1762. And the chief Engineer's *Account of the Siege*.

This single blow, the greatest perhaps ever struck by any nation, was in a manner finally subversive of the power of the house of Bourbon; by cutting off their resources. The marine of France was already ruined: her finances were low. Spain, along with her principal fortress in the West Indies, had lost a large fleet. And the conquest of the Havannah not only gave to England the absolute command of the gulf of Mexico, but put her eventually in the possession of the whole American Archipelago. Porto Rico and Hispaniola only remained to the enemy: and those islands, it was well known, being cut off from all communication with Europe, and utterly destitute of necessaries, would have surrendered on the first summons.

The navy of Great Britain was superior to that of all the other powers of Europe combined. She had the means of supporting it in her immense commerce, which increased with her fleets: and both might be said to embrace the universe. For her conquests, during this season of glory, were not confined to the West Indies. The south of Asia also beheld her triumphs.

While the British forces were engaged in the siege of the Havannah, an armament sailed from Madras, under the direction of rear-admiral Cornish and brigadier-general Draper, for the Philippine Islands. The chief object of this enterprise was the reduction of the city of Manila, the capital of the island of Luconia; the seat of the Spanish government in those islands, and the centre of communication between South America and the East Indies.

The hostile fleet arrived in the bay of Manila before the governor had the least intimation of its approach, and even before he was informed of the war with England. He prepared himself, however, for a vigorous defence, and rejected with disdain the repeated summons of the British commanders. Necessary steps were consequently taken for landing the troops, consisting of two thousand and three hundred men. The debarkation was safely effected; an important post was seized; batteries were erected; and every effort was made to reduce the town by force. But the operations of the besiegers were much retarded by incessant and heavy falls of rain, accompanied with a dreadful tempest, which prevented the fleet from co-operating with the army; and also by the unremitted attacks of the native Indians, a brave and hardy people, who rushed up to the muzzles of the British muskets, in their wild ferocity, and even gnawed the bayonets with their teeth, when mortally wounded.⁽¹⁾

Meanwhile the invaders, in spite of every obstacle, advanced toward the accomplishment of their enterprise. They had silenced the enemy's principal battery, and greatly damaged the fortifications toward the sea; when, as a last effort to raise the siege, a desperate sally was pushed by a large body of Spaniards and Indians. Both however were repulsed, after a sharp and bloody conflict. A practicable breach, in the works, was at length opened, and preparations were made for storming it.

In such circumstances, it might naturally have been expected, that the governor, instead of longer remaining obstinate, would have offered to capitulate, in order to save the lives and property of the inhabitants. But no proposal to that purpose was presented. General Draper therefore took the most effectual measures for carrying the place by assault. The troops having filed off from their quarters in small bodies about four o'clock in the morning, advanced to the breach at the signal of a general discharge of artillery and mortars, and under cover of a thick smoke, which was blown full upon the town. Lieutenant Russel led the way, at the head of sixty volunteers (from the different bodies of which the army was composed), supported by the grenadiers of Draper's regiment, to which he belonged. Colonel Monson and major More followed with two grand divisions of the same heroic regiment: next came a battalion of seamen; and the East India Company's troops closed the rear.⁽²⁾

All these four bodies behaved with great intrepidity. The Spaniards were instantly driven from their works, and the place was entered with little loss.

(1) *Draper's Journal of the Siege of Manila*, in *Lond. Gazette* April 19, 1763.

(2) *Lond. Gazette*, ubi sup.

The governor, who had taken refuge in the citadel, surrendered at discretion, but solicited protection for the citizens; and the humanity and generosity of the British commanders, saved the town from a general and justly merited pillage. A ransom of four millions of dollars was only demanded for this relaxation of the laws of war. But it was stipulated, at the same time, that all the other fortified places in the island of Luconia, and in all the islands dependent on its government, should also be surrendered to his Britannic majesty.⁽¹⁾ The whole range of the Philippines fell with the city of Manilla.

The British empire had now acquired an extent that astonished the world. Every where victorious, by land and by sea, in both hemispheres and in all quarters of the globe, it seemed only necessary for England to determine what share of her conquests she chose to retain, and what terms she would impose upon the house of Bourbon; the king of Prussia being now in a condition to make terms for himself, or continue the war without farther subsidies, and the king of Portugal having little to apprehend from Spain in her present disabled state. It was therefore fondly hoped by the patriotic part of the English nation, that the glorious opportunity of finally humbling this haughty family, which had been so shamefully neglected and lost, through the prevalence of Tory counsels at the peace of Utrecht, was at last completely recovered; and that the Family Compact, lately so alarming to Great Britain, would terminate in the confusion of her ambitious enemies.

In the midst of our splendid conquests however, to the surprise of all Europe, and the indignant astonishment of every honest Englishman, a negotiation with the Bourbon courts had been agreed to by the ministers of his Britannic majesty. And before the event of the expedition against Manilla was known, preliminaries of a treaty of peace were signed at Fontainebleau; which have generally been considered as inadequate to the advantages obtained by the British arms during the war, and which could certainly contribute little to the depression of France or Spain. The cause of a measure so extraordinary deserves to be traced to its source.

George III. the moment he ascended the throne of Great Britain, determined to abolish, as far as possible, all those odious party distinctions which had so long divided the kingdom, and to extend the royal favour and confidence equally to the whole body of his subjects. This policy, as time has too fully proved, was more liberal than wise; for although the Whigs, who engrossed all the great offices of state during the two preceding reigns, had lost much of their popularity by promoting the influence of the crown, they were still esteemed the true friends of freedom, and the natural supporters of the family of Hanover on the throne of these realms. By them chiefly had been brought about the Revolution, and by them the establishment of the Protestant succession.

The Tories indeed, by assuming the character of patriots, had frequently been able, as we have seen, to maintain a formidable opposition. But that opposition was considered, by the more moderate and intelligent Whigs, as no more than sufficient to keep alive the spirit of liberty, and preserve the balance of the constitution. The first, and also the second George, therefore, always disregarded the arguments of those courtiers, who endeavoured to prove, that they would more firmly establish their sway, by admitting the Tories to an equal share in the administration. They reposed all their confidence in the Whigs. The shock of two rebellions, ascribed by many to this narrow policy, induced the princes of the Brunswick line to make no alteration in their plan.

Mr. Pitt had originally associated himself with the supposed Tory patriots, and first acquired distinction by opposing the corrupt system of sir Robert Walpole, the declared head of the Whigs. After the resignation of that minister, he occasionally temporized, (though he seems always to have had an eye to the true interests of Great Britain) and was sometimes reputed a Whig and sometimes a Tory. But during his own administration, he

(1) *Lond. Gazette*, ubi sup.

scorned all party distinctions; and the very names of Whig and Tory were lost in the blaze of his popularity. Reposing on the affections of his country, the strength and the resources of which he better understood than any other man, he employed men of all parties, and found all alike faithful. He raised whole regiments of Highlanders from among the disaffected clans, and gave the command of some of them to officers who had served under the Pretender. Their behaviour justified his confidence. They carried victory whithersoever they appeared, and became the most loyal subjects of his Britannic majesty.

This great man would soon have done away all local and party distinctions; and, while assisted by so able a minister, the resolution of the young king, to lend his countenance to the abolition of such distinctions, as a prelude to a more liberal system of policy, was alike generous and prudent. But on the resignation of Mr. secretary Pitt, the duke of Newcastle, first commissioner of the treasury, who had long been considered as the head of the Whigs, endeavoured to revive those factious distinctions, in order to ruin the credit of his rival in power, John earl of Bute, a nobleman of worth and probity, as well as learning and talents, but of a dry humour and reserved temper; and who unhappily for the quiet of the nation, beside being little acquainted with public business, was a reputed Tory, a Scotchman, and a Stuart!

The public clamour was accordingly loud against the *favourite*. But as the duke of Newcastle's faculties, which had never been strong, were now much decayed, and his rival possessed the royal ear, he saw his influence in the cabinet daily decline, notwithstanding his great parliamentary interest, his high office, and his importance as the demagogue of the most powerful party in the kingdom. He had accordingly found it necessary, in the month of May, to resign; and the earl of Bute, in consequence of that resignation, was placed at the head of the treasury.

Many of the duke of Newcastle's friends, persons of rank and eminence, had resigned with him. And the new minister, in order to preserve his situation, judged it prudent to deprive others of their employments, and to fill their places with men attached to his person; among whom, especially in the inferior departments, were too many of his own countrymen. He also thought it sound policy, in conformity with the system of comprehension that had been embraced, to attempt a coalition with the great body of the Tories, or country gentlemen of ancient families, who had uniformly opposed the court during the two preceding reigns, and who were able to yield him effectual support. They readily came into his measures.

The popular clamour, however, continued; and although the friends of Mr. Pitt did not form an actual junction with those of the duke of Newcastle, both parties were alike hostile to the minister. To one or the other of these two parties belonged the whole commercial and monied interest. The earl of Bute was, therefore, soon made sensible of the necessity of resigning, or of procuring peace to Europe; as he must expect to encounter innumerable difficulties, in attempting to raise the supplies necessary for the prosecution of the war. From motives of patriotism, as he declared, he chose the latter alternative; and so far as his judgment was swayed by an antipathy against the continental system, he deserves pardon, if not praise. But the great body of the people of England, though not insensible of their burdens, or of the degree of their annual increase, have not yet forgiven him for checking the career of their conquests. They had nothing to fear, and every thing to hope, from a continuance of hostilities.

Fortunately for the British minister, if not for the kingdom, all things were favourable to his views among the hostile powers on the continent. Disappointed in her hopes of immediate advantage from the Family Compact, the invasion of Portugal, and the resignation of Mr. Pitt, France was now sincerely disposed to peace. Spain having suffered beyond example, during her short concern in the war, and labouring under the most dreadful apprehensions of future misfortunes, keenly repented of the step she had taken, and wished to recede. Both courts, therefore, saw with peculiar satisfaction,

the progress of the popular discontents in England ; and France, in order to profit by them, and recover in the cabinet what she had lost in the field, indicated, through the medium of the king of Sardinia, a desire of negotiating.

The proposal was cordially embraced by the British ministry. And the duke of Bedford was sent over to Paris (after certain discussions), to treat on the part of his Britannic majesty ; and the duke de Nivernois to London, on the part of the most Christian king. The negotiation, which was built upon that begun by Mr. Pitt, with too little attention, on the part of Great Britain, to the fortunate change of circumstances in her favour, was accordingly soon finished ; as no new demand of any consequence was made, and both parties now agreed to withdraw themselves wholly from the German war, and make restitution of all the places they had taken on the European continent. And the Preliminary Articles, including the interests of both France and Spain, were signed, as already observed, in the beginning of November.

By those articles it was stipulated, " That France shall cede to Great Britain, Canada in its utmost extent, with the islands of St. John and Cape Breton, and all that part of Louisiana, which lies on this side of the Mississippi, except the town of New Orleans and its territory : That the French shall be permitted to fish on the banks of Newfoundland, under certain limitations ; and that the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, shall be ceded to them for the benefit of their fishery, but without the liberty of erecting forts on those islands : That Spain shall relinquish her claim to fish on the banks of Newfoundland ; permit the English logwood-cutters to build houses in the bay of Honduras, for the conveniency of their trade ; evacuate whatever places she may have taken belonging to Portugal ; and cede Florida to Great Britain, in consideration of having the Havannah, and all that part of the island of Cuba, conquered by the British arms, restored to her : That the island of Minorca shall be restored to Great Britain, and the islands of Martinico, Guadaloupe, Goree, and Belleisle to France : That France shall cede to Great Britain the forts and factories she has lost on the River Senegal, the island of Granada and the Granadines, and give up all claim to the neutral islands of St. Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago." But St. Lucia, the most valuable of the neutral islands, was delivered in full right to France, and the French East India company were put in the same situation as after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle ; by the restitution of Pondicherry and other places, with the single exception of erecting no forts in the province of Bengal. In return for so many indulgencies, France agreed to destroy the harbour, and demolish the fortifications of Dunkirk.

These preliminaries were approved, contrary to all expectation, by a majority of the British parliament, and the definitive treaty was signed at Paris early in the following year. About the same time was signed, at Hubertsburg, a treaty of peace between the empress-queen and the king of Prussia ; by which it was provided, That a mutual restitution of conquests, and an oblivion of injuries should take place, and that both parties should be put in the same situation as at the commencement of hostilities.

Thus, my dear Philip, was terminated, fortunately for the general happiness of mankind, but prematurely for the grandeur of Great Britain, and without a due attention to her interests, the most active, splendid, and universal war that ever divided the human race ; the most bloody between disciplined armies, and the most general in Europe, since that which was closed by the PEACE OF WESTPHALIA.

POSTSCRIPT.

BESIDE the general dissatisfaction in England, occasioned by the premature termination of hostilities, and the restitution of so many conquests without adequate reasons, it was strongly urged by some popular writers, that the British ministry had committed a still more dangerous error, at the

peace of Paris, in the choice of the conquests they had thought proper to retain. "Martinico and Guadalupe," said those writers, "would have been found more profitable possessions than Canada and its dependencies. Their produce would not only have augmented the royal revenue, while it increased our shipping, but have given us the command of the sugar-trade of Europe. France ought to have been compelled to make her sacrifices in the West Indies." It must, however, be owned, That as the war had originated in North America, and had taken its rise immediately from a dispute between the French and English colonies concerning their boundaries, its grand object on our part, the securing of our American colonies against future encroachments, seemed to be attained at the peace, in the cession made by France of Canada and Louisiana to Great Britain.

The security of the English colonies in North America, as well as their extension, was farther provided for, in the cession of Florida by Spain. But that security, it was insinuated, by certain keen-sighted politicians, would prove the source of new evils. It would embolden our old colonies to shake off the control of the mother country, since they no longer stood in need of her protection, and to erect themselves into independent states. This insinuation, however, was generally considered as alike illiberal and unjust. And the humanity and generosity of the English nation, amid all the violent discontents provoked by the treaty of peace, found no small consolation in reflecting, That our American brethren would thenceforth be happily exempted from the annoyance of any European enemy, and able to keep the natives in awe.

Nor was this our only consolation. The magnitude of the British empire in North America, and the prospect of its growth in population and improvement, afforded a wide sweep for the projects of political ambition, and a boundless field for the speculations of commercial avidity. The undivided sovereignty of that vast continent, with the sole enjoyment of its exclusive trade, seemed to open to the citizens of Great Britain such sources of industry, and channels of naval greatness, as had never fallen to the lot of any other people; and which the immensity of her conquests, and their towering hopes of farther acquisitions, with an ardent desire of finally humbling the house of Bourbon, only could have made them consider as beneath her haughtiest wish.

These conciliatory reflections are offered merely from a love of truth, not suggested by a desire of palliating the justly execrated peace of Paris; a measure that must eternally rouse the keenest emotions of indignation in the mind of every honest and enlightened Englishman. No human consideration should have induced the British ministry to give up Cuba, or to stop short of the reduction of Hispaniola; while our naval force enabled us to protect the one, and to subdue the other; as each promised a prodigious augmentation of that force, and also of the means of supporting it. We ought not to have left the French or Spaniards in possession of a single island in the West Indies. Hispaniola and Porto Rico alone remained to them.

An armament planned in the East Indies, and fitted out in the port of Manilla, would have enabled us to become masters of the rich but defenceless kingdom of Peru; and by holding, in the Port of Havannah, the key of the Gulf of Florida, we might be said to be actually possessed of all the treasure of Mexico. No ship could pass from Vera Cruz to Europe without our permission, nor any European vessel thither. Deprived of the articles which they had been accustomed to receive from the mother-country, and which are necessary to their accommodation, the inhabitants of New Spain would readily have submitted to that power, which alone could supply their wants; and which would have offered them the free exercise of their religion, with a more indulgent government, and a more advantageous market for their produce.

But let us moderate our ideas; let us confine our views solely to the places we had positively taken, and we shall find (admitting Belleisle to be equal in importance to the island of Minorca, which it certainly is to France or England) we shall find, That we gave up at the peace of Paris without

any equivalent, except the sandy promontory of Florida, not only Martinico, Guadaloupe and St. Lucia, but the principal part of the large and fertile island of Cuba, with the Havannah its almost impregnable port, the Gibraltar of America; and eventually the rich city of Manilla, and the whole range of the Philippines; to say nothing of the restitution of Pondicherry, Chandernagore, and many other places in the East Indies, with the island of Goree, on the coast of Africa.

If it was necessary to grant some indulgence to France, in order to quiet the jealousy of other powers, (though I am not sensible that Great Britain, considering her insular situation, had occasion to be afraid of giving umbrage to any European power) France might have been allowed to retain, along with the town of New Orleans and its territory, her settlements higher on the Mississippi, and the province of Canada, confined within its natural boundaries, the four Great Lakes; or if, instead of Canada, she had wished to possess a sugar island, in addition to her plantations in Hispaniola, Martinico or Guadaloupe might have been indulged to her, without the liberty of erecting fortifications. A suspension of the blow hanging over the remaining dominions of Spain in the West Indies, with the provincial restitution of the Philippines, was all that she could reasonably have demanded.

By such an equitable treaty of peace, the haughty family of Bourbon would have been effectually humbled and held in awe, and the sinews of their naval strength so completely cut, as to prevent them from again becoming formidable by sea. By such a peace England, without farther acquisitions, would have established, beyond the possibility of dispute, that dominion which she has long claimed over the empire of the waves. And have established it for ever, by building it upon the keels of a rich and extensive commerce, which the unrivalled command of the ocean, and the produce of the principal islands in the West Indies, would have rendered perpetual.

The apparent cause why so glorious any opportunity of humbling our ambitious enemies was neglected, has already been assigned:—"the INFLUENCE OF *Tory counsels*!" alike discernable, whether we regard the *inadequate* treaty of Peace, or the *premature* termination of the War. The fatal effects of those counsels and of that influence, I shall have farther occasion to shew, in describing the convulsions, and the dismembering of the British empire; subjects less pleasing to Englishmen, but not less interesting, than its struggles in advancing toward aggrandizement. In the mean time I must carry forward the Progress of Society, to this grand era in the HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE.

LETTER XXXVI.

The Progress of Society in Europe during the present Century.

I HAVE brought down, in a former Letter, the Progress of Society to the close of the last century. And if we look back on the history of the present, and compare it as far as it had advanced, with the annals of Modern Europe during any preceding period of the same extent, we shall find much cause to congratulate mankind on the improvements in the social system; which have, with a happy conformity, at once diminished the miseries and multiplied the enjoyments of human life.

If enlightened reason, after ascertaining the interests of nations and the rights of individuals, has not been able wholly to restrain the ambition of princes, it has at least introduced into the operations of war a spirit of generosity and fellow-feeling unknown to our ferocious forefathers. Persecution has ceased to kindle the faggot for the trial of orthodoxy, or to water the earth with the blood of the unbelievers; and the peaceful citizen has seldom been disturbed in his industrious pursuits, or ingenious labours, by the ravages of intestine war.

If the most exact regulations of police have not hitherto proved altogether effectual to suppress private violence, or the strict execution of justice to banish fraud from the transactions of men, both have been rendered less frequent. Property is become more secure. The comforts and conveniences of life are more equally enjoyed. Pestilence and famine are kept at a distance. Asylums are every where provided for poverty, and hospitals for disease. Private festivities are enlivened by public entertainments. The pleasures of sense, refined by delicacy, are heightened by those of imagination and sentiment; while taste, in contemplating the beauties of nature and art, may be said to open new sources of satisfaction to the soul, and to offer new delights to the heart.

And if there are some speculative visionaries, under the name of philosophers, who represent Man as more happy in the savage state, than when furnished with all those social enjoyments and elegant delights, their arguments are too futile to deserve a serious answer: and it would be but a just punishment for their impertinence, to shut them out from the pale of polished life, and condemn them to reside among those barbarians, whose manners they affect, and whose condition they pretend to admire.

In support of this representation, my dear Philip, I shall exhibit to your view some leading circumstances, which could not readily enter into the general narration.

Russia, altogether rude and barbarous at the beginning of the present century, has made rapid advances toward civilisation. It has experienced the most sudden and fortunate change, of any country of the same extent in the history of human affairs. But that change, as I have had occasion to remark,⁽¹⁾ has not been attended with such beneficial consequences as might have been wished to the body of the people, whom Peter I. found and left in a state of slavery. And notwithstanding the more generous policy of Catharine II. who endeavours to revive a spirit of liberty among the lower classes, and extends encouragement and protection to her subjects of all degrees, the liberal and ingenious arts of Russia have been hitherto cultivated chiefly by foreigners; or by such natives as have been initiated in them abroad, and with whom they die. They are still in some measure exotics in that great and flourishing empire; not as Raynal insinuates, on account of the coldness of the climate, but because the mental soil is not yet sufficiently prepared for their reception. The influence of example, however, daily extends itself; and the general progress of improvement is even now very considerable. Many of the Russian nobility and gentry have acquired a relish for polite literature, and are not only exempt from barbarism, but distinguished by humanity to their vassals, by polished manners, and elegant conversation. The citizens have tasted the sweets of industry, and prosecute successfully the mechanical arts. Many valuable cultures, both for trade and consumption, have been lately introduced. And Russia, which has already produced generals and statesmen, will soon, it may be presumed, give birth to poets, painters, historians, and philosophers; who collect in their train the whole circle of the arts, sciences, and amusements; and alleviating the inconveniences of life by its enjoyments, perfect the system of social happiness.

Of the progress of improvement in Poland, where, beside other adverse circumstances, the feudal aristocracy still reigns in all its austerity; where the king is a shadow, the people slaves, and the nobles tyrants, little can be said. Sweden and Denmark have declined in their consequence, as kings; but the sons of the North do not seem to be less happy, though they appear to have lost, with their political freedom, their ancient spirit of liberty and independence. They enjoy more equally the means of a comfortable subsistence. Manufactures, commerce, and agriculture, have made considerable progress among them; and we may lay it down as a general maxim, which will admit of few exceptions, That every people, taken collectively, are happy in proportion to their industry, unless their condition is altogether servile. Nor are these countries without their men of genius and science.

(1) Letter XXV.

Sweden in her Linnæus, who has arranged the animal and vegetable systems, and discriminated the genera and species of each, with all the accuracy of Aristotle, boasts the honour of having given birth to the most profound naturalist in modern times.

Germany, during the period under review, has perhaps undergone less change than any other country of equal extent, notwithstanding the frequent wars by which it has been shaken. These wars, by keeping up the ancient military habits, and the little intercourse the body of the people have with strangers, in time of peace, by reason of their inland situation, have preserved the general manners nearly the same as at the close of the last century; and the constitution of the empire has varied little since the peace of Westphalia. But agriculture, manufactures, and the mechanical arts, have in the course of the present century made great progress in many parts of Germany; especially in the dominions of his Prussian majesty. There the sciences and the polite arts also have flourished, under the protection of the illustrious Frederick, at once the model of all that is elegant in letters or great in arms; the hero, statesman, historian, and philosopher. He has collected around him learned and ingenious men of all countries, whose liberal researches have been directed to the most valuable ends. And the generous spirit of the prince who at present fills the Imperial throne, leaves us no room to doubt but the court of Vienna, long distinguished by its magnificence, will soon be as polished and enlightened as that of Berlin, of London, or Versailles. The German tongue is already adorned with works of imagination and sentiment, and the writings of Gesner, Klopstock, and other men of genius have been translated into most modern languages.

The Swiss, so much distinguished by their love of liberty and of their country, and so long accustomed to sell their blood to the different powers of Europe, as other nations do the produce of their soil; have fertilized with culture their barren mountains, and acquired a knowledge of the necessary arts, now instead of hiring themselves as soldiers to ambitious princes, pour forth their surplus of population upon more wealthy states in useful artificers and industrious manufacturers; and preserve at home their plain and simple manners, with their ancient independency and military character. Happy without wealth, they are strangers to luxury. Domestic duties among them supply the place of public amusements, and public virtue conceals the defects in the form of government.(1)

The Swiss are still in possession of all the patriotic qualities that gave birth to their republic: while the Dutch, formerly no less zealous in the cause of freedom; who acquired its full establishment by greater and more vigorous efforts, and exhibited to mankind for a century the most perfect picture of a flourishing commonwealth, are now become degenerate and base; dead to all sense of a public interest, and to every generous sentiment of the soul. The lust of gain has extinguished among them the spirit of patriotism, the love of glory, the feelings of humanity, and even the sense of shame. A total want of principle prevails in Holland. Riches, which the stupid possessors want taste to convert to any pleasurable use, are equivalent, in the opinion of a Dutchman, to all the talents of the mind, and all the virtues of the heart. Avarice is the only passion, and wealth the only merit in the United Provinces. In such a state, a sordid and selfish happiness may be found, like that which the miser enjoys in contemplating his hoard, or the glutton his meal; but there the liberal arts cannot thrive, and elegant manners are not there to be expected.

Italy has acquired new lustre in the present century from the splendid courts of Turin and Naples, where arts and literature have been encouraged. If painting and architecture have continued to decline, music and poetry have greatly flourished in this classical country. Metastasio, perhaps in-

(1) The most striking feature in the political character of the people of Switzerland, is that fraternal harmony which has so long subsisted, not only between the inhabitants of the several cantons, which are independent of each other, governed by different laws, and profess different religions, but between the citizens of different religions, in the same canton.

ferior to none of her modern bards, has perfected her serious musical drama. This drama, distinguished from the old Italian opera, and from the masque, by rejecting marvellous incidents and allegorical personages, is certainly the finest vehicle for music that ever was invented; as the airs are all sung by real actors, strongly agitated by the passions they express: whereas the chorus in the Greek tragedies, so much celebrated for its musical effects, was sung only by cool observers.

But the Italian opera, even in its *most perfect state*, has been represented as unnatural, as well as fantastical, though, I think, very unjustly. All our fine old ballads, which so exquisitely paint the tender passions, are supposed to be sung by persons under the immediate influence of those passions; and if the stage is allowed to be a picture of life, there can be nothing unnatural in an actor's imitating on it, what is believed to have happened in the great theatre of the world. In order however to do as little violence as possible to probability, Metastasio has contrived to throw chiefly into airs or odes, those parts of his musical tragedies, that would otherwise evaporate in soliloquy; in fond complainings, or in frantic ravings. The lyric measure is admirably adapted to the language of passion; and surely that mind must be very unmusical, which would prefer simple articulation to such enchanting melody, as generally communicates to the heart the soul-dissolving airs of Metastasio.

The state of society in Spain has been greatly improved under the princes of the house of Bourbon. The ladies are no longer excluded from company by an illiberal jealousy. The intercourse of the sexes becomes every day more general and easy. A taste for agriculture, for arts, manufactures, letters, and even a passion for arms and enterprise, has been revived among the Spaniards.

A similar taste is said to have extended itself to the neighbouring kingdom of Portugal, since the expulsion of the Jesuits. If this taste should ripen into a philosophic spirit, and break the fetters of superstition, we may perhaps behold a singular phenomenon in the history of nations; a great people, after the decline of empire and the corruption of manners, recovering their former consequence and character. Such a phenomenon would effectually overturn that political hypothesis, chiefly founded on the fate of the Roman empire, that states which have reached their utmost height, like the human body, must necessarily tend to decay, and either experience, a total dissolution, or become so insignificant as to excite neither envy or jealousy.

In France, as I have already had occasion to shew,⁽¹⁾ society attained its highest polish before the close of the last century. But the misfortunes which clouded the latter years of Lewis XIV. threw a gloom over the manner of the people, and a mystical religion became fashionable at court. Madam de Maintenon herself was deeply penetrated with this religion, as was the celebrated abbé Fenelon, afterward archbishop of Cambray, preceptor to the duke of Burgundy, and author of the adventures of Telemachus, one of the finest works of human imagination. The fervour spread, especially among the softer sex; and Racine, in compliance with the prevailing taste, wrote tragedies on sacred subjects. The court, however, resumed its gaiety under the regency of the duke of Orleans, notwithstanding the accumulated distresses of the nation. And his libertine example, with that of his minister, the cardinal du Bois, introduced a total corruption of manners; a gross sensuality that scorned the veil of decency; an unprincipled levity that treated every thing sacred and respectable with derision; and a spirit of dissipation, which, amid the utmost poverty, prevailed during the greater part of the reign of Lewis XV.

But this levity, which was chiefly confined to the court, did not hinder the body of the people from seriously attending to their civil and religious rights. And their firmness in maintaining both deserves to be particularly noticed, as it forms one of the most striking objects in the view of Society, during the present century.

(1) Let. XIX.

A furious dispute between the Jansenists and Jesuits, concerning grace, free-will, and other abstract points in theology, had distracted France in the brightest days of Lewis XIV. Many able men employed their pens on both sides. But the Jansenists, supported by the talents of a Nicole, an Arnaud, and a Pascal, had evidently the advantage both in raillery and reasoning. The controversy, however, was not to be determined by such weapons. The Jesuits were supposed to be better Catholics; and as the conscience of the king had always been in their keeping, the leaders of the Jansenists were persecuted, and thrown into prison, or obliged to abandon their country. The Jesuits, in order to complete their triumph, and the ruin of their religious antagonists, at length obtained the king's consent (through the influence of father le Tellier, his confessor) to refer the disputed points to the pope. They accordingly sent to Rome one hundred and three propositions for condemnation; and the Holy office, in 1713, found one hundred and one of those to be heretical.

The Bull declaring the condemnation of the opinions of the Jansenists, commonly known by the name of *UNIGENITUS*, from the word with which it begins, instead of composing the pious dispute, threw all France into a flame. The body of the people, the parliaments, the archbishop of Paris, fifteen other prelates, and many of the most respectable among the inferior clergy, violently opposed it, as an infringement of the rights of the Gallican church, and of the laws of the realm, as well as an insult on their private judgment. But the king who was wholly governed by the Jesuits, and spurred on to violent measures by his confessor, enforced its reception; and the whole kingdom was soon divided into *Acceptants* and *Recusants*. The death of Lewis XIV. put a stop to the dispute. And the duke of Orleans, while regent, ordered the persecution to cease, and at the same time enjoined the recusant bishops to accept the bull, accompanied with certain explanations. They found themselves under the necessity of complying. Even the good cardinal de Noailles, archbishop of Paris, was induced to do violence to his sentiments, in 1720, for the sake of peace.

From that time to the year 1750, the Bull *Unigenitus*, though held in execration by the people, occasioned no public disturbance. Then it was resolved by the clergy to demand confessional notes of dying persons; and it was ordered that those notes should be signed by priests adhering to the bull, without which no viaticum, no extreme unction, could be obtained. And these consolatory rites were refused without pity to all *Recusants*, and to such as confessed to *Recusants*. The new archbishop of Paris engaged warmly in this scheme, and the parliament no less warmly in the cause of the people. Other parliaments followed the example of that at Paris; and all clergymen, who refused to administer the sacraments to persons in their last moments, were thrown into prison. The church complained of the interposition of the civil power; and Lewis XV. by an act of his absolute authority, forbid the parliaments to take cognizance of such matters.

These parliaments, as I have formerly had occasion to observe, are only the supreme courts of justice, not the states of the kingdom, or proper legislative body: yet have they continued, since the abolition of the national assemblies, to be the faithful guardians of the rights of the people, and to check the despotism of the crown, by refusing to register its oppressive edicts, as well as by remonstrating against them.⁽¹⁾ They have frequently interposed their authority, with advantage, in matters of religion.

The heads of the parliament of Paris, which has ever stood foremost in repressing both regal and ecclesiastical tyranny, therefore took the liberty on this occasion, to remind the king, That their privileges, and the duty of

(1) No royal edict can have the force of a law, until registered in parliament; and although the French parliaments cannot absolutely refuse to register such edicts, if the royal authority be exerted in all its fullness, that is to say, when the king holds personally in parliament what is called a *Bed of Justice*; yet they may, even in that case, suspend the registry some time, and likewise remonstrate against the edict itself. These remonstrances, and their beneficial effects, have deservedly gained the French parliaments the highest veneration among the people.

their station, obliged them to do justice on all delinquents. They accordingly continued in the exercise of their several functions, without regard to the king's prohibition, and had actually commenced a prosecution against the bishop of Orleans, when they received from Versailles a *Letter de cachet*, accompanied by Letters Patent, which they were ordered to register, commanding them to suspend all prosecutions relative to the refusal of the sacraments. Instead of obeying these orders, the different tribunals of the parliament presented new remonstrances; and being referred for answers to the king's former declarations, they had the spirit to resolve, "That where-
"as certain evil minded persons have prevented truth from reaching the
"throne, the chambers remain assembled, and all other business must be
"suspended." The king, by fresh Letters Patent, renewed his orders, and commanded the parliament to proceed to business; but all the chambers, far from complying, came to another resolution more bold than the former, importing, That they could not obey this injunction without violating their duty and their oath.

Matters being thus brought to extremity, the king banished, to different parts of the kingdom, in 1753, the members of all the chambers of the parliament, except those of the Great Chamber; and they, proving no more compliant than their brethren, also were banished. New difficulties and disputes ensued. In order to prevent an entire stop being put to the administration of justice by this violent measure, Lewis XV. established by his Letters Patent, what was called a *Royal Chamber*, for the prosecution of suits civil and criminal. But the Letters Patent, constituting that new court, ought to have been registered by the parliament of Paris, which had no longer an existence. To remedy this difficulty, application was made to the inferior court of the Chatelet, which refused to register the letters in question, even after one of its members had been committed to the Bastile, and another obliged to abscond. Intimidated, however, by such a bold exertion of despotic power, the remaining members allowed the king's officers to enter the Letters Patent in their register. But they thought proper, on more mature deliberation, to retire from business, leaving an *arret* on the table expressing their reasons for so doing.

The Royal Chamber was now the only court of law in Paris. The judges assembled, but they could find no advocates to plead. They were held in universal contempt, and the whole kingdom was filled with such a total suppression of justice, as threatened anarchy and confusion. Meanwhile the clergy seemed to enjoy their victory amid the public disorder, and entered into associations for the support of their authority. But the king ceased to countenance them. At length become sensible of their pride and obstinacy, as well as of the evils it had occasioned, he exhorted them to more moderation. He also recalled the parliament, which returned in triumph to Paris, in 1754, amid the acclamations of the people, who celebrated the event with the most extravagant demonstrations of joy. And the archbishop, who continued to encourage the priests in refusing the sacraments, was banished to his seat at Conflans. The bishops of Orleans and Troyes were, in like manner, banished to their country seats.

A temporary quiet was by these means produced; but it proved only a calm before a more violent storm. The archbishop of Paris, in retirement, continued his intrigues. He was banished to a greater distance from court. But the dispute in regard to the bull *Unigenitus*, which he had revived, did not subside. The clergy persisted in refusing the sacraments, and the civil power in prosecuting them for such refusal; so that nothing was more common in those distracted times, than to see the communion administered by
• an *arret* of parliament!

The king, a second time drawn over to the ecclesiastical side of the question, referred the dispute to the pope. Benedict XIV. though a mild and moderate man, could not retract a constitution regarded as a law of the church: he therefore declared, in a circular letter or brief, to all the bishops of France, That the bull *Unigenitus* must be acknowledged, as an universal

law against which none could make resistance "without endangering their eternal salvation."

The parliament of Paris, considering this brief as a direct attack upon the rights of the Gallican church, suppressed it by an arret or decree. The king, enraged at their boldness, as well as at their refusal to register certain oppressive taxes, resolved to hold a Bed of Justice. He accordingly went to the parliament on the 13th day of November, in the year 1756, attended by the whole body of his guards, amounting to ten thousand men, and ordered an edict to be read, by which he suppressed the fourth and fifth Chambers of Inquests, the members of which had been most firm in opposing the brief. He then commanded that the bull *Unigenitus* should be respected, and prohibited the secular judges from ordering the administration of the sacrament. And he concluded with declaring, that he would be obeyed!—Fifteen counsellors of the great chamber lodged their resignation at the office next day. One hundred and twenty-four members of the different courts of parliament followed their example, and universal murmurings prevailed in the city and throughout the kingdom.

In the midst of these murmurings, the desperate fanatic Francis Damien, stabbed the king in the manner already related; not, as he declared, with an intention of killing his sovereign, but only of wounding him, that God might touch his heart, and incline him to order the administration of the sacraments at the time of death:—What effect this declaration had upon the mind of Lewis XV. it is impossible to say; but it is certain he a second time banished the archbishop of Paris, who had been recalled, and found it expedient to accommodate matters with the parliament, which again proceeded to business.

But the grand triumph of the French parliaments was to come. The Jesuits, the chief supporters of the bull *Unigenitus* having rendered themselves universally odious by their share in the conspiracy against the life of the king of Portugal, fell in France under the lash of the civil power, for certain fraudulent mercantile transactions. They refused to discharge the debts of one of their body, who had become bankrupt for a large sum, and who was supposed to act for the benefit of the whole society. As a monk, indeed, he must necessarily do so. The parliaments eagerly seized an opportunity of humbling their spiritual enemies. The Jesuits were every where cited before those high tribunals, in 1761, and ordered to do justice to their creditors. They seemed to acquiesce in the decision, but delayed payment under various pretences. New suits, were commenced against them, in 1762, on account of the pernicious tendency of their writings. In the course of these proceedings, which the king endeavoured in vain to stay, they were compelled to produce their *INSTITUTE*; or the rules of their order, hitherto studiously concealed. That mysterious volume, which was found to contain maxims subversive of all civil government, and even of the fundamental principles of morals, completed their ruin. All their colleges were seized, all their effects confiscated; and the king, ashamed, or afraid to protect them, not only resigned them to their fate, but finally expelled them the kingdom, by a solemn edict, and utterly abolished the order of Jesus in France.

Elated with this victory over ecclesiastical tyranny, the French parliaments attempted to set bounds to the absolute power of the crown, and seemed determined to confine it within the limits of law. Not satisfied with refusing, as usual, to register certain oppressive edicts, or with remonstrating against them, they ordered criminal prosecutions to be commenced against the governors of several provinces, acting in the king's name, who had enforced the registration of those edicts. But I must not here enter upon this subject, which is intimately connected with the body of history, and would lead us far into the affairs of latter times.

Notwithstanding these disorders, and the regal and spiritual disposition that occasioned them, the progress of improvement, and the enlargement of the human mind, has been very considerable in France, during the present century. If poetry, painting, music, sculpture, and architecture, should be

allowed to have attained their height in that kingdom under the reign of Lewis XIV. they have not since greatly declined, and many arts, both useful and ornamental, have been invented or improved; particularly the art of engraving in copper, which has been carried to such a degree of perfection as to rival painting itself; of making porcelain, plate-glass, fine paper, and paper toys; and of counterfeiting in paste, so ingeniously as to deceive the nicest eye, at a little distance, the diamond, the pearl, and all sorts of gems. The weaving of silk has been rendered more facile, while its culture has been extended; and a culture of still more importance to society, that of corn.

M. Du Hamel, a member of the French academy, by philosophically investigating the principles of husbandry, has made it a fashionable study, and introduced a taste for agriculture, which has already been attended with the most beneficial effects. Nor is that worthy citizen the only man of learning in France, who has turned the eye of philosophy from mind to matter, and from the study of the heavens to the investigation of human affairs. This rational turn of thinking particularly distinguishes French literature under the reign of Lewis XV.

At the head of the philosophers of REASON, of the instructors of their species in what concerns their most important interests, we must place the baron de Montesquieu. That penetrating genius, who may be termed the LEGISLATOR OF MAN, by discovering the latent springs of government, its moving principle, under all its different forms, and the *spirit of laws* in each, has given to political reasoning a degree of certainty, of which it was not thought capable. His countryman Helvetius, also endowed with a truly philosophical genius, has attempted to introduce the same degree of certainty into moral and metaphysical reasoning, though not with equal success.

Helvetius, systematical to a fault, but eccentric even in system, employs in vain his fine talents to convince mankind, That they are all born with equal capacity, or aptitude to receive and retain ideas, and that all their virtues and talents, as well as the different degree in which they possess them, are merely the effects of education, and other external circumstances. But his zealous endeavours to destroy the hydra prejudice, by contrasting the mutual contempt of nations, the hatred of religions, and the scorn of different classes in the same kingdom for each other, must tend to humble pride and soften animosities. Nor can his generous efforts to rescue virtue from the hands of Jesuitical casuists, and connect it intimately with government, by fixing it on the solid basis of PUBLIC GOOD, fail to benefit society; or his ingenuity in tracing the motives of human action, and in demonstrating the influence of physical causes upon the moral conduct of man, to be of use to poets, historians, and legislators.

While Montesquieu and Helvetius were thus contemplating the political and moral world, and investigating the powers and principles of man, as a member of society, with the effect of government and laws upon the human character, Buffon was employed in surveying the natural world; in examining the secret cells of generation, animal instinct, and animal life, in all their gradations, from a snail and the shell-fish up to man; the organization of the human frame, the original imperfection of the senses, and the means by which they are perfected; all accompanied with such just and sublime reflections, as leave the mind equally astonished at the vigour of his genius and the extent of his knowledge.

"Much has been written in this age," says Voltaire, "but genius belonged to the last." Had no other man of genius appeared, he himself would have furnished proof of the falsity of this assertion, and in more departments than one. If the *Henriade* is inferior to the *Iliad*, it is at least the finest poem of the epic kind that France has hitherto produced. The *Zara*, the *Alzira*, the *Merope*, are equal in diction and pathos to any tragedy of Racine; and the *Mahomet* is, beyond comparison, superior to the famous *Cinna* of Corneille. Voltaire possessed a more comprehensive range of thought than either of those writers; and that he acquired by his application to history

and philosophy. His philosophical pieces are generally too free, and often have a pernicious tendency in a Christian community; yet have they served to promote inquiry, and to enlighten the human understanding. His *Age of Lewis XIV.* his *History of Russia*, and of Charles XII. of Sweden, are models of elegant composition and just thinking. A love of singularity has disfigured his *General History* with many impertinences; yet will the stamina remain an eternal monument of taste, genius, and sound judgment. He first conducted, with the chain of political and military events, the progress of literature, of arts, and of manners.

France produced many other men of genius, during the period under review. But it is not my purpose to speak of men of genius merely as such, otherwise I should dwell with particular pleasure on the beautiful extravagances of Rousseau, and endeavour to estimate the merit of his wonderful romance:—I mention them only as connected with the progress of society. In this line I am happy to name D'Alembert and Diderot; to whom French literature is indebted for many truly classical productions, and the whole literary world for that treasure of universal science, the *Encyclopédie*.

Marmontel, who contributed liberally toward that great work, has further enriched the literature of his country by a new species of fiction, in his enchanting *Contes Moraux*. More philosophical than the common novel, and less prolix than the romance, they combine instruction and amusement in a manner perhaps superior to every other species of fanciful composition. Nor must I, in speaking of the improvers of French literature, omit the two Crebillons. The father has given to tragedy a force of character not found in Corneille or Voltaire; and the romances of the son are captivating, but dangerous productions, in a new taste. This sportive and elegant mode of writing, with all its levities, digressions, and libertine display of sentiment, has been happily imitated in England, by the celebrated author of *Tristram Shandy*, commonly supposed to be original in his manner. Even the idea of the much admired *Adventures of a Guinea* is borrowed from the *Sopha* of the younger Crebillon.

We must now, my dear Philip, turn our eyes immediately toward our own island. Here arts, manners, and literature, have made great progress since the glorious æra of the Revolution; when our civil and religious rights were fully established, and our constitution more equally balanced. This fortunate event, which diverted the mind from trifling objects, introduced a passion for political reasoning. And the austere character of William, with the exemplary deportment of Mary, gave a check to the licentious manners of the court, which had grievously offended the virtuous part of the nation, during the two preceding reigns. Under the reign of William, Locke wrote his *Essay on Government*, and Swift his *Tale of a Tub*. These are two of the most excellent prose compositions in our language, whether we consider the style or matter; the former an example of close manly reasoning, carrying conviction to the heart; the latter, of the irresistible force of ridicule, when supported by wit, humour, and satire.

But as William, though a powerful prince, and the prime mover of the political machine of Europe, was regarded in England, by one half of the nation, as only the head of a faction, many of the nobility and gentry kept at a distance from court; so that the advance of taste and politeness was very inconsiderable, till the reign of queen Anne. Then the splendour of heroic actions called off, for a time, the attention of all parties from political disputes, to contemplate the glory of their country. Then appeared a crowd of great men, whose characters are well known, and whose names are familiar to every ear. Then were displayed the strong talents and elegant accomplishments of a Marlborough, a Godolphin, a Somers, a Harley, and a St. John. Then subsisted in full force that natural connexion between the learned and the great, by which the latter never fail to be gainers. Swift, Addison, Congreve, Rowe, Steele, Vanbrugh, Prior, Pope, and other men of genius in that age, not only enjoyed the friendship and familiarity of the principal persons in power, but most of them in early life obtained places in

some of the less burdensome departments of government, which put it in their power to pass the rest of their days in ease and independence.(1)

Thus raised to respect, above the necessity of writing for bread, and enabled to follow their particular vein, several of those men of genius united their talents, in furnishing the public with a daily paper, under the name of the *SPECTATOR*; which, by combating, with reason and gallantry, the faults in composition, and the improprieties in behaviour, as well as the reigning vices and follies, had a wonderful effect upon the taste and manners of the nation. It contributed greatly to polish and improve both.

Such a monitor was indeed much wanted. The comedies of Vanbrugh, so justly admired for their genuine humour and ease of dialogue, are shockingly licentious; and the principal characters in the greater part of Congreve's pieces, where wit sparkles with unborrowed brilliancy, are so libertine or prostitute, as to put virtue and decency utterly out of countenance. Even the last pieces of Dryden, then considered as models of elegance, are by no means sufficiently delicate in sentiment. Like all the authors formed under the reign of Charles II. he represents love as an appetite rather than a passion. His celebrated tale of *Sigismonda and Guiscardo*, the most pathetic of all his *FARIES*, is not free from this fault.

"Thy little care to mend my widow'd nights,"

says Sigismonda to her father,

"Has forc'd me to recourse of marriage rites,

"To fill an empty side, and follow known delights

"Nor need'st thou by thy daughter to be told,

"Though now thy sprightly blood with age be cold-

"Thou hast been young, and canst remember still,

"That when thou hadst the power, thou hadst the will;

"And from the past experience of thy fire,

"Canst tell with what a tide our strong desires

"Come rushing on in youth, and what their rage requires."

This may all be very natural in the abstract. Women of certain complexions, the slaves of animal appetite, may be under the tyranny of such desires; but they are surely not common to the sex: and we sympathise a little with those ravenous and inordinate passions, as we do with an immoderate call for food. In the mouth of so accomplished a princess as Sigismonda, such gross sentiments can only excite disgust. They are alike unsuitable to her character, her condition, and her enthusiastic passion.(2) Dryden knew nothing of the female heart, and little of the heart of man. Having no sensibility himself, he wanted that sympathetic chord, which alone could conduct him to the bosoms of others, and enable him to raise correspondent emotions.(3)

(1) The man who, rolling in riches, could make the following unfeeling remark, deserves no mercy from the candidates for literary merit, none from the prosecutors of the elegant arts—from the poet or the painter, whatever admiration he may profess for their labours: "*Want of protection is the apology for want of genius. A poet or a painter may want an equipage or a villa, by wanting protection; they can always afford to buy ink and paper, colours and pencils.*" (*Anecdotes of Painting in England*, vol. I. Pref. p. vii.) But who is to afford them a subsistence, till they can finish any ingenious work?—And what is subsistence, without encouragement? without the animating hopes of fame? which in most minds require the fostering hand of patronage, or protection. Hence the more just and generous sentiment of Gray, in speaking of obscure and neglected bards:

"Chill penury repress'd their noble rage,

"And froze the genial current of the soul."

(2) The extravagant praise lately paid to this Tale, by a popular critic, has led me to be thus particular, in order to prevent an indiscriminate admiration, raised by the magic of verse, and supported by such high authority, from corrupting the taste and the morals of youth.

(3) A stronger proof of this assertion cannot possibly be given than in the sorrow of Sigismonda over the heart of her beloved husband, which, instead of drawing tears of

Prior's *Henry and Emma* is the first poem of any length in our language, in which love is treated with becoming delicacy ; if we except those of the epic and dramatic kind, by Spencer, Shakespeare, and Milton. I cannot forbear quoting the following lines, though perhaps inferior in poetical merit, as a contrast to the sentiments of Sigismonda. Emma speaks :

" When from the cave thou risest with the day,
 " To beat the woods and rouse the bounding prey,
 " The cave with moss and branches I'll adorn,
 " And chearful sit to wait my lord's return.
 " With humble duty and officious haste,
 " I'll cull the farthest mead for thy repast;
 " The choicest herbs I to thy board will bring,
 " And draw thee water from the freshest spring.
 " My thoughts shall fix, my latest wish depend
 " On Thee, guide, guardian, kinsman, father, friend !
 " By all these sacred names be Henry known
 " To Emma's heart ; and grateful let him own,
 " That she, of all mankind, could love but him alone." }

To Prior we are also indebted for the art of telling a gay story with ease, grace, and levity. He is the first English poet who has united elegance and correctness. His *Alma* is a delightful performance of the burlesque kind ; and his *Soloman*, though somewhat tedious for want of incident, has great and various merit. It is a school of wisdom, and a banquet of intellectual pleasure.

Our polite literature, in all its branches, now tended fast towards perfection. Steele freed English comedy from the licentiousness of former writers. If he has not all the wit of Congreve, or the humour of Vanbrugh, he is more chaste and natural than either. He knew life well, and has given us in his comedies, as well as in his numerous papers in the *Tatler* and *Spectator*, many just and lively pictures of the manners of that age of half-refinement.

Rowe, in like manner, purified our tragic poetry, by excluding from his best pieces all grossly-sensual descriptions, as well as impious and indelicate expressions. Though intimately acquainted with the best models, both ancient and modern, he may be deemed an original writer. His plots and his sentiments are chiefly his own. If he paints the passions with less force and truth than Shakespeare or Otway, he is free from the barbarism of the one, and the licentiousness of the other : and his tragedies abound with so many noble and generous sentiments, introduced without any flagrant violation of the propriety of character or the verisimilitude of nature, that they continue to give pleasure, after half a century, equally in the closet and on the stage. This favourable reception proceeds partly from what has been considered as his greatest fault : he is never sublime in the highest degree, or pathetic in the extreme, but always tender, interesting, and elevating. Terror and pity, the two throbbing pulses of tragedy, are not carried, in his compositions, to a painful excess. His language is rich, and his versification is easy and flowing ; but it wants vigour. Like most of our dramatic writers, he frequently violates not only the critical, but the rational unities of time and place, and to the great injury of the general effect of every piece in which such liberty is taken. I have already had occasion to explain myself on this subject in speaking of the plays of Shakespeare. (1)

compassion down the most obdurate cheek, as might have been expected, must fill every reader of taste and sentiment with contempt. The heart was in a cup.

" Though once I meant to meet

" My fate with face unmov'd, and eyes unwe't ;

" Yet since I have Thee here in narrow room,

" My tears shall set Thee first adiant within thy tomb !"

(1) Let. XIX. There, it was observed, That the scene may be shifted, or in other words, the place changed, to any distance consistent with probability, and that any portion of time may elapse between the acts, not destructive of the unity of the

Addison's *Cato* has more vigour of versification than the tragedies of Rowe, but less ease. It is, however, a noble effort of cultivated genius; and notwithstanding its supposed want of pathos, because it provokes no womanish tears, it is perhaps our best modern tragedy. Addison has also written verses on various subjects, both in English and Latin, and is always polished and correct, though not enthusiastically poetical. But whatever merit he may have as a poet, he is great as a prose writer.

Swift had given perspicuity and conciseness to the clouded redundancy of Clarendon, and compactness to the loose, though harmonious periods of Temple; but it was left to Addison to furnish elegance and grace, and to enchant us with all the magic of humour, and all the attractive charms of natural and moral beauty. He wrote the most admired papers in the *Spectator*, *Tatler*, *Guardian*, and other publications of the same kind. In those papers he has discussed an infinite variety of subjects, both comic and serious, and has treated each so happily, it might be thought he had studied that alone. Our language is more indebted to him not only for words and phrases, but for images, than to any other writer in prose. If his style has any fault, it is want of force.

This defect in our prose composition was supplied by lord Bolingbroke; who, in his *Dissertation on Parties*, in his *Letter to Sir William Wyndham*, and in his *Idea of a Patriot King*, has united strength with elegance, and energy and elevation with grace. It is not possible to carry farther the beauty and force of our multifarious tongue, without endangering the one or the other. The earl of Chesterfield is perhaps more elegantly correct, and gracefully easy, but he wants the sinews of his master; and if Johnson, on some subjects, appears to have more force than Bolingbroke, he is generally destitute of ease. His periods are too artificially arranged, and his words too remote from common use. He writes like a scholar, not like a gentleman; like a man who had mingled little with the world, or never complied with its forms.

What Bolingbroke performed in prose, his friend Pope accomplished even more fully in verse. Having early discovered the bent of his genius, he diligently studied the poets who had written before him in his native tongue, but more especially those who had made use of rhyme; not, as has been invensively insinuated, that he found his genius too feeble to give vigour to blank verse, but because rhyme was the prevailing mode of versification when he began to turn his mind to poetry. The public had not yet acquired a taste for the majesty of Miltonic numbers, or that varied harmony which they afford to the delicate and classical ear. He seems therefore to have confined his attention chiefly to Waller, Denham and Dryden.

I have not hitherto had occasion to mention Denham. He wrote in the reign of Charles II. but was little infected with the bad taste of his age. His descriptive poem, entitled *Cooper's Hill*, is still deservedly admired. It abounds with natural images, happily blended with moral reflexions. His style is close, and his versification vigorous. The following lines will exemplify his manner of writing:

"My eye, descending from the Hill, surveys
 "Where Thames among the wanton vallies strays:
 "Thames, the most lov'd of all the Ocean's sons
 "By his old Sire, to his embraces runs;
 "Hast'ning to pay his tribute to the sea,
 "Like Mortal Life, to meet Eternity.
 "Though with those streams He no resemblance hold,
 "Whose foam is Amber and their gfael Gold,
 "His genuine and less guilty wealth t'explore,"
 "Search not his Bottom, but survey his Shore."

* fable, without impairing the effect of the representation or disturbing the dream of reality; but that no such change can be made in the middle of an act without injury to both, as the chain of emotions must by that means be broken, as well as the connexion of ideas, and the spectator left nearly in the same cool and disengaged state of mind as when he entered the theatre, or when the act began.

Pope was not insensible to the merit of Denham's versification, but he saw the necessity of looking nearer to his own time for a master. And he found such a master as he sought in Dryden; who, to the sweetness of Waller, and the strength of Denham, has added a compass of verse, and an energy that is entirely his own. Pope accordingly made the versification of Dryden his model. And if his own compositions have not all the fire of the *Alexander's Feast*, the easy vigour of the *Absalom and Ahithophel*, or the animated flow of the Fables of his master, the collected force and finer polish of his numbers; a nicer choice of words, and a more delicate and just, though less bold imagery, entitled him to all the praise that can possibly belong to an emulous imitator, not invested with absolute superiority: while new flights of fancy, and new turns of thought and expression; more sensibility of heart, and greater elevation of mind, with a closer attention to natural and moral objects, yield him all the requisites of a rival more favoured by fortune, and more zealous in the pursuit of fame. *The Rape of the Lock*, the *Eloise to Abelard*, the *Messiah*, and the *Essay on Man*, are not only the finest poems of their kind in ours, but in any modern language.

If Pope's versification has any fault, it is that of too much regularity. He generally confines the sense, and consequently the run of metrical harmony to the couplet. This practice enabled him to give great brilliancy to his thoughts and strength to his numbers. It has therefore a good effect in his moral and satirical pieces; though it certainly offends the ear, when often repeated, and becomes altogether cloying in long poems, but especially in those of the narrative or descriptive kind. A fault so obvious, though committed by himself, could not escape the correct taste and keen discernment of Pope. We accordingly find in his translation of Homer (where such monotonous uniformity would have been inexcusable,) as well as in his fanciful pieces, a more free and varied versification often attempted with success. Two examples will be sufficient to set this matter in a clear light; to shew both his manner of confining his sense to the couplet, and of extending it farther, in compositions of a different species.

"Our humbler province is to tend the fair.
 "Not a less pleasing, though less glorious care,
 "To save the powder from too rough a gale,
 "Nor let th' imprison'd essences exhale;
 "To draw fresh colours from the vernal flowers,
 "To steal from rainbows, ere they drop in showers,
 "A brighter wash—"
Rape of the Lock, Cant. ii.

"Thus breathing death, in terrible array,
 "The close-compacted legions urg'd their way:
 "Fierce they drove on, impatient to destroy;
 "Troy charg'd the first, and Hector first of Troy.
 "As from some mountain's craggy forehead torn
 "A rock's huge fragment flies, with fury borne,
 "(Which from the stubborn stone a torrent rends :)
 "Precipitate the ponderous mass descends;
 "From steep to steep the rolling ruin bounds,
 "At every shock the crackling wood resounds;
 "Still gathering strength, it smokes; and, urg'd amain,
 "Whirls, leaps, and thunders down, impetuous to the plain
 "There stops—So Hector," &c.
Iliad, xiii.

Pope, in a word, if we may judge by the unsuccessful attempts of latter writers, has given to our heroic verse in rhyme, all the freedom and variety of which it is capable, without *breaking its structure or impairing its vigour*.

Of the former of these faults examples are numerous among the poetical successors of Pope; but one, from the writings of a man of genius, whence hundreds might be selected, will serve to illustrate the justice of this remark.

"And are there Bards, who on creation's file
 "Stand rank'd as men, who breathe in this fair isle

"The air of freedom, with so little gall,
 "So low a spirit, prostrate thus to fall
 "Before these idols, and without a groan
 "Bear wrongs, might call forth murmurs from a stone?"

Churchill's *Independence*

How much inferior to the bold interrogative of the author of the *Essay on Man*!

"Who knows but He, whose hand the Lightning forms,
 "Who heaves old Ocean, and who wings the Storms.
 "Pours fierce Ambition in a Caesar's mind,
 "Or turn young Ammon loose to scourge mankind?"

The latter fault however, *want of rigour*, is more common in this age of refinement. Even such lines as the following, though easy and flowing, contradict the general character of our language and versification, that of comprehending much meaning in few words.

"Of that enchanting age her figure seems,
 "When smiling Nature with the vital beams
 "Of vivid Youth, and Pleasure's purple flame,
 "Gilds her accomplish'd work, the female frame,
 "With rich luxuriance tender, sweetly wild,
 "And just between the woman and the child."

Could any one, on reading these much admired verses, discern the propriety of Roscommon's famous metaphor in speaking of English poetry?

"The weighty Bullion of one STERLING line,
 "Drawn in French wire, would through whole pages shine"

They who aspire at a greater compass of harmony, and who are ambitious of continuing unbroken its winding stream, must throw aside the fetters of rhyme.

Born with a strong understanding, a benevolent heart, and an enthusiastic fancy—with all the powers necessary to form a great poet, Thomson perceived that Pope had attained the summit of excellence in that mode of composition which he had adopted. He was not, however, discouraged. He saw there were other paths to fame; and by judiciously making choice of blank verse, which was perfectly suited to the exuberance of his genius, to the grandeur of his conceptions, and to the boldness of his metaphorical images, as well as to the minute wildness of his poetical descriptions, he has left us in his *Seasons*, a greater number of just, beautiful, and sublime views of external nature, than are to be found in the works of all other poets since the days of Lucretius.

Akenside, *feelingly alive* to all the impressions of natural and moral beauty, who surveyed the universe with a truly benevolent eye, and a heart filled with admiration and love of the wisdom and goodness of the Supreme Being, has given us in his *Pleasures of Imagination*, a delightful system of the Philosophy of Taste, unfolded in all the pomp of Miltonic verse.

And Armstrong, the friend of Thomson, and, like Akenside, a physician by profession, has bequeathed to mankind a more valuable legacy, in his *Art of preserving Health*, while he has furnished the literary world with a more classical poem, in the same species of versification, than either the *Seasons* or the *Pleasures of Imagination*. After such profuse praise, it will be necessary to give a specimen of the composition of this truly elegant writer.

"He without riot in the balmy feast
 "Of life, the wants of Nature has supplied,
 "Who rises cool, serene, and full of soul,
 "But pliant Nature more or less demands,

" As custom forms her :—and all sudden change
 " She hates, of habit even from bad to good.
 " If faults in life, or new emergencies,
 " From habits urge you by long time confirm'd,
 " Slow may the change arrive, and stage by stage ;
 " Slow as the shadow o'er the dial moves ;
 " Slow as the starling progress of the year."

While blank verse was thus attaining its highest polish under the prosperous reign of George II. and descriptive and didactic poetry approaching toward perfection, the lighter walks of the Muse were by no means neglected. Akenside, not satisfied with rivalling Virgil in his most finished work, entered the lists also with Horace and Pindar ; and although he has not equalled the courtly gaiety of the former, or the sublimity, fire, and bold digressions of the latter, he deserves much praise for having given us the first classical examples of the manner of both. Nor have we yet many finer stanzas in our language, than that containing the character of Alcæus, in Akenside's Ode on *Lyric Poetry*.

" Broke from the fetters of his native land,
 " Devoting shame and vengeance to her lords,
 " With louder impulse and a threatening hand
 " The Lesbian patriot smites the sounding chords :—
 " Ye wretches, ye perfidious train,
 " Ye curs'd of gods and free-born men,
 " Ye murderers of the laws ?
 " Though now ye glory in your lust,
 " Though now ye tread the feeble neck in dust,
 " Yet time and righteous Jove will judge your dreadful cause !"

Collins and Gray have been more successful in imitating the wild enthusiasm of Pindar ; though it must be admitted, by their warmest admirers, that the lyric pieces of these two poets owe their celebrity chiefly to a certain solemn obscurity, through which their meaning occasionally breaks, with a degree of poetic splendour that overpowers the faculties of the reader, as lightning is rendered more awful by the interposing darkness of a thunder-cloud. In Collins's Odes, however, are found some truly sublime stanzas ; especially the first stanza in the Ode to *Liberty*, the first in that to *Mercy*, and the first in that to *Fear*. And Gray's *Welsh Bard*, examined as a whole, has great merit, whether we consider the variety and force of the numbers, or the gloomy grandeur of the imagery.

But none of our lyric poets has come so near to the philosophic good humour and good sense of Horace, as Akenside. Nothing can be more happily pursued than the whole train of thinking in his Ode on the *Winter Solstice*. After lamenting the destructive rage of the elements, he proceeds thus :

" But let not Man's unequal views
 " Presume o'er Nature and her laws ;
 " 'Tis his with grateful joy to use
 " Th' indulgence of the SOVEREIGN CAUSE :
 " Secure that Health and Beauty springs
 " Through this majestic frame of things,
 " Beyond what he can reach to know ;
 " And that Heaven's all-subduing will
 " With Good, the progeny of Ill,
 " Attempereth every state below."

Nor are the Pindaric Odes of this poet destitute of dignity, though that dignity consists less in pomp of language than in elevation of sentiment. The character of Milton, in the Ode on the *Power of Poetry*, addressed to the earl of Huntingdon, is daringly bold.

" Mark how the dread Pantheon stands
 " Amid the domes of modern hands ;
 " Amid the toys of idle state,
 " How simply, how severely great !
 " Then turn, and while each western clime
 " Presents her tuneful sons to Time,
 " So mark thou Milton's awful name," &c.

That whole ode breathes a noble spirit of freedom ; " such as," to use the author's own words, in speaking of the Muse,

" When Greece to her immortal shell
 " Rejoicing listen'd, god-like sounds to hear,
 " To hear the sweet Instructress tell
 " (While men and heroes throng'd around)
 " How life its noblest use may find,
 " How best for freedom be resign'd,
 " And how, by Glory, Virtue shall be crown'd."

Since I have touched upon this animating subject, I must transcribe the opening of Collins's *Ode to Liberty*, which has always roused me more forcibly than any thing I ever read in any language.

" Who shall awake the Spartan fife,
 " And call in solemn sounds to life,
 " The youths whose locks divinely spreading,
 " Like vernal hyacinths in sullen hue,
 " At once the breath of Fear and Virtue shedding,
 " Applauding Freedom lov'd of old to view ?"

The conclusion of the same stanza, containing a description of the fall of the Roman empire, is no less poetical, but historically false, and consequently of dangerous tendency, as it may communicate a wrong turn of thinking to the untutored mind.

" No Freedom, no, I will not tell,
 " How Rome, before thy weeping face,
 " With heaviest sound, a giant-statue fell,
 " Push'd by a wild and artless race
 " From off its wide ambitious base ;
 " When Time his northern sons of spoil awoke,
 " And all the blended work of strength and grace,
 " With many a rude repeated stroke,
 " And many a barbarous yell, to thousand fragments broke."

Now the truth is, That long before this event, Rome had not only lost her own liberty, but basely infringed upon the liberties of other nations : and the whole empire languished under the most enslaving despotism. The description, therefore, though consistent in itself, is false in every point of view, as applied to the Roman empire. And Freedom, instead of weeping at the fall of Rome, may be said poetically to have assisted the sons of the North, in breaking to pieces that *Giant-statue*, or enormous monarchy, in order to emancipate mankind from its degrading dominion and corrupting influence.

About the same time that Akenside, Collins, and Gray, were perfecting our lyric poetry, a new turn was given to our love-verses by Hammond ; a man of taste and sensibility, who has successfully imitated the elegiac manner of Tibullus, and given to his amorous solicitations soft melancholy, entirely in unison with the tone of the passion, and a tenderness to which Waller and Prior were strangers. A short extract will illustrate these observations.

- " With thee I hop'd to waste the pleasing day,
 " Till in thy arms an age of joy was past ;
 " Then, old with love, insensibly decay,
 " And on thy bosom gently breathe my last.

 " I scorn the Lydian river's golden wave,
 " And all the vulgar charms of human life ;
 " I only ask to live my Delia's slave,
 " And when I long have serv'd her—call her wife."

This species of versification is happily adapted to such subjects, notwithstanding what has been said to the contrary by a learned and dictatorial critic ; for although, " the *quarten* of ten syllables," in alternate rhyme, is capable of great strength and dignity, though it may be condensed into a solid column, in commemoration of victory, it can also be dilated with more facility than the couplet, into a loose floating veil of mourning, or breathed into a tremulous symphony of fond complaint. It has accordingly been adopted by all succeeding elegiac writers of any eminence ; but particularly by Gray, in his celebrated *Elegy in a Country Church Yard*, and by Shenstone in those excellent moral *Elegies*, published after his death, which do so much honour both to his head and heart, and form so severe a satire on his want of œconomy.

Shenstone deserves to be here mentioned on another account. He has given us a refined species of rural poetry, with which we were formerly unacquainted ; and which, if not altogether *pastoral*, is exceedingly *pleasing*. It is, indeed, without a pun, *something better* : it represents the manners and the sentiments of a gentleman residing in the country, instead of those of a clown. In this respect, it does not differ essentially from the pastorals of the polished and courtly Virgil, who would not have been ashamed to have owned the following elegant lines :

- " Can a bosom so gentle remain
 " Unmov'd when her Corydon sighs ?
 " Will a nymph that is fond of the plain,
 " Those plains and this valley despise ?
 " Dear regions of silence and shade !
 " Soft scenes of contentment and ease !
 " Where I could have happily stray'd,
 " If aught in her absence could please ?
 " But where does my Phillida stray ?
 " And where are her grots and her bowers ?
 " Are the groves and the vallies as gay,
 " And the shepherds as gentle as ours ?
 " The groves may perhaps be as fair,
 " And the face of the vallies as fine ;
 " The swains may in manners compare,
 " But their love is not equal to mine."

This zealous and continued attention to the improvement of our poetry, in its various branches, did not prevent imagination and sentiment from flowing in other channels. A classical form was given to the *Comic Romance* by Fielding and Smollett, who have painted modern manners with great force of colouring, as well as truth of delineation, and given to the ludicrous features of life all the heightenings of wit, humour, and satire.

Richardson, no less classical, created a new species of fiction, which may be called the *Epic of Civil Life* ; as it exhibits, in an extended and artfully-constructed fable, and in a variety of strongly-marked characters, under the influence of different passions, and engaged in different pursuits the beauty and dignity of virtue, and the meanness and deformity of vice, without any ludicrous circumstance, or display of warlike exploits.

The principal productions of these authors, under the well-known names

of *Tom Jones*, *Roderic Random*, *Sir Charles Grandison*, *Clarissa*,⁽¹⁾ and *Amelia*, seemed for a time wholly to occupy the attention, and even to turn the heads of the younger part of the nation. But the histories of Robertson and Hume appeared, and romances were no longer read. A new taste was introduced. The lovers of mere amusement found, that real incidents, properly selected and disposed, setting aside the idea of utility, and real characters delineated with truth and force, can more strongly engage both the mind and heart than any fabulous narrative. This taste, which has since given birth to many other elegant historical productions, fortunately for English literature, continues to gain ground.

I must now carry forward the progress of arts and of manners, and of those branches of polite literature that are most intimately connected with both.

The immature and unexpected death of queen Anne was friendly to the Protestant succession; for it is certain she intended, as I have had occasion to show, that her brother should fill the British throne. What might have been the character of the reign of James III. it is impossible decidedly to say, as he was never invested with the administration. But there is great reason to believe, from his superstitious bigotry, that his government would neither have been favourable to civil or religious liberty. The reign of George I. was favourable to both, though little indulgent to genius. Unacquainted with the beauties of our language, and utterly destitute of taste, like most of his countrymen in that age, this prince paid no attention to literature or the liberal arts. Literature, however, made vigorous shoots by the help of former culture and soil; but manners experienced a woeful decline, and the arts made no advance.

In consequence of the timid, but prudent policy of that reign, the martial spirit was in a manner extinguished in England. The heads of the Tory faction kept at a distance from court, as in the reign of William: and truth obliges me to declare, That the Tories have always been the most munificent patrons of genius, as well as the most accomplished gentlemen in the kingdom. The ministers of George I. were Whigs. Many of them were little better than money-brokers, and the South-Sea scheme made them stock-jobbers. The rapid revolution of property occasioned by that scheme: the number of ancient families ruined, and of the new ones raised to opulence broke down the distinction of ranks, and gave rise to a general profusion, as well as to an utter disregard of decency and respect.

The corrupt administration of sir Robert Walpole, in the early part of the reign of George II. when every man's virtue was supposed to have its price, contributed still farther to dissolve the manners and principles of the nation: while the thriving state of manufactures, and a vast influx of money by trade, produced such a deluge of intemperance among the common people, that the parliament was obliged to interpose its authority, in order to restrain the inordinate use of spirituous liquors. And after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, military force was often necessary to suppress the licentiousness of riot; which, under pretence of want, occasioned by dearth of provisions, but really in the wantonness of abundance, long distracted the whole kingdom.

The war, which was begun in 1755, united all hearts and all hands in opposing the common enemy. In the course of that glorious war, at first so unpropitious, the relaxation of manners totally disappeared. The national spirit recovered its tone. Wisdom was found in the cabinet, and ability displayed itself both in the senate and the field. Military ardour rose to he-

(1) *Lovlace*, the principal male character in this celebrated romance, is evidently a copy of Rowe's *Lothario*, in the *Fair Penitent*. This Dr. Johnson owns, but adds, that the imitator "has excelled his original in the moral effect of the fiction. *Lothario* with gaiety which cannot be hated, and bravery which cannot be despised, retains too much of the reader's kindness." It was in the power of Richardson alone to teach us at once "esteem and detestation." But Dr. Beattie, another formidable critic, and the friend of Dr. Johnson, is of a very different opinion. "*Richardson's Lovelace*," says he, "whom the reader ought to abominate for his crimes, is adorned with youth, beauty, eloquence, wit, and every intellectual and bodily accomplishment; is there not then reason to apprehend some readers will be more inclined to admire the gay profligate, than to fear his punishment?" So contentious a science is criticism!—and so little reference have the opinions of the learned, in matters of taste, to any common standard:

roism, and public virtue to the utmost height of patriotism. And although the peace of Paris did not procure us all the advantages we had reason to expect, it yet left the British empire great and flourishing; with trade considerably augmented; territory immensely extended; and a numerous body of brave and industrious people, employed in supplying with manufactures the demands of commerce, or occupied in the labours of husbandry.

In times of such great national prosperity, it might be expected that public spectacles would be numerous and splendid, and that the liberal arts, though neglected by government, would be encouraged by the public, and patronized by opulent individuals. This was literally the case. Beside a magnificent Italian opera, the capital supported two English theatres; and those theatres were well supplied with new pieces, the profits of which amply recompensed the labour of their authors.

The comedies of Steele were followed by those of Cibber, who has given us, in his *Careless Husband*, a finished picture of polite life. The formal style, and sententious morality of Addison's *Cato*, in a smaller or greater degree, distinguish all the tragedies of Thomson. The tragedies of Southern and Young are more impassioned, though in other respect no less faulty. Southern, who was intimately acquainted with the human breast, has some exquisitely pathetic scenes. But his stories are too uniformly distressing; and *Oronooko*, his best piece, is interlarded with low comedy. *Isabella*, written in the reign of George I. has fewer faults, and fewer yet many beauties. It is a mournful tale indeed!—Young's *Revenge* has great merit. The fable is well constructed, the style is easy and animated; the characters are strongly marked, and the poetic spirit is supported throughout the piece. But it has few of the genuine charms of nature, and too many of those terrible graces, which have drawn upon our stage the imputation of barbarism.

The history of the stage is a subject of great philosophical curiosity; as it is, in every nation, intimately connected with the history of manners. Even from the mode of playing in different ages, there is something to be gathered beyond the gratification of idle curiosity. Our tragic actors, before the appearance of Garrick, seemed to have had a very imperfect notion of their business. As they could have little opportunity to observe the motions, and still less to hear the discourse of royal personages, especially on great and momentous subjects, or while under the influence of strong passions, they had recourse to imagination; and gave to all the speeches of such exalted characters, and by habit to those of every character, an inarticulate deep-toned monotony; which had small resemblance to the human voice, accompanied with a strutting stateliness of gesture, that was altogether preternatural, but which they mistook for majesty. To acquire only the *tread of the stage* was a work of years.

But no sooner did Garrick set his foot upon the theatre than this difficulty vanished. Having a sound judgment, a just taste, and keen sensibility, with a discernment so acute as to enable him to look into the inmost recesses of the heart; a marking countenance; an eye full of lustre; a fine ear; a musical and articulate voice, with uncommon power to modulate it to every tone of passion, he rose at once to the height of his profession, and taught the sympathising spectators, that kings and heroes were men, and spoke, and moved, and felt, like the rest of their species. Other players followed his easy and natural manner, to the great advantage of theatrical representation.

This new style of acting introduced a new taste in writing. Instead of the rant and fustian of Dryden and Lee, which the old players delighted to mouth, Garrick and his disciples displayed their bewitching power of moving the passions chiefly in the pathetic and awful scenes of Shakspeare and Otway, to which they drew more general admiration. And Aaron Hill, a great promoter of natural playing, having adapted to the English stage several of the elegant and interesting tragedies of Voltaire, gave variety to theatrical exhibitions. In the *Zara* and the *Merope* he was particularly successful. Originals were composed in the same just taste. Among these, we still see with pleasure the *Gamester*, *Douglas*, and *Barbarossa*. The *Elfrida* and *Characterus* of Mason, and the *Medea* of Glover, are equally pregnant with

nature and passion. Written in imitation of the Greek drama, and worthy of the Athenian stage, they have all been represented on that of London with applause; but they have not yet made us converts to the ancient manners.

The genius of Garrick as an actor, was not confined to tragedy. In many parts of comedy he was no less excellent; and his taste, and his situation as a manager, enabled him to draw to light several neglected pieces of great merit. The comic muse, however, was backward in her favours for a time. We had few new comedies of any merit till Hoadly produced the *Suspicious Husband*, and Foote those inimitable *sketches of real life*, which were so long the delight of the town, and have justly gained him the name of the English Aristophanes. At length Colman, in the *Jealous Wife* and *Clandestine Marriage*, united the humour of Plautus to the elegance of Terence, and our comedy seemed to be perfected. But a new species of comedy has since been imported from France; in which, as often happens in the great drama of the world, ludicrous and interesting circumstances are blended, and scenes of humour interchanged with those of sentiment. Kelly's *False Delicacy*, and Cumberland's *West Indian*, are precious pieces in this new taste.

Besides its connexion with manners and literature, the stage has an intimate alliance with painting and music. Of this alliance the English stage has not failed to take advantage, or that which is derived from machinery and architecture. Our whole scenery is perhaps superior to that of any theatre in ancient or modern times, and also our theatrical wardrobe, as our dresses certainly are better adapted to the characters which the actors represent. The *costume* is preserved more perfectly on ours than on any other stage.⁽¹⁾

The effect of our landscapes and sea-pieces, by the power of perspective, and the *extrinsic* help of *illumination* and *obscurity*, is equal if not superior to that of nature; and these enchanting scenes, in conjunction with music and dancing, give to the *mute drama* an illusive charm, a deception that is altogether necromantic.—A word here of dancing.

The art of dancing has of late been carried to great perfection among us, as well as among our neighbours on the continent; so as not only to keep time to music in graceful motion, but to be at the same time expressive of a series of action, and a fluctuation of passion. As human beings, however, endowed with the distinguishing faculty of speech, let us not set too high a value upon this light-heeled corporeal language, which it is possible to teach even so rude an animal as a bear; and in which, as far as it is mimetic of hunting or war, its two favourite subjects, an American savage is infinitely more perfect than Slingsby, Vestris, or Heinel. Theatrical music deserves more attention.

Music formed an essential part of the dramatic entertainments of the ancients. In those of the moderns, and especially in ours, it was long only an occasional auxiliary. Our first successful musical piece, the celebrated *Beggar's Opera* of Gay, is said to have been written in *ridicule* of the Italian opera; though I am fully persuaded the author foresaw the pleasure the *Comic Opera* would afford to an English audience, independent of that circumstance, and only called in the contrast of character, in order to procure a more ready reception to his new drama. If burlesque had been his chief object, he would have made Macheath and all his gang warble Italian airs.

Gay, on the contrary, adapted the words of his songs to *native* tunes. These tunes had all been heard by most of the audience in early life, when the mind was free from care; in the scenes of rural innocence, or the walks of gay frolic, when the youthful heart beat high with ambitious hope, or reposed in the luxury of infantine passion; while reason was lost in dreams of ineffable delight, and fancy was fed with illusions of unchangeable love. Every tune recalled some agreeable feeling, or former happy state of mind. The effect of the music was accordingly altogether magical; and it would

(1) This beautiful propriety, which gives so much truth to good acting, we owe chiefly to the classical taste and enlightened understanding of Garrick.

have been still greater, if the airs had been sung by persons whom the audience could have loved or respected. But as this was not the case, the *Beggar's Opera*, in consequence of its musical enchantment, had a very immoral tendency. It served to dignify the character of a highwayman, and to familiarize, and even to reconcile the mind to such flagitious scenes as ought ever to be held in distant abhorrence; the nocturnal orgies of robbers, whores, and thieves; their levity in the cells of Newgate, and their indifference at the prospect of ignominiously paying the debt of justice on *Tyburn-tree*!—Nor was this all. The author, by putting into the mouths of such wretches not only the tunes, but a parody upon the words of some of our most admired love songs, threw a stronger ridicule upon genuine passion and virtuous tenderness than upon the Italian opera.

Notwithstanding the great success of this musical piece, we had no other comic opera of any merit for many years. The singularity of the subject, and the continued applause paid to the *Beggar's Opera*, deterred imitation and precluded rivalry. In the mean time the famous Handel, who had quarrelled with the proprietors of the Opera-house, brought on the English stage a new species of musical drama, to which he gave the name of *Oratorio*, and in which he exerted all his powers of combining harmony, to the delight and astonishment of the whole musical world. But the *Oratorio*, which has already lost its hold of the public taste, has so many radical defects, as a theatrical entertainment, as must for ever prevent it from being in general request. It has fable and dialogue, but neither action, scenery, nor characteristic dresses.

Dr. Arne, sensible of the imperfections of the *Oratorio*, attempted to inspire his countrymen with a taste for the *Serious Opera*. With this view, he set to excellent music, and brought upon the English stage a translation of the *Artaxerxes*, of Metastasio; which was received with the most enthusiastic applause, and is still a favourite performance. Yet, extraordinary as it may seem, we have no other serious opera that is so much as tolerated. Musical tragedy is happily little suited to the general taste of an English audience, which requires a more masculine composition.

Our musical comedy has made greater progress. It hath been much refined and improved, by the exclusion of profligate manners; and by judiciously intermixing scenes of sentiment with those of humour; as in *Love in a Village*, the *Duenna*, and some other pieces of a similar kind, which have deservedly met with a favourable reception. Even these, however, appear to be losing ground. Many of our Comic Operas are already transformed into after-pieces, and as such they will always please.

Since the charm of novelty has ceased, the good sense of the people of England seems still to require a standard comedy or tragedy, as their principal theatrical dish:—and music has other walks to occupy. The grand concerts in the capital, and in every considerable town in the kingdom, afforded ample scope to native composers: whilst the Opera-house, or Italian theatre, calls forth all the talents of foreign masters, as well as all the powers of execution, both vocal and instrumental, by the most liberal rewards, for the entertainment of the nobility and gentry.

The advances of the other arts considered as elegant, in England, during the present century, opens a wide field for investigation, at which I can only glance. Nor am I required to enter deeply into it by my subject; a general view of improvement being the sole purpose of this letter. The improvements in manufactures and the mechanical arts, I have already carried forward by anticipation, in tracing the progress of Commerce; (1) though perhaps I have not been sufficiently particular in some articles, such as the great perfection to which the printing of linen and cotton cloths has been carried, so as to surpass in beauty those of India; or of paper for the lining of rooms, which has been taught to imitate velvet and satin, and even to rival tapestry. Nor ought I to omit the taste and fancy displayed in the patterns of our

figured silks; or in our carpets, which vie with those of Persia in fabric, equal them in lustre, and exceed them in harmony of colours.

Our sepulchral monuments, at the close of the last century were mere masonry, and executed in a very bad taste. The excellent carvings of Gibbons in wood excepted, we had properly no sculpture. Kneller, our only painter of any eminence, was a foreigner, and employed himself chiefly on portraits. Rysbrach, Scheemaker, and Roubiliac, who have since adorned Westminster Abbey with many sculptured monuments worthy of ancient Greece, also were foreigners. We were more fortunate in native architects.

Inigo Jones found a successor not unworthy of himself in sir Christopher Wren, rendered immortal by the plan of St. Paul's and of St. Stephen's Walbrook; exclusive of his other great designs—of that of Greenwich Hospital, or the additions to the palace of Hampton Court.

Wren was succeeded by the classical lord Burlington, a liberal patron of the arts, and no contemptible professor, and by the ponderous but inventive Kent; whose plan of Holkham, the seat of the earl of Leicester in Norfolk, and his temple of Venus in Stowe Gardens, if he had designed nothing else, would entitle him to a distinguished rank among modern architects. But Kent has been greatly surpassed, in architecture, by sir William Chambers, Wyatt, Adam, and others, who have adorned the capital and every part of the kingdom with edifices in the purest taste of antiquity; who have united elegance with conveniency, and lightness with solidity. Nor should Milne be forgot, to whom we are indebted for Blackfriar's Bridge, a work to which antiquity can afford no parallel.(1)

We have at present native statuary of considerable merit. But Bacon and Nollkens have yet produced nothing equal to the Hercules of Rysbrach, Scheemaker's Shakspeare, or the Handel and Newton of Roubiliac.(2)

Hogarth, the first eminent English painter, if we except Scott, who excelled in sea-pieces, may be said to have formed a new school. Above the Flemish comic painters, who servilely copy *low life*, or debase it into farce, and below the best Italian masters, who generally draw exalted characters, and elevate human nature, as far as it is possible for men degraded by civil and religious slavery, He delineates, like Fielding and Smollett, the ludicrous features of *middling life*; with as much truth and force as either, and with a more direct view to a moral purpose. They who are in doubt about this matter need only consult his *Harlot's Progress*, his *Rake's Progress*, his *Marriage à-la-Mode*, and his *Stages of Cruelty*.

But Hogarth knew nothing of the elegance of design, the delicacy of drawing, or the magic of colours. These were reserved for English painters of a higher order. As the most excellent of those are now living, I shall not enter into a particular estimate of their merit; but observe, in general, That if they have not attained all the force of colouring, truth of drawing, and strength of expression, to be found in the greatest Italian masters, they have made ample amends by the judicious choice of their subjects. Instead of crucifixions, flagellations, last suppers, and holy families, they have given second life to heroes and legislators. They have made public virtue visible in some of its most meritorious acts: they have painted as became the sons of freedom. Nor need I be afraid to affirm, that Copley's *Earl of Chatham*,

(1) Westminster bridge, not perhaps less noble, though surely less elegant, was executed after the plan of a Frenchman.

(2) Of these celebrated statues, the most excellent is the Hercules, compiled from various parts of the body and limbs (which the sculptor supposed to be most truly formed) of seven or eight of the strongest and best made men in England, chiefly champions in the amphitheatre for bruising, under the protection of the late duke of Cumberland. The Newton of Roubiliac has also great merit; but Mr. H. Walpole thinks "the air is a little too pert for so grave a man." But Mr. Scott, a man of taste and genius, is of a very different opinion.

"Behold! (a prism within his hands)

"Absorb'd in thought great Newton stands,

"Such was his brow and look serene,

"His serious gait and musing mien.

West's *Departure of Regulus*, his *Pennsylvania Charter*, and his *Death of Wolfe*, to say nothing of Reynold's *Ugolino*, fill the mind with nobler ideas, and awaken the heart to more generous emotions, than were ever communicated by the pencil of any slave that kneeled at the altar of superstition.(1)

Fortunately for the lovers of embellishment, engraving, of which painting may be said to be the prototype, has not made less progress in England during the present century than the parent art. Historical pictures can only become the property of the rich and great. And they are very liable beside to be injured by time or accident. Hence the utility of engraving in plates of copper. It multiplies copies at a moderate price; and its representation, if less perfect than those of the pencil, are more compact and durable. We have excellent prints of all our own capital paintings, and also of most of those of the greatest Italian masters. At the head of our native improvers of this elegant and ingenious art, we must ever place Strange and Woollet. The first excels chiefly in copying human figures, the latter in landscape. They have both, at present, several formidable rivals in every branch of the art, and the late unhappy Ryland was perhaps equal to either.

We have yet another flourishing art, deservedly considered as liberal, and which is of English origin, unless we should allow the Chinese to come in for a share of the honour of the invention; namely, MODERN GARDENING, or the art of *painting a field* with natural and artificial objects, disposed like colours upon a canvass. For this art, which was altogether unknown to the ancients, we are indebted to the taste and genius of Kent. He taught us to *imitate* nature, or more properly speaking, to *act upon her plan*, in forming our pleasure-grounds, instead of impressing upon every natural object the hard stamp of art; he taught us, that the perfection of gardening, consists in humouring and adorning, not in constraining or disguising nature; consequently, that strait walks, regular parterres, circular and square pieces of water, and trees cut in the shape of animals, are utterly inconsistent with true taste. In a word, the whole secret of Modern Gardening consists in making proper use of natural scenery; wood and water, hill and valley, in conjunction with architecture; so as to give beauty and variety to the embellished ground, and in judiciously veiling and exposing the surrounding country: in contrasting the luxuriant meadow with the barren heath, the verdant slope with the rugged steep, the sylvan temple with the ruined tower; the meandering rill with the majestic river, and the smooth surface of the lake, or artificial sea, with Nature's most sublime object, a view of the boundless and ever-agitated ocean.

Milton seems to have a distinct idea of this kind of gardening, as far as it regards the particular spot:

"Through Eden went a river large;
"Nor chang'd his course, but through the shaggy hill
"Pass'd underneath ingulph'd; for God had thrown
"That mountain as his garden mound, high rais'd
"Upon the rapid current,—which through veins
"Of porous earth, with kindly thirst updrawn,
"Rose a fresh fountain, and with many a rill
"Water'd the garden.

(1) "Since affections of every kind are equally within the painter's power," says Quintilian, "it is of great importance that he apply himself to *excite* only such as are *subservient to good morals*." (*Inst. Orat.* lib. xi.) And Aristotle, amongst other instructions, gives it in charge to the governors of youth, "that they allow them to see no pictures but those which have such moral tendency." (*Polit.* lib. viii.) The reason of this caution is founded in the depths of philosophy, in an equal knowledge of human nature and the influence of the arts; for there can remain no doubt, 'That whatever addresses itself immediately to the eye by an actual representation of objects, must affect the youthful mind, and indeed all minds, but especially the least cultivated, more than any form of words, or combination of articulate sound, significant of ideas merely by convention. Yet we are told by a noted connoisseur, "That pictures cannot adapt themselves to the meanest capacities, as unhappily the tongue can."

"From that sapphire fount the crisped brooks,
 "Rolling on orient pearl and sands of gold,
 "With mazy error, under pendant shades,
 "Ran nectar; visiting each plant, and fed
 "Flowers worthy of Paradise; which not a few
 "In beds and curious knots, but nature boon
 "Pour'd forth profuse on hill, and dale, and plain;
 "Both where the morning sun first warmly smote
 "The open field, and where the unpierced shade
 "Imbrown'd the noon-tide bowers."

This is certainly, to use the poet's own words, "a happy rural scene of various views."⁽¹⁾ But Milton, like all the gardeners of his time, or of those which had preceded it, confines his paradise within high boundaries, and consequently excludes distant and rude prospect, the grand charm in modern gardening; for

"the champaign head
 "Of a steep wilderness, whose hairy sides
 "With thicket over-grown, grotesque and wild!
 "Access denied; and overhead up grew
 "Insuperable height of loftiest shade,
 "Cedar, and pine, and fir, and branching palm."

The man who first threw down the garden-wall, and sunk the fosse, whether Kent or Bridgeman, may be truly said to have broke the spell that enabled the necromancer Art to hold the fair damsel Nature so long in chains, and to have made the terraqueous globe but one great garden. From that moment, beauty began to connect itself with utility, and grandeur with rustic labour; the pleasure-ground with the pastured and cultivated field, the gravel-walk with the public road, and the garden-lake with the navigable canal and the sea; that glorious fountain of universal communication among men, which enables the philosopher, the merchant, and the mariner, to visit every shore, and makes all things common to all.

While our countrymen were thus successfully employed in extending the circle of the arts, and in embellishing external nature, science was not neglected: they were not inattentive to the motions of the heavens, or the operation of the human mind. Locke and Newton have had their successors, as well as Dryden and Milton. Halley illustrated the theory of the tides, and increased the catalogue of the stars; while Maclaurin made great progress in algebra, and Gregory reduced astronomy to a regular system. These men of genius have been succeeded by very able mathematicians, but the era of discovery in mathematics seems to be past. More advance has been made in other sciences, with which Newton was little acquainted. The vegetable system of Tull has led to the greatest improvements in agriculture; and the bold discoveries of Franklin, in electricity, may be said to have given birth to a new science. With the purpose to be served by many of those discoveries, which at present so strongly engage the attention of philosophers, we are yet as much in the dark as in regard to the electric principle itself. But the beneficial effects of electricity in many medical cases, and the invention of metallic conductors, by which buildings and ships are preserved from the destructive force of lightning, entitle it to notice in a view of the progress of society, should it even otherwise disappoint the hopes of its fond admirers.

Among the successors of Locke, Hume is entitled to the first place. Not that his metaphysical inquiries are more acute than those of Berkeley, Bax-

(1) The resemblance of Milton's *Eden* to a garden laid out in the modern taste, was first noticed by the late penetrating lord Knays, in chap. xxix. of his *Elements of Criticism*, printed in 1762. "Milton," says he, "justly prefers the grand taste to that of regularity;" and he quotes part of the above extract, in confirmation of his remark. Yet Mr. H. Walpole, in retelling the same observation, almost twenty years later, seems to assume to himself the merit of it, and to congratulate himself, as if he had been making an important discovery.

ter, Hartley, or perhaps of Reid ; but that his discoveries, like those of his great master, have a more intimate relation to human affairs—are of universal application in science, and closely connected with the leading principles of the arts. His beautiful analysis of the ASSOCIATION OF IDEAS, which he comprehends under three general heads, namely, *Resemblance*, including contrast, *Contiguity* in time or place, and *Cause* or *Effect*. And his ingenious *Theory of the Passions*, or the COMMUNICATION OF EMOTIONS, immediately laid the foundation of that PHILOSOPHY of the FINE ARTS, which was afterward formed into a system by Lord Kaims, in his *Elements of Criticism*, and which has since been illustrated by many elegant writers.

But none of those writers have illustrated the principles of Mr. Hume so happily as himself. They may be said, indeed, only to have written commentaries on his illustrations. One example will justify this remark. The subject is *Unity of Action*, about which all critics, after Aristotle, had talked so much, and to so little purpose, while they directed not their *taste* or *sensitment* by the *accuracy of philosophy*. "It appears," says he, "That in all productions, as well as the epic and tragic, there is a certain UNITY required, if we would produce a work which will give any lasting entertainment to mankind. An annalist or historian, who should undertake to write the HISTORY OF EUROPE, during any century, would be influenced by the connection of *Contiguity* in time and place. All events, which happen in that portion of space, and period of time, are comprehended in his design, though in other respects different and unconnected. They have still a species of *unity* amid all their *diversity*. But the most usual species of *connexion*, among the different events which enter into any narrative composition, is that of *Cause and Effect* ; while the historian traces the series of actions according to their natural order, remounts to their secret springs and principles, and delineates their most remote consequences."

If Mr. Hume was happy in illustrating his metaphysical system, he was yet more successful in exemplifying it. His Moral, Political, and Literary Essays, are perfect models of philosophical investigation. He is altogether logical, without the logical forms : he unites the plain perspicuity of Locke to the synthetic precision of Wollaston and the analytical accuracy of Harris. But this great man, who has carried human reasoning to the utmost point of perfection, has endeavoured, by sceptical doubts, to destroy the certainty of all reasoning, and to undermine the foundation of both natural and revealed religion. His attack upon the latter leads to a very curious and important inquiry ; "the State of Christianity in England during the Present Century." I shall endeavour to trace the outlines of the subject, by way of termination to this view of the Progress of Society.

That general toleration, which was the immediate consequence of the Revolution, gave birth to great freedom of discussion relative to religious matters. The crowd of sectaries, no longer held together by the common bond of persecution, or restrained by fear from unveiling the supposed errors of the church, entered into a bold investigation of the sublime mysteries of Christianity. And the apostles of each sect keenly censured the tenets of all who presumed to differ from them on any particular point. Numberless disputes were hotly agitated about doctrines of no importance to the rational Christian.

But this pious warfare was not sufficient to keep alive the fervour of zeal, either in the church or among the dissenters, in a state of unlimited liberty of conscience. A general moderation began to prevail, and the more enlightened sectaries seemed ready to join the hierarchy ; when certain fiery spirits, filled with indignation of such lukewarmness, and panting for the crown of martyrdom, gave birth to new sects of a warmer complexion, and obliged the heads of the old to enforce their particular tenets, in order to prevent the utter desertion of their followers. Whitfield and Wesley in England, and the two Erskine's in Scotland, rekindled in all its ardour the flame of enthusiasm, which raged, for a time, with dazzling brightness, in spite of the utmost efforts of reason and ridicule. But the fuel of persecu-

tion, the stake and the faggot, being happily with-held, it has now in a great measure spent its force. Nor have the Methodists yet been able to number one martyr among the multitude of their saints.

The spirit of infidelity (as it always will, in an enlightened age) kept pace with that of enthusiasm. As many of the wilder sectaries laid claim to divine illuminations, and in their ravings pretended to prophecy, some men of sceptical principles endeavoured to bring into *suspicion*, and even to destroy the *credibility* of all *prophecy*; while others call in question the *authenticity* of the *sacred books*, both historical and prophetic. At the head of those sceptical writers, and the most dangerous because the most agreeable, may be placed Shaftesbury and Bolingbroke.

Tindal, in his *Christianity as old as the Creation*, denied the *necessity* of the *Gospel*; as it promulgated, he affirmed, no principle or precept with which mankind were not formerly acquainted. Hume, in his *Essay on Miracles*, struck directly at its foundation, by attempting to shew, That no *human testimony* is *sufficient* to *establish* the *reality* of a *miracle*. And an author, no less able or learned than either, has written an *historical deduction*, to prove Christianity to be of *human origin*.

But these rude attacks have only served more firmly to establish true religion, while they have given a severe check to enthusiasm. They have led divines to examine minutely into the proofs of Revelation, and made them sensible of the propriety of explaining more rationally the mysteries in the Christian system; especially that of the Trinity, the Incarnation of the Word, and the miraculous Influence of Grace upon the Human Soul. The consequence has been, That all men of *sound minds* and *good morals*, conform outwardly to the religion of their country, and most of them *sincerely believe* it to be of *divine origin*. The debasing doctrine of Materialism has been exploded, as alike unfriendly to all that is liberal in the human character, or endearing in the human condition; (1) for he who considers this earthly spot as the only theatre of his existence, and its grave, instead of his first stage in progressive being, can never view nature with a cheerful, or man with a benevolent eye.

(1) An attempt has lately been made, by a learned divine, to give to this doctrine a new complexion; but his opinions are too whimsical ever to be generally received.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

